PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

SIXTEENTH SESSION

UNIVERSITY OF LUCKNOW

October, 1951

VOLUME II

(SELECT PAPERS)

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Edited by

K. A. SUBRAMANIA IYER, M.A. (LONDON)

Local Secretary

AND

DR. K. C. PANDEY. M.A. D.LITT.

Joint Secretary

LUCKNOW

1955

PREFACE.

We have great pleasure in placing before the All-India Oriental Conference the second and the final volume of the Proceedings and Transactions of the sixteenth session of the Conference held in the University of Lucknow in October, 1951. Besides the select papers, the volume also includes the presidential address to the Pālī and Buddhism Section which, together with the papers submitted to that section, was not available at the time of the printing of the first volume. They became available only recently and that is why they are printed at the end of the volume.

We have to thank Dr. Wahid Mirza, M.A,, Ph.D., Head of the Department of Arabic, University of Lucknow, for correcting the proofs of the papers belonging to the Islamic Culture, Arabic and Persian, and Urdu Sections. His promptness in returning the proofs after correction has been of great help in the printing of this volume.

We are also grateful to Dr. S. V. Singh of the Sanskrit Department of the University of Lucknow for correcting the proofs of some of the matter included in this volume. But for this, there would have been unnecessary delay in the printing of it.

K. A. SUBRAMANIA IYER.

K. C. PANDEY.

Proceedings and Transactions

OF THE

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(1) Vedic Section

A PASSAGE IN THE KAUṢITAKIBRĀHMAṆOPANIṢAD (I. 2-6)-SOME SUGGESTIONS AS TO THE PROPER READINGS AND A CLUE TO ITS IMPORT.

(Prof. Sivaprasad Bhattacharya, Calcutta).

Thanks to the uninterrupted tradition amongst teachers and scholars and to the achievements of philosophers of the Vedānta system, the major Vedic Upaniṣads (including the Śvetāśvatara) present to us a standardised text, though there is no end to the doubts and disparities as to their interpretation. It is a pity that the *Kau. Br. Up.*, specially in its first chapter, known significantly as the *Paryaṅkavidyā*, the most remarkable and, according to some scholars, the earliest stratum of the work, launches us into textual difficulties which appear to be insoluble in some cases at least. Sections 2-6 of this chapter, dilating on the path and experiences of the Spirit after death, referred to as the Pilgrim's Progress by Prof. Belvalkar because of its symbolism, introduce us to one of the knottiest, if not the knottiest passage in the Up. literature. So far as indigenous scholarship of pre-modern days is concerned, the difficulties originating from bad transcription encouraging wild guesses in emendation (for there are no limits to this, as this does not relate to the Saṃhitās and the rigour of pārāyaṇa-exactitude is not operative here) and in interpretation of scholiasts like Śaṅkarānanda have made confusion worse confounded. The labours of certain gifted scholars extending over the last fifty years have not taken us nearer solution, though they have been by no means inconsiderable. The discovery of the *Jaiminīyabrāhmaṇa* and of the *Jaiminīyopaniṣadbrāhmaṇa* has thrown much welcome light, in as much as there is much matter common in them with the text of the *Kau- Br, Up*. and we can never be sufficiently thankful to Caland and more particularly to Oertel for this. The attempts at restoration of and the translation of this portion by Prof. Belvalkar (more than 25 years ago) and the recent edition (Paris, 1949) by Prof. Louis Renou have served to shake off the indifference and complacency of scholars that have looked upon the *Kau.* as a mere repository of the age-worn doctrines of the Chānd. and the *Bṛ. Ār.* and look down upon this section as a mere fanciful curio of materials not synthetically connected with the creeds and commitments of older thought (as is the case e.g. in the *Nār. Up.* तस्यैवं विदुषो यज्ञस्यात्मा यजमानः श्रद्धा पत्नी....एतद्वा अजरामर्यमग्निहोत्रं सत्रं...सूर्याचन्द्रमसोर्महिमानौ ब्राह्मणौ विद्वानभिजयति ।)

The passage readily divides itself into two well-defined parts of which the first (I.2) inextricably connected with the doctrines of Karman and of Transmigration of the Soul, the Upanisadic view of the two paths pitṛyāna and devayāna as adumbrated in the *Muṇḍaka, Chānd.* and *Bṛ. Ār.*, has in its manner of presentation in the beginning and in the sequel

a remarkable similarity with the two works mentioned above specially in the metrical finish with the *Jai. Br.* There are immaterial departures and deviations (e. g. अर्धमास्यं, प्रभुतात् in the first, त्रयोदशेन द्वादशमास...., in the second, as in the printed text of the *Jai. Br.*) and allowing for bad transmission, one can note certain modifications which like less mechanical ūhas have served to give a new orientation to the tenor of the whole passage (e. g. माभिषिक्त with मा as an absolutive particle and तन्म ऋतवोऽमृतव आरभध्वम्. I prefer आरभध्वम् to आभरध्वम् which keeps intact the ūha and language of the first verse and is akin to आनयध्वम् of the printed *Jai. Br.* text and take सं तद्विदेहंऽप्रति तद्विदेऽहं as accepted by Renou as readings in both the texts.) In the *Jai. Br.*, the world (loka) and the reborn beings (lokin) are not changes to be given the go-bye consistent with the spirit of the Br. text, whereas in the *Kau. Up.* text, as in the *Jai. Up. Br.* (III. 21-28) these are immaterial and unwelcome, at best means or relays in the reaching of the final goal (c.f. *Jai. Up. Br.* I.3.2; *Śatapatha* IX.2. 3.6., XIV. 6.1.4-8; and *Bṛ.Ār. Up.* III. 1.4-8 V. 10). In the second part (1.3-6) which is a directory of the path we have parallelisms and borrowings from *Chānd. Up.* VIII. 5.3.4 (in a sense the source of inspiration of the *Kau.* I 3) III. 14.1; *Bṛ. Ār.* IV. 3.8-15, V. 10. 1; *Praśna* V. 5.; *Jai. Br.* I.17-18, 42-44; *Śa*, *Br.* (Aghirahasya X. 1.1.3, X.1.4.14, X.2-3, X.4.2. 1-18, X.4 3.1-3; Ath. Sam. XV. 2,3 from Vāj. Sam XV. 15-18 and very probably the R.V.V, 47. VII. 74. It is a pity that a bias against texts associated with sacrifices (e. g. *Śat. Br.* XI. 2.7.1-5 (i); XI, 11. 3.2. (ii), XI. 4.4.1. (iii) has resulted in their being over-looked while as a matter of fact they afford us substantial help in restoration and interpretation of the text. It was an axiom with later commentators that an *Up.*, even if it styles itself as a *Br. Up.* is not amenable to acceptance of the fundamentals of a yajna ideology. Even passages from the *Mbh.* which provide considerable food for thought and embalm the teachings of Vedic symbolism (e. g. *M.Bh* I.3.144-147) (iv)

(i) संवत्सरो यज्ञः....ऋतवऋत्विजः....मासा हवींषि....अर्धमासा हविष्पात्राणि... अहोरात्रे परिवेष्ट्री For another analogy vide *Taitt. Sam.* VIII. 2,6.4. and *Jai. Br.* 1.50. where *ahan* and *ratri* are two unageing seas wolving out of the saṃvatsara and complying with ṛta as in Ṛg. X., 190.

(ii) यो ह वा अग्निहोत्रे षन्मिथुनानि वेद मिथुनेन मिथुनेन ह प्रजायते। [c,f. also *Bṛ Ar* I.4.17:—मन एवाऽस्यात्मा वाग्जाया प्राणः प्रजाः and c.f. also *Praśna* I. 4;15.]

(iii) षड् ह वै ब्रह्मणे द्वारोऽग्निर्वायुरापश्चन्द्रमा विद्युदादित्यः।

(iv) एवं स्तुवन्नपि नागान् यदा तेकुण्डले नालभत् तदाऽपश्यत् स्त्रियौ तन्त्रे अधिरोप्य सुवेमे पटं वयन्तौ। तस्मिंस्तन्त्रे कृष्णाः सिताश्च तन्तवश्चक्रं चापश्यत् षड्भिः कुमारैः परिवर्तमानम् (An echo of Rv. VI. 9.1.) अत्र संवत्सरः प्रजापतिरिति श्रुतेः संवत्सररूपकेण प्रजापतिं विश्वात्मानं कृत्स्नसंसाराभिमानिनं समष्टिजीवं स्तौति (Nīlakaṇṭha) (in the Kau, passage the ṛtus are the kumaras here tho Nīlakaṇṭha explains it as the six kleśas of the Yoga philosophy). तंत्रं चेदं विश्वरूपे युवत्यौ वयनस्तन्तून् भूतान्यजस्रं भुवनानि चैव।

using almost the self-same language have been ignored. One has to refer to certain crucial cases of readings which force his attention by way of illustration.

(The whole passage of the *Kau. Br. Up.* is reproduced as an appendix to the paper.)

Now to come to the readings. Leaving out the minor obvious emendations e.g. of (a) तं यः प्रत्याह for तं यत् प्रत्याह and (b) यो न प्रत्याह for य एनं प्रत्याह (c) स तद्विदेऽहं प्रतितद्विदेऽहम् in the third foot of the second verse as just in keeping with the metre and with an appreciation of the chiming which is clearly discernible and savours of a grace and elegance familiar in later literature which would have been more in evidence if the second foot of the first verse were to read पित्र्यावतः पञ्च दशात् प्रसूतात्; (d) तपसतु इस्मद्यार्तवोऽस्मि तपस ऋतुरस्म्य....;(e) ब्रह्म हाभिधावति for ब्रह्मा हाभिधावतिः cf. Yājna smṛti III. 193-194 and (f) पर्यवेच्चत एवमहोरात्रे for पय वैच्चतैवमहोरात्रे, we have at least a dozen difficulties which call for discussion. The emendations suggested are:—

(1) मासिषिक्त for मासिसिक्तः or मानिषिक्त frequentative imperative second person plural मा in this quarter and in the previous quarter of the verse is the absolutive particle. The seasons are implored as the active agents to help prevention of continuous re-birth of the spirit in the form of men etc. कीटो वा पतङ्गो वा पुरुषो वा तं is the object standing for रेतः masculine because of Vedic licence. (for the expression of. Ait. Up. II. 1-3 and Rv. Sam. X. 129.5.)

(2) स जायाया उपजायमान for स जाय उपजायमान or स जायमान उपजायमान. The metre, the compatibility of many a Vedic text (e. g. Śat. Br. XI. 3.2. and *Bṛ. Āṛ. Up.* I.2.4 ; I.5.12.) the way of expression in the last quarter of the previous verse and the text in I.6. आकाशाद् योनेः सम्भूतो भार्यायै रेतः संवत्सरस्य...., which reads like a paraphrase of this, make this emendation, not only plausible but also possible. The reading जाय उपजायमान (I am born) in the *Jai. Br.* is not appropriate, firstly because of the changed outlook and secondly because of the confusion likely between the two verbs जाये and विदे and their nominatives अहम् and सः the latter really standing for रेतः [(=प्राण), for as the *Praśna* puts it (III.8.)-āditya is the bāhya prāna] which is used as masculine. It may be mentioned in passing that the first verse relates to the passage of the Spirit through the moon, the second to its subsequent passage through the sun (Praśna V. 2-5) just on the lines of the well-known *Chānd.* passage (V.10.4,& V.10.2.) with certain intermediaries left out in the first case, as in Muṇḍaka I.2. 11ed, to immortality. (Keith's accusation of the accommodating tendency of the doctrine [Philosophy and Religion of the Veda-p. 576] is hardly convincing.)

(3) तन्म ऋतवोऽमृतवे for ऋतवोऽमृत्यव or ऋतवोऽमर्त्यवअमृतवे a (negative) Vedic infinitive like सूतवे corresponding to जीवसे (for

immortality, personal immortality) as is guranteed in the brahmaloka in similar well-known texts. [e.g. *Praśna.* III. 11,12; Ait. III. 4; *Kaṭha.* I. 1.12]

(4) कोऽस्मि सत्यमस्मीति for कोसि त्वमसीति. The question is parried with the necessary change in person. This is clear from I.6. तमाह....

(5) मुहूर्ता यैष्टका in 1.3 [and मुहूर्तान्यैष्टकानि with an allowable change in gender in I.4. the *Amarakoṣa* I.119 sanctions this in later usage even.] for मुहूर्ता येष्टिहा A reference to *Śat. Br.* X. 4.1.2. (v), X. 4.2.18. (vi), makes this reading unimpeachable. [The change to इष्टिहा on the fancied basis of *Muṇḍaka* I.2.7,10, which is the reading in commentaries (e. g. of Śaṅkarānanda) is certainly purposive as hinted at by Prof. Renou.] There is a covert allusion to bricks the materials from which the palace of Brahman is constructed—a point substantiated by references to the lakes, the river, the trees, the garden, the fort and the gate-keepers associated with a city of a region. The य in यैष्टका is accounted for by Pāṇini VIII. 3.17.

(6) सजलं संस्थानम् for सालज्जं संस्थानम् or सालज्यं संस्थानम्, the fantastic reading of Śaṅkarānanda. Belvalkar's emendation साल्लजं (A.I.O.C. Madras) and सल्लजं (History of Indian Philosophy, II.p. 272) should better be modified to सजलं in conformity with तज्जलानिग्न्युपासीत (*Chānd.* III. 14.1.). Moreover it will have a realistic application to the fort denoting surrounded by water.

(7) पुष्पाण्यादायावयतः (present tense dual) for.......दायावयतौ and वयन्ति. The *Mbh.* references (I.3.144,147) (vii) set all doubts at rest and suggest that there have been lacunae between यावयतः and चै व which we discuss when we take over the doubtful cases.

(v) यावन्ति वाव मे ज्योतींषि तावत्यो म इष्टकाः। तस्य वा एतस्य संवत्सरस्य प्रजापतेः ... संवत्सरो वै प्रजापतिरग्निः........अहोरात्राणि ज्योतींषि ता इष्टकाः इष्टका is generally used as feminine as Pāṇini 6.3.65 testifies. Hemacandra in his liṅgānuśāsana holds the same view. The form ऐष्टक is not ungrammatical.

(vi) स पञ्चदशाह्नो रूपाण्यपश्यदात्मनस्तन्वो मुहूर्तान् ... तद् यद् मुहुस्त्रायन्ते तस्मान्मुहूर्ताः।

(vii) अपश्यत् ... भूतान्यजस्रं भुवनानि चैव as cited in f.n. (iv), also Mbh. 1.3.58. शुक्लं वयन्तौ नरसा सुवेमावधिष्यंयन्तावसितं विवस्वतः। ‖(≡Rv. VI,9). विवस्वतः विवस्वन्तं सूर्यं सृष्ट्वा तद्द्वाराऽसितं कृष्णं रात्रिजातं शुक्लं दिनजातं च तन्तुस्थानीयं तेन संवत्सररूपं पटे वयन्तौ ... तेन च पटेन ... सुवेमौ सुमार्गौ ... देवपितृयानौ अधिश्चयन्तौ उपस्थापयन्तौ। Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary).

(8) उद्गीथोऽपश्रयः for उद्गीथोऽपरश्र यः, उद्गीथोऽपरश्रयः, उद्गीथ उपश्रीः । The *Ath. Sam.* paraphernalia (XV. 2&3) which is followed here closely with minor interchanges (e. g. ऋचः प्राञ्चस्तन्तवो यजूंषि तिर्यञ्चः । वेद आस्तरणं ब्रह्मोपबर्हणं सामासाद उद्गीथोऽपश्रयः) prompts this emendation. Should we not read in both उद्गीथ उपश्रयः?

The doubtful cases arise in connection with :—

(I). the second quarter of the second verse. The Jai. Br. printed text reads द्वादशोपमासस्त्रयोदशेन पित्रा. The generally printed reading of the *Kau.* is द्वादशत्रयोदशमासरे द्वादशत्रयोदशेन. Apart from the violation of the metre (we should remember that the verses are in the nature of ūhas made by an expert metricist), the grammatical anomaly on which Renou's analogy of द्वित्राः and त्रिचतुराः is of questionable application raises doubts about the actual reading. The ṛṣi was thinking of Rv. I 25-8. Should we not read उपजायमानस्त्रयोदशो द्वादशेन पित्राः? The nouns in त्रयोदशो and द्वादशेन as in the Rv. passage noted and in विचक्षणात् and पञ्चदशात् in the first verse are supplied by the dictum विशेषणमात्रप्रयोगो विशेष्यप्रतिपत्तौ। The Kau. Br. (XXV. 11) has एतावान् वै संवत्सरो यदेष त्रयोदशो मासस्त्रयोदशेन सर्वः संवत्सर आप्तो भवति. The metre is not thereby disturbed. But this is a bold emendation.

(II) विभु प्रमितम् (viii) in I. 3. Some editions including that of Renou print this as a compound word obviously on the basis of the Ch. passage where it fits in as an adjective to āyatana and follow Śaṅkarānanda's interpretation. The upasargas are here interchanged from what they are in the *Ch. Up.* (VIII. 5. 3.), in which case following Śat. Br. III. 1. 4-7, Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra VII. 14-18, and the Pariśiṣṭa definition of Vimita, Monier Williams' S. E. Dict. notes the sense of the building or hall has a more authoritative sanction. प्रभु (Ch. Up. VII 6.1.), refers to majestic potentates as Śaṅkara explains. विभु as rendered by Belvalkar is an item of enumeration and the Christian parallel in the symbolism also leads us that way, where the measurement as in the Pariśiṣṭa is hinted. The root मा is commonly used in connection with building and architecture and is, therefore, quite appropriate.

(III) पुष्पाण्यादायानयतो वै च जगानि........Belvalkar's emendation वैराजगानि is not very happy and is rather vague. The accepting of the equation of a later statement in this section of the Up. (1.5 वैरूपवैराजे) which Renou picks up, does not help solution either. The mss. materials point to

(viii) The order, manner of arrangement and technology in the Kau. passage are almost on a par with what we find in the Praś. Up. (III. 18.) :—उत्पत्तिमायतिं स्थानं विभुत्वं चैव पञ्चधा। अध्यात्मं चैव प्राणस्य विज्ञायामृतमश्नुते।

वै च जगानि as the reading Renou's conjecture (जगानि=जगन्ति) derives considerable support from the Mbh. passage already mentioned (I. 3. 147) of which he is apparently unaware. There is one objection possible and that is that this is a rare form of the word. I am inclined to think that the reading was like वयतो भूतानि वै च जगानि (or perhaps in the analogous form वयन्त्यौ भूतानि). With such an emendation introduces a new sentence which is, to say the least, a clumsy device. This can be avoided if we take the reading to be दायावयन्त्यौ where आवयन्त्यौ may be connected with the previous as well as with the following portions by the काकाक्षिगोलक maxim or to be दायावयन्त्यौ to be construed with the apsarasas as well as is the case in Rv. VII. 74. 5. 8. (यमेन ततं परिधिं वयन्तोऽप्सरस उपसेदुः यमेन ततं परिधिं वयिष्यन्) implying thereby a close similarity with the pre-occupations of one of the Fate Sisters in Greek mythology.

(IV). अम्बाश्चाम्बायवीश्च...अम्बया नद्यः No dependable explanation of this line is forthcoming. अम्बायवीश्च (अम्बायवश्च is what the St. Pet. Dict. seems to take it though that reading is open to question) is obscure. अम्बा in a Vedic passage as indicated in the Vedic Index is the name of one of the seven stars in the constellation Kṛttikā and by some stretch of fancy अम्बायवीः (in plural) may refer to the other attendant stars. The names अम्बा, अम्बाला, अम्बिका as in a Vāj. Sam. passage occur to our mind; but we are not sure. This introduces the difficulty, heightened by the absence of any finite verb in the clause concerned. In the Ch. Up. (VIII. 5; 3.) we have ऐरम्मदीय सरः which introduces an element of effulgence something like what we find in the account of the route to mokṣa in the Yājñavalkya Smṛti (III. 166-168). In the Up. passage we have a pool which might have been later turned into a river just as the seas are and nya appear here in the form of a lake.

The Vaj. Sam. passage (XXIII. 8.) and we may note that the Mbh. (I. 102. 3. and I. 105. 37) knows Ambā etc. as apsaropama and Surasutopama read in the context of another passage there (XV. 15. 18.) where we have a mention of apsarasas by pairs whom the commentator Mahīdhara (XV. 15.) following old traditions which uvata notes, regards as attendants may explain the reading नद्यः not in the sense of dancing girls but of attendants in general. The difficulty however is that the word नटी as the reading suggested by Belvalkar is a new one in a Vedic text. (We have नट in the Maitr. Up. IV. 2, a Up. of dubious date and authority). We need not take अम्बया as the reading as अम्बयः is a well-known Vedic word (*vide* Kau. Br. XII. 2, St. Petersburg Dictionary and Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance). But the parallelism of this part of the passage with R. V. V. 47 (ix) 5 and 6. (ix) is so striking that one would be tempted to think that in the last part of the sentence here we have three different types of mention of springs, streams and rivers corresponding to द्वे, अन्ये मातरः। The St. Pet. Dic. thinks that अम्बि in the *Rv.* passage and अम्बयः of the *Kau.* passage are identical. It is however more likely that अम्बा etc. may be proper names and as

such in the singular number and well assort with आवयत: (which may be read as आवयन्त्यौ as integral part of the long sentence आवयन्त्यौ भूतानि च) The reading in that case with the filling up of the lacunae as proposed in III. will be आवयन्त्यौ भूतानि च वै जगानि अम्बा चाम्बायवी चाप्सरसौ चाम्बयो नद्य:। The Nṛsiṃha P. Tāpani's (III) mention of ambika as brahmayoni, the *Bahvṛc Up.* account of the same (bālāmbikā) as brahmānanda kalā and the Purāna cum Tantra concept of ambikā the Great mother, as in the Saptaśatī irrespective of Her diverse manifestations are well-known. But are we not taking too much of liberty specially as the mss. material is hopelessly inadequate?

The tenor of the whole passage is the insistence on personal immortality like the quest for Vulcan or the unbinding of Prometheus in Western mythology. Was it implied in Maitreyī's appeal येनाहं नामृतास्याम् apparently covered over and renounced in Yājñavalkya's discourses? It is coterminous with *brahmaloka*, a vision of which with all its attendant pleasures and amenities, the acme of all imaginary desires सत्या अनृता-पिधाना: कामा: Chānd. VIII. 3. 1-5; Kaṭha. I. 1.12, 25:— स्वर्गे लोके न भयं किंचनास्ति न तत्र त्वं न रजया बिभेति। उभे तीर्त्वाऽशनायापिपासे शोकातिगो मोदते स्वर्गलोके ॥ (12) इमा रामा: सरथा: सतूर्या न रोहश लम्भनीया मनुष्यै:। (25) Aitareya (III. 4.).. अमुष्मिन् स्वर्गे लोके सर्वान् कामानाप्त्वा मृत: समभवत्) is met within more than one Up. text. It is not certainly (x) the transcendental world beyond desires as in Śankara's interpretation in Bṛ Ār. IV.3.31. The whole thing is couched in the ideology and phraseology of sacrifice (āra=ṛta, ila, viathra— mite, muhūrta, islālā etc.), in which the active elements are the time forces, the ṛtus as ṛtvijs.. The spiritual essence as Prajāpati and subsequently as brahman, strives to maintain its continuity after death (मृत्यु) which as संवत्सर or the Time ego (Śat. Br. X. 4. 3. 1.) exhausts the Spirit eager for अपुनर्मृत्यु and (ix) as प्रजापति for he is in all and of all makes the spirit.

(ix) इदं वपुर्निवचनं जनासश्चरन्ति यन्नद्यस्तस्थुराप:। द्वे यदीं बिभृतो मातुरन्ये इहेह जाते यम्यो सबन्धः॥ वितन्वते धियो अस्मा अपांसि वस्त्रा पुत्राय मातरो वयन्ति। Sayana's note यम्या यम्ये नियमनीये युग्मभूते वा.......... ....on the first and मोहमाना दृष्टान्तो वध्वो वधुस्थानीया रश्मये (cf. Yāska's interpretation as raśmi (X. 47) and the textual background on the second verse seem to connect these vague terms with ऐरम्मदीय सर: of the chānd passage. आपो वा अम्बय: (Kau. Br. XII. 2. and Ait. Br. V. 4. 10.) Sāyaṇa on I. 23. 16. अम्बयो मातृस्थानीया: and on II. 41. 16 अम्बितमे मातृणां श्रेष्ठे should be noted. Vide also the rendering in Keith's "The Brāhmaṇ as of the Ṛgveda" (H.O.C.).

(x) ये प्रजा नेषिरे धीरास्तेऽमृतत्वं हि भेजिरे....इमं मानवमावर्तं नावर्तन्ते अभूतसंप्लवं स्थानममृतत्वं हि भाष्यते आपेक्षमेव चामृतत्वं न साक्षान्मोक्ष इति गम्यते [Śaṅkara on Chānd. Up. V. 10. 1. 2.] The idea of mukti (e.g. Śveta. I. 6. 7. 12; Praśna VI. 5 Muṇḍaka. III. 2. 8.) is different. Vide Keith-Philosophy and Religion of the Veda. (pp. 583-84.)

strive after devayāna leading to satyaloka and brahmaloka, the ultimate repository of prāṇa 9 Praśna. (I.8.9.). Satya and tapas that are introduced in I.2. are also insisted on in other Up. as in Prasna I.15. The Kau.'s conception of satya as distinct from that of the statement elsewhere as in Chand. VIII. 3.5 नाविश्वासमानि and. असङ्गो ह्ययं पुरुषः (Bṛ. Ār. IV. 4.) is gathered from 1.6. (किं तत् यत् सत्यमिति तत्त्वमिति). It is different from ātman in its own light and right absolved from desires (e. g. in the Bṛ. Ār. IV. 3. 8. 15; IV. 4. 1-9 and Tai. Up. Bhṛguvallī 10. 5. and Brahmānandavallī 8. स एको मानुष आनन्दः संक्रामति and X यतो वाचो निवर्तन्ते कुतश्चन). That this is no easy quest is clear from the pictures of the Brahmaloka which however abounding in sense-amenities in the shape of इल्यवृक्ष etc. irā standing for food, or strength (Nir. VI. 19; VII. 8.) is guarded by door keepers Indra and Prajāpati exacting compliance with duties and responsibilities (equation ṛta = āra hrada) a symbol of its being encompassed by the obligations (cf. Sāma Sam. II. 2.2.9) of 108 moments in the shape of iṣṭakas constituting the edifice of the divine city, corresponding to 360 30 moments of Indian computation and is no mere routine duty but is the product of prajna, the palenquin of the throne of prāṇa round which has centered the full discourse (xi) which aims at inculcating the worship of prāṇa as the brahman as in Tai. Up. II. 3, in which the mere reckoners of pros and cons (सम्प्रतिविदः) are routed out and thoughtful knowledge leads to desired goal. (Kena. II. 4.)

A full point by point exposition of the passage involves a collation of the materials of Vedic texts such as those noted above. So also does the unfolding of the details of the symbolism in the latter part which by no means is an idle phantasy and is a nice mosaic in which early Vedic thought has blended admirably with later speculations, elaborate and far reaching in their consequence. The passages in the Mbh. already cited and other less known passages of that great epic; sometimes on a different analogy as that of a ratha (Chānd) e. g. VI. 34.17-38 (I. 120. 7-13, II.37-43,). अदितिर्दितिर्दनुस्त्वैव... वै देव्यौ देवतां च मातरः। ...उपतस्युः प्रजापतिम् ॥ giving over and above an eschatalogy, on account of brahmaloka and the council-chamber of Prajāpati and of Brahman) and of the Purāṇas in their changed ideology and phraseology (xii) (e. g. Vāyu VIII. 124-127, Bhāgavata. III. 32; IV. 29.18-40; V. 17.11-14) have harped on a similar line of thought with emphasis on certain items which are prominent in the Kau. passage. इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपबृंहयेत् is a warning for all time. It is also not at all unlikely that coming as

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(xi) एता भूतमात्राः प्रज्ञामात्रास्वर्पिताः प्रज्ञामात्राः प्राणे अर्पिताः। एष प्राण एव प्रज्ञात्माऽऽनन्दोऽजरोऽमृतः...एष लोकपाल एष लोकाधिपतिरेष सर्वेश्वरः। स म आत्मेति विद्यात् (Kau. III. 9). Also Ait. Up. III. 3,4.:-यत् किंचेदं प्राणि जङ्गमं .. च सर्वं तत् प्रज्ञानेत्रं प्रज्ञाते प्रतिष्ठितं प्रज्ञानेत्रो लोकः प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठा प्रज्ञानं ब्रह्म। स एतेन प्रज्ञेनात्मनाऽस्माल्लोकादुत्क्रम्यामुष्मिन् स्वर्गे लोके सर्वान् कामानाप्त्वाऽमृतः समभवत्।

(xii) e.g. in the Brahmapurāṇa (Chaps. 214-225: Anandasrama edn). A description.

it does in a late phase of the Vedic period when as more or less in all phases of Indian thought, it incorporates a fusion of divergent streams of culture. Cowell's notes of about a century ago which could not but have been scrappy, Belvalkar's analogy of the literature of the Orphic Mysteries (History of Indian Philosophy, Vol. II.pp 272) and the modern scholar's attempt at investigating the parallelism with early Catholic thesis on the theme, thought, which in its turn inevitably draws much from Assyrian and Sumerian thought currents (*viz.* St. John's Revelation) read together bring in much food for discussion and may turn to be the searchlight illumining the dark corners of a little known section of this important Upanisad.

Continuation of (*xa*).

The *narakas* (Chap. 214. 18-19) will serve by contrast to explain the symbolism of the *Kau.* passage:—

न तत्र वृत्तच्छाया वा न तडागाः सरांसि च । न वाप्यो दीर्घिका वाऽपि न कूपो न प्रपा न सभा । न मण्डपो नायतनं न नद्यो न च पर्वताः । न किंचिदाश्रयस्थानं विद्यते तत्र वर्त्मनि ॥ (The fancies of hosts of tanks, lakes, streams and rivers are common in both the accounts, and in St John's Revelation we read of the fiery lake of the nether regions). The same purāṇa (Chap, 214. 104-128) describes as well the journey of the Spirit through higher regions that are all studded with gems, diamonds etc. and peopled with *gandharvas* and *apsarasas.*

(2) The Vedic Concept of Metres

by

Dr. Siddheshwar Verma

The unique nature of the vedic concept of metres.

The Vedic concept of metres has no parallel in the history of human culture. No other literature or culture has conceived of metres as co-partners with gods in the receipt of divine worship, as instruments of the creation of the universe, as playing active parts in the Politics of Mythology, and as being the support of all that ever exists.

As an independent category, metres have been mentioned for the first time in the Ṛgveda, 10.90.9, where along with *ṛcas*, the *yajus*, and the *Sāmans*, the metres have been mentioned as original creations in the universe (**तस्माद् यज्ञात् सर्वहुत ऋचः सामानि जज्ञिरे । छन्दांसि जज्ञिरे तस्माद्यजुस्तस्मादजायत**). This separate mention is notable, for though mention of *ṛcas*, as "verses" already suggests that metres must have existed in Vedic poetry, this separate specification shows that metres as an important crystallised and organised concept had a very ancient origin in the history of Indian thought. The function par *excellence* of metre, *viz.* measure, has been definitely specified in Ṛ. V. 1.164.24, where it is stated that "every *ṛc-verse* is measured by metres like Gāyatrī" (**गायत्रेण प्रति मिमीते अर्कम्**).

Etymology of Chandas.

With the antiquity of this concept is closely associated the term used for metre, *viz. chandas*—, the etymology of which had become a problem even for Vedic texts. Thus T. S. 5.6.6.1 connects the word with √chad— "to cover or protect", basing this interpretation on a legend in which the gods, being unable to approach a fire piled by Prajāpati, clothed themselves in metres: this covering enabled them to approach the intensity of the fire (**ते छन्दोभिरात्मानं छादयित्वोपायन्, तच्छन्दसां छन्दस्त्वम्**). It is not clear how far this legend represented the germ of a later concept, *viz.* the mellowing influence of metre when the Supreme Reality proved to be too dazzling to the Individual soul, but it certainly illustrates the protective aspects of metres to be dealt with in detail below. The Ś. B. 8.5.2.1 similarly derives *chandas*-from √chad—, but the meaning attributed to this verb here is "to please", being based on the legend that Prajāpati, when freed from death after the creation of the world, asked for food. The Gods gave him food which was metres from one point of view. The metres pleased Prajāpati, and "as they pleased him, they are called metres (*chandāṁsi*), (**यदस्याच्छदयंस्तस्माच्छन्दांसि**). The same semantic aspect of *chandas*—appears in Ś. B. 4.4.3.1, where the mutual gratification of metres and gods, has been

thus pointed out: "whenever the metres, gratified the gods, then the gods gratified the metres (तद् यत्र छन्दांसि देवान् समतर्पयन्नथ छन्दांसि देवाः समतर्पयन्).

Yāska (Nir. 7.12) similarly derives *chandas*—from √chad— "to protect" (छन्दांसि छादनात्) and Durga (Nir. 7.12) quotes a passage from a Brāhmaṇa which means that as the gods, afraid of death, protected themselves with metres, so metres are called *chandas*— यद्देभिरात्मानमच्छादयन् देवा मृत्योर्बिभ्यतस्तच्छन्दसां छन्दस्त्वम्) cf. a similar passage in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad 1.4; Rajwade निरुक्तचें मराठी भाषान्तर, 1935, p. 553. This possibly refers to the magical effects of verses, serving as "protective texts" (cf. Weber, Indische Studien, 8, p. 3), Vināyaka, while sticking to the same literal sense *viz.* "to guard", gives the interesting interpretation that *chandāṁsi* are so called because they guard the letters from going outside measure (छन्दांसि वर्णांश्छादयन्ति संघातनियमेन बहिर्भावनिवारणात्), on Śāṅkh Brāhmaṇa 11.5, cf, Weber ibid, p. 3.

According to Weber (I. b., p. 4) *chandas*—can be derived from √chand—, not from √chad—. Formally and psychologically, this view seems to be acceptable, for he refers to √chand—listed in the Nighaṇṭu in the sense of *kāntikarmāṇaḥ* "to please". Moreover, the root √*chand*—agrees with the form *chandas*—better than the root √chad—. And the meaning "to please" is not only consistent with the two legends mentioned above, but psychologically also the pleasant aspects of *chandas*—"metre" would be universally recognised.

The syllabic nature of Vedic metres.

The syllabic nature of Vedic metres was recognized by the Ṛgveda, where in 1.164.24 it is stated that "the seven metres are formed of syllables" (अक्षरेण मिमते सप्त वाणीः) Generally, the number of prominent metres is said to be *three* in the Vedic texts, though sometimes the number is said to be seven.

The most prominent Vedic metres.

The R. V. 1.164.23 mentions the Gāyatrī, Triṣṭubh and the Jagatī as the metres. This three-fold concept of metre corresponds to the three-fold concept of the universe so predominant in Vedic thought. Thus V. S. 31.18 speaks of the brilliance of *gharma* in heaven and in Gāyatrī, in the atmosphere and in Triṣṭubh, on the earth and in Jagatī (या ते घर्म दिवि-शुक् गायत्र्याम् ...या ते घर्मान्तरिक्षे शुग्...त्रिष्टुभाग्नीध्रे .... या ते घर्म पृथिव्यां शुग या जगत्याम्). A similar three-fold concept of metres has been represented by the three steps of Viṣṇu in V. S. 1.27 the three steps being "enclosed" by the Gāyatrī, the Triṣṭubh and the Jagatī respectively.

But Ṛ. V. also speaks of seven metres in 1.164.24: "the seven metres are formed of syllables" (अक्षरेण मिमते सप्त वाणीः). Ś. B. 9.5.2.8 also

speaks of seven metres, though neither of these texts specifies the metres concerned.

Though the Anuṣṭubh occupies a prominent place in later Vedic literature, it has been only hinted in Ṛ. V. by the adjectival form *ānuṣṭubhasya* in 10.181.1, in the phrase आनुष्टुभस्य हविषः "of the offering (gharma—) accompanied with the Anuṣṭubh metre". V.S. however, definitely mentions the Anuṣṭubh in several passages, *e.g.* in 11.11 it is stated that Savitar dug clay out of the earth with the help of the Anuṣṭubh metre (सविता पृथिव्या अध्याभरद् आनुष्टुभेन छन्दसा). For further details, cf. below "the Hierarchy of metres" pp. 12—13.

This prominence, accorded only to some of the metres, was not accidental, but was closely associated with the Vedic evaluation of objects in the scheme of Vedic life. The Gāyatrī, strictly connected with Agni, a deity that was the life and soul of the Vedic Sacrifice, came to occupy a position so great that the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (edited by R. L. Mitra 1872) I.31. (p.17) speaks of "Gāyatrī....on which the universe rests" (यस्यां सर्वमिदं श्रितम्).

Again, the Triṣṭubh metre is one in which the hymns to Indra have been generally composed: it appealed so much to the immagination of the Vedic Aryan in this respect that in A. B. 3.21 it is said that Indra claimed the Triṣṭubh among metres.

The mythology of metres.

Perhaps the most striking feature of Vedic metres is the place they occupy in Mythology. They are Co-sharers, with the gods, of the offerings in a sacrifice, Ś. B. 1.3.2.6. states that "the sacrifice....is performed for the gods, the Seasons and the metres" (स एष यज्ञस्तायमानो देवेभ्यस्तायत ऋतुभ्यश्छन्दोभ्यः), the metres being thus one of the three sharers of sacrificial offerings. V. S. 24.12 specifies the animals to be sacrificed to the various metres, *viz.* 3 sheep to Gāyatrī, 5 sheep to Triṣṭubh and a 2-year old steer or cow to Jagatī (त्र्यवयो गायत्र्यै, पंचावयस्त्रिष्टुभे दित्यवाहो जगत्यै). Vedic texts, however, suggest that this allotment of shares to metres had a history, that originally the metres, did not enjoy this honour, for in T. S. 2.6.3.2 it is stated that the metres ran away from the Gods (saying) "we will not bear the offering if we have no share". The Gods then reserved the offering for the Metres, dividing it into 4 parts. T. S. 5.1.1.1 mentions a similar protest on the part of the Metres; the Gods then reserved for them an oblation to Savitṛ. Thus even this honoured position for Metres came from the Gods, not from man, suggesting the mythological origin of the honour accorded to Metres. T. S. 2.4.3. 1—2 also mentions an *iṣṭi* called the गायत्रीष्टि, in honour of the Gāyatrī, while Ś. B. 3.4.1.15 prescribes a sacrificial cake on 9 potsherds to Gāyatrī + Om, suggesting that the metres had not only a share of the offerings, they were also directly worshipped.

T. S. 3.4.9.1 speaks of Metres as "Minor deities" (छन्दांसि वै देविकाः) while Ś. B. 9.5.1.39 speaks of Metres as "goddesses" (छन्दांसि देव्यः).

The place of Metres among deities

V. S. 8.47 shows metres as representing various deities; thus Soma juice is addressed as "Gāyatrī for Agni, Triṣṭubh for Indra and Jagatī for all the Gods". (अग्नये त्वा गायत्र छन्दसं गृह्णामि, इन्द्राय त्वा त्रिष्टुप्छन्दसं गृह्णामि, विश्वेभ्यस्त्वा देवेभ्यो जगच्छन्दसं गृह्णामि).

But there are other passages which raise metres higher even than the Gods. Thus Ś. B. 1.8.2.14 states that "Metres are the Gods of the gods" (देवानां वै देवाः सन्ति छन्दांस्येव), while in Ś. B. 3.2.4. 1—2 it is stated that the gods owe their divinity to the Metres, for it was the Metre Gāyatrī which brought Soma and consequently divinity to them "Soma was in Heaven, and the Gods were here on earth" (दिवि वै सोम आसीत् । अथेह देवाः) S. B. 3.9.3.10 definitely states that "it was through the metres that the gods reached the heavenly worlds" (छन्दोभिर्हि देवाः स्वर्गं लोकं समाश्नुवत).

The basic concept in these passages is the power attributed to Mantras, and as these Mantras were generally metrical, the one category metre, defied in various forms, has been deduced therefrom as being the ultimate power to which the gods owed their divinity.

The acme of the defication of metres is reached when in Ś. B. 8.2 3.9 it is stated that Prajāpati himself "indeed became metre" (प्रजापतिरेव छन्दोऽभवत्) while in Ś.B. 10.3.1.1. the whole body of Prajāpati has been depicted in terms of various metres. "The Gāyatrī is the breath of Prajāpati, the Uṣṇih the eye, the Anuṣṭubh the voice, the Bṛhatī the mind, the Paṅkti the ear....". This view is not foreign to the concept of Śabda Brahma: if poetical inspiration ultimately originates from a superhuman source, there is no reason why verification also should not proceed from a similar source.

Vedic metres, conceived as divine, animate beings, are predominantly the associates of various gods. The most important of their associations is that with Agni. In T. S. 2.2.5.5 Agni himself is called *gāyatra*, because Agni, it is said, was born from Prajāpati's mouth along with the Gāyatrī(गायत्रोऽग्निः). Now the verses addressed to Agni are mostly composed in Gāyatrī, consequently the association of both was set up. But Ś. B. 6.7.2.6 goes further, and identifies all the metres with the limbs of Agni (छन्दांस्याङ्गानि). The ritualistic basis of this concept is evident. Agni being the indispensable element of nearly all Vedic Ritual, all metres were naturally associated with him. But side by side with this ritualistic basis, it is possible that this composite concept also included poetical and therefore metrical fervour, which was figuratively associated with Agni. The Triṣṭubh is the next metre associated with Indra who "claimed it as his own metre"

Metres as associates of various beings & objects

(A. B. 3.21) as hymns celebrating Indra are almost entirely composed in the Triṣṭubh metre and consequently "the Triṣṭubh is the military order" (Ś. B. 1.3.5.4). Again, very close is the association of metres with Soma; T. S. 6.2.1.2 speaks of metres as "the retinue of King Soma" and it was a metre, *viz.* Gāyatrī, which had brought down Soma from Heaven. Now this concept, which associates metres with Soma, suggests a connection between poetical form and inspiration, the latter being represented by Soma. A. B. 8.6 further associates the metre Uṣṇiḥ with Savitar, Bṛhatī with Bṛhaspati, Paṅkti with Mitrāvaruṇa and Jagatī with Viśve Devāḥ. Piṅgala in his *Chandaḥsūtram* (B. I Calcutta, 1877) III 63 similarly speaks of Agni, Savitā, Soma, Bṛhaspati, Varuṇa, Indra and Viśve Devāḥ as the deities of metres (अग्निः सविता सोमो बृहस्पतिर्वरुणा इन्द्रो विश्वेदेवाः). Next to the Gods, the metres are associated with the Sacrifice. T. S. 3.1.2.1 speaks of the creation of metres after the sacrifice was created, and a legend in the same passage states that metres were originally more powerful than the sacrifice, but Prajāpati, in rescue of the Gods, took the strength of the metres and bestowed it upon the Gods. It was in the interest of the Divine order, that metres were forced to surrender their powers to the requirement of the Sacrifice.

Various functions of Metres.

The leading function of Metre, *viz.* Measure, as pointed out by R. V. has been already mentioned above on p. 1. Many other functions have been attributed to metres, some of which may be noted as follows:—

(1) The most notable function of Vedic metre is said to be their Protective Power, as one of the etymologies, discussed above, indicates. Thus in the Rājasūya ceremony, the Yajamāna is made to ascend to various directions with a text from V. S. 10—10—14. "Ascend to the East, may Gāyatrī protect thee; ascend to the South, may Triṣṭubh protect thee; ascend to the West, may Jagatī protect thee (प्राचीमारोह गायत्री त्वावतु, दक्षिणमारोह त्रिष्टुप् त्वावतु, प्रतीचीमारोह जगती त्वावतु). Ś.B. I.2.5. 1—6 gives a legend in which Viṣṇu was guarded "(enclosed)" by the Gods with the metres "probably in order to defend him from the powers of darkness" as Kuhn, quoted by Eggeling Ś.B. (Eng. translation) Part I, pp. 59—6, suggests. Similarly V. S. 10.14 gives a prayer which runs "May Paṅkti protect thee (the Yajamāna)". A. B. 4.5 gives a legend in which Metres help Indra in order to drive Asuras out of darkness.

(2) Metres have notable acquisitional characteristics. It was by Metres, says T. S. 1.7.5.4, that the gods won these worlds; by means of Metres Prajāpati recovered cattle (ibid., 1.5.9.7). The steps of Viṣṇu were effected by Metres (V. S. 2.25).

(3) Metres are said to be desire-granting. Thus T. S. 3.4.9.1—5 gives a long list of desires which can be fulfilled if offerings are made to metres. He who desires offspring, cattle, village, freedom from illness, brilliance etc. should worship the metres.

(4) Metres particularly give power. Thus T. S. 4.4.12.3 speaks of "manly strength" proceeding from the Anuṣṭubh metre. In T. S. 3.3.7. 1—2 Prajāpati is said to have taken the strength from the metres and bestowed it upon the Gods. In Ś. B. 8.5.2.1 metres served as a nourishment for Prajāpati himself.

(5) Metres have an elevating function. "It was through the metres that the gods reached the heavenly abodes" (Ś. B. 5.9.3.10 छन्दोभिर्हि देवाः स्वर्गं लोकं समाश्नुवत), and it is by metres that men go to the celestial world (Ś. B. 6.5.4.7).

(6) Metres play a prominent and effective part in the Politics of Mythology. Thus S. B. 1.4.1.34 describes a legend in which Gāyatrī sided with the Gods in their struggle with the Asuras and the Gods won. A. B. 3.13 relates how the metre Anuṣṭubh fought for its right of the first place. Prajāpati had allotted the Gāyatrī to Agni but Anuṣṭubh to Acchāvāka. Thereupon Anuṣṭubh protested and so Anuṣṭubh was brought to the premier position in Prājapati's Soma sacrifice. Ś.B. 1.6.4.2 relates how, after Indra had concealed himself after hurling his thunder-bolt on Vṛtra fearing lest he had not brought him down, Agni and Bṛhatī among metres started for search of Indra.

(7) Metres serve as instruments of the creation of the world. Thus Ś. B. 6.5.2.4 (Cf. V. S. 11.58) states that the Vasus fashioned the terrestrial world by means of the Gāyatrī metre (एतद्लोकम् वसवो गायत्रेण छन्दसाकुर्वन्). In Ś. B. 1.3.2.16 it is stated that from the Anuṣṭubh all this universe originates.

(8) Every metre is said to possess certain characteristics which it imparts to the user. Thus Ś. B, 6.4.3.2 states that "for one who desires brilliance, he should conclude with a Gāyatrī verse; for one who desires cattle, with a Jagatī verse, for one who desires support, with an Anuṣṭubh verse, for one who desires, the sacrifice, with a Paṅkti verse. Cf. T. S. 5.1.3.5 "The Gāyatrī is brilliance, the Anuṣṭubh the sacrifice, the Triṣṭubh power" (तेजो वै गायत्री यज्ञोऽनुष्टुप् इन्द्रियं त्रिष्टुप्). Cf. A. B. 1.5 "Gāyatrī should be used by one who desires brilliance etc. (तेजो वै ब्रह्मवर्चसं गायत्रीं).

That metres are divine creations, has been definitely stated in Ś. B. 11.5.4.17 :—

The Cosmology of Metres.

"Creatures are of two kinds, divine and human—these human creatures are born from the womb, and the divine creatures, being the metres, are born from the mouth" (छन्दांसि वै दैव्यः प्रजास्तानि मुखतो जनयते). But while there is no difference of opinion on the divine origin of metres, the specific nature of their ultimate origin has been differently described. According to Ś. B. 1.7.10.17, Prajāpati first created from his mouth Agni together with the Gāyatrī metre, then from his chest and arms Indra and the Triṣṭubh metre. A similar view is expressed in T. S. 7.1.1.4, Agni and Gāyatrī being first created from his mouth by Prajāpati.

But Ṡ. B. 3.6.2.2—5 states that Suparṇī begot the metres, out of which the Gāyatri fetched Soma from heaven (सा छन्दांसि ससृजे सा गायत्री दिवः सोममाहरत्). The name Suparṇī "fair-winged" suggests that the basic concept of the original ancestor of metres represented a bird, and soaring being a characteristic feature of birds the name was befittingly applied to the vehicles of all soaring Poetry, *viz.* Metres. Moreover, T. S. 6.1.6.2 identifies this Suparṇi with heaven. So this text also sticks to the divine origin of Metres. A third origin of metres (though the Creator was Prajāpati even here) is said to be seasons. Thus in Ṡ. B. 8.1.1.5.8; 8.1.1.2,5 it is stated "From out of the spring-season he fashioned the Gāyatrī metre. From out of the summer season he fashioned the Triṣṭubh metre" (गायत्री छन्दो वसन्तादृतोर्निरममिमीत त्रैष्टुभं छन्दो ग्रीष्मादृतोर्निरमिमीत) etc. This concept seems to be associated with the Vedic Ritual, in which all sacrificial activities were fundamentally, though partly, connected with the seasons, and the order of metres followed the order of the seasons.

Metres and Cosmic order.

Closely related to Cosmology is Cosmic order, in which Vedic Metres played a conspicuous part. Thus, according to Ṛ. V. 1.164.25, the Creator fixed the sun in the Heavens with the help of a Sāma based upon the Jagatī metre (जगता सिन्धुं दिव्यस्तभायत्). Similarly Ṡ.B. 12.8.3.24 states that the sun shines, as it is established on the Bṛhatī metre. The Kauṣītakī Brāhmaṇa 14.3 goes further and states that even the Divine order is founded on the metres, *e. g.* Agni with the Gāyatrī is fixed in this world of the Gāyatrī; Vāyu with the Triṣṭubh is fixed in the world of the Atmosphere connected with the Triṣṭubh: Yonder sun as connected with the Jagatī is fixed in Yonder world connected with Jagatī". This may remind one of the "music of spheres" in European literature. Cf. Addison's famous poem :—

"The spacious firmament on high

....

And spread the truth from pole to pole."

But according to the Vedic concept here, the organizing factor was not music, but metre. According to Weber (Indische Studien, 8, p. 11) the Gāyatrī, Triṣṭubh and Jagatī have been identified with the order heaven-atmosphere-earth in Ṛ. V. 1.164.23, but this verse is rather obscure. This identification, however, is clear in Ṡ. B. 1.8.2.10—13 and T. S. 4.2.1.1. In the former it is stated: "the atmosphere indeed is Triṣṭubh" (अन्तरिक्षम् उ वै त्रिष्टुप्). In the latter, the Gāyatrī represents the earth, Triṣṭubh the atmosphere and Jagatī, the sky (गायत्रं छन्द आरोह पृथिवीमनु विक्रमस्व... त्रैष्टुभं छन्द आरोहान्तरिक्षं विक्रमस्व जागतं छन्द आरोह दिवमनु विक्रमस्व).

Though actual order given here is somewhat different from the one suggested by Weber, yet the correspondence of metrical order with cosmic order is evident.

Metres and Vedic Ritual.

The unique importance which metres have acquired in Vedic literature may be partly explained by the conspicuous place which they occupy in Vedic Ritual. In various passages such as Ś. B. 4.4.3.1—1.8.2.8; 1.3.4.6 it has been repeatedly stated that metres carry the oblations to the gods, and this has been explained by T. S. 2.2.4.8 that Agni, with the help of metres, bears the oblations to the gods. This, in other words, means that metres were generally an essential feature of the Vedic sacrifice. Their connection with the sacrifice was held to be so close that in A.B. 3. 25. 27 it is stated that "the metres are the Sādhya gods; they first sacrificed to Agni with fire" (छन्दांसि वै साध्या देवास्तेऽग्निनाऽग्निमयजन्त). This passage is a comment on Ṛ. V. 2-3-23, 24 where (यज्ञेन यज्ञमयजन्त देवाः) occurs, which literally means: "the Gods sacrificed to the Yajña with the Yajña. In T. S. 3.3.7.1—2 it is stated that Prajāpati created the metres (immediately) after he had created the sacrifice. The peculiar development of Vedic metres was, therefore, an incident of the sacrifice. Moreover, metres have been identified even with the elements of the sacrifice in V. S. 38.18, where the brilliance of *gharma* is said to be identical, with that of the Gāyatrī, the Triṣṭubh and the Jagatī. Similarly in Ś. B. 1.3.2.9 metres have been identified with the after-offerings, as it is said there: "the after-offerings are the metres". This clearly indicates that metres were held to be essential for at least some elements of the sacrifice. Again, T. S. 5.3.4.4 speaks of the Gāyatrī as "the beginning of the sacrifice". Though this statement, as it stands, may not be technically correct, yet it indicates a metrical beginning as being the essential feature of the sacrifice.

That metres were believed to be of benedictory influence in the Ritual is further indicated by the prayer, during the horse-sacrifice, (V. S. 8.5) that "Vasus may anoint thee (the horse) with the Gāyatrī metre" (वसवस्त्वाञ्जन्तु गायत्रेण छन्दसा) etc. Even some isolated ceremonial functions, such as churning of fire, were believed to be the work of metres, as is detailed in V. S. 5.2 "I churn thee with the Gāyatrī metre" (गायत्रेण त्वा छन्दसा मन्थामि). Even the urn (*ukhā*) was produced, by the gods, with the help of the Anuṣṭubh metre etc., as described in V. S. 11.58, while V. S. 4.24 speaks of the three "metrical" shares of Soma, in phrases like, "this is thy share in connection with the Gāyatrī (एष ते गायत्रो भागः) etc.

Imagery in the concept of metres.

By far the most fundamental aspect of Vedic metres is the imagery which has been used in representing them. The wealth of imagery used in this connection must be the creation of a highly imaginative people. Thus Ś. B. 8.6.2.6—14 represents metres in a complete bird-shape: the Gāyatrī is the head, Triṣṭubh the chest, Jagatī, the hips, Anuṣṭubh the thighs, Bṛhatī the ribs, Uṣṇiḥ, the neck, Paṅkti, the wings and Atichandas the belly of the supposed bird. While metres individually have been set up as separate and complete birds, *e.g.* note the legend of the Gāyatrī going up in the form of a hawk to fetch Soma (Ś. B. 6.1.6.1—2; A. B. 3.25—27), the representation in Ś. B. 8.6.2.6—14

presents metres collectively in the form of a single bird: this composite concept is a single unit, representing all metres as one entity. One could easily follow the Gāyatrī as being the head of this composite image, for Gāyatrī, as pointed out above, was taken to be beginning of the sacrifice, but the reasons for selecting specific metres for specific limbs of the bird are obscure.

How vital and vivid was the concept of Metres in Vedic life could be appreciated by recalling T. S. 4.3.5.1 in which each metre is represented by a calf or cattle of certain age: thus the Triṣṭubh is said to be a calf of 18 months, and Gāyatrī a calf of 2½ years, while the metre Satobṛhatī has been represented by a bull. It is difficult, in this age, to gauge the accuracy of this evaluation, but the conclusion seems to be unavoidable that the concept of metres must have been a very living force during the Vedic age. Again, the cosmic imagery used in the names bestowed upon metres could be realised by referring to T. S. 4.3.7.1, in which the various metres have been thus addressed. "Thou art Paṅkti metre, Jagatī metre, earth metre, atmosphere metre, sky metre, seasons metre, nakṣatra metre, mind metre, speech metre, female goat metre and horse metre".

When metres have been declared to be the limbs of Agni, imagery indicates a vigour in the concept of metres, suggesting, along with fervour, their close association with Ritual.

When in Ś. B. 13.2.2.19 it is said that the horse is of Anuṣṭubh nature and related to the Anuṣṭubh is the northern quarter (आनुष्टुभो वाऽश्वः आनुष्टुभैषा दिक), one has only to compare Ś. B. 8.3.1.12 which, in the first instance, identifies the directions with the metres: "the east being Gāyatrī, south Triṣṭubh, west Jagatī and north Anuṣṭubh", and as the horse was then believed to have originally come from the north, it was said to be of Anuṣṭubh nature".

Again, metres have been spoken in terms of gold in Ś. B. 6.3.1.41, where it is said: "golden is the one that consists of the metres" (हिरण्मयी ह्येषां या छन्दोमया). The metres were thus something exceedingly precious in Vedic life.

Metrical imagery has been sumptuously used in the Vedic Ritual. Thus an enormous number of bricks for the fire-altar has been identified with Metres in V. S. 14.18 the bricks are called the Mā metre, the Pramā metre, the Pratimā metre etc. In V. S. 12.5 a prayer runs "O fourth step! Mount Anuṣṭubh and traverse the directions" (आनुष्टुभं छन्द आरोह दिशोऽनुक्रमस्व). Here the Anuṣṭubh metre has been imagined to be a super-spatial vehicle. Metrical imagery often shows a linguistic basis: thus in Ś. B. 12.8.3.12 it is prescribed that an offering should be made with Jagatī verses, for animals of *Jāgata* (movable) nature: by means of the Jagatī he thus secures cattle for him". The metre Virāj, according to T. S. 7.1.1.1 is "the light of the metres, evidently from $\sqrt{\text{rāj}}$—"to shine". In V. S. 15.5

there occur many mystical names of metres such as *Vayaskṛt* "life-giving", *chadiḥ* "cover", which may similarly have a linguistic basis.

The hierarchy of metres.

There were gradations in all leading aspects of Vedic life, and metres could not escape them. Thus in T. S. 5.1.4.5 the Gāyatrī has been called a Brahmin and Triṣṭubh a Kṣatriya (गायत्रो हि ब्राह्मण:........त्रैष्टुभो हि राजन्य:). In T. S. 7.1.14—6 their cosmological order has been thus described:—After Agni the Gāyatrī metre was created by Prajāpati out of his mouth, then the Triṣṭubu metre from his arms, then the Jagatī metre from the abdomen, and the Anuṣṭubh from the feet. In Ṛ. V. 1.164.25 the Gāyatrī is said to exceed all other metres by virtue of its greatness (ततो मह्ना प्ररिरिचे महित्वा). In Ś. B. 1.8.2.10—13 it has been explained that the Gāyatri, though the shortest of metres, became the first of the metres, because, by virtue of its power, it, assuming the form of a hawk, brought Soma from heaven. In T. S. 1.6.1.2 the history of this Soma acquisition has been thus detailed: "Jagatī first flew up, but returned without obtaining it: Triṣṭubh flew up, but returned with gifts and penance (only). The Gāyatrī flew up and brought back Soma". As regards the place of the Gāyatrī in Ritual, Ś. B. 1.3.4.6 states that when the first piece of wood is kindled with the Gāyatrī metre, it kindles the other metres as well. In the later Mahānārāyaṇīya Upaniṣad, 34th verse, the Gāyatrī is called the "mother of metres" (गायत्री छन्दसां माता) and "identical in form with the Supreme Being" (33) (गायत्रं छन्द: परमात्मं सरूपम्). The basis of this concept was partly the historical development of the Vedic metre from shorter to longer and more intricate forms.

But it is strange that while the Anuṣṭubh is said to have been created by Prajāpati out of his feet in T. S. 7.1.1.4—6, in 5.4.12.1 of the same Anuṣṭubh is said to be "the highest of metres" (परमा वा एषा छन्दसां यद् अनुष्टुप्). Ś. B. 13.3.3.1 expresses the same view: Anuṣṭubh is the highest metre and the horse is the highest of animals" (परमं वा एतच्छन्दो यदनुष्टुप्). Evidently this view of the Anuṣṭubh is a later development and a statement in Ś. B. 1.3.2.16 "Anuṣṭubh is speech and from speech all this (universe) springs" (वाग् वा अनुष्टुब् वाचा वा इदं सर्वं प्रभवति) may throw some light on it. The word "speech" in this statement indicates that Anuṣṭubh during the later Vedic period was developed into folk-metre, as the tremendous development of this metre in later Sanskrit would support it.

Conclusion.

The above study shows how metres were a living force in Vedic life, being cherished as givers of protection, power and material well-being. Their remarkable development was closely associated with the Ritual, and was thus an incident of the Sacrifice. But what makes the Vedic metres unique is their deification: they were not only held as a source of uplift, both of man and of the gods, but were also deified. The whole concept of Vedic metres is the fruit of a constructive and rich imagination.

(3) The Tṛca (Ṛ.V. I, 41, 7—9) re-interpreted

By

Vishva-Bandhu, *Hoshiarpur.*

The hymn, Ṛ.V. I, 41, which is attributed to Kaṇva, son of Ghora, consists of nine verses, all in the *Gāyatrī* measure. The corresponding Anukramaṇī description: **"यं रक्षन्ति नव, वरुणमित्रार्यम्णां, मध्ये तृच आदित्येभ्यो गायत्रं हि"**, which finds complete agreement in *Bṛhaddevatā* (iii, 107), points out that while the three verses in the beginning and the three verses at the end pertain to or are in praise of the Gods, Vàruṇa, Mitrá and Aryamán, the three verses in the middle are addressed to the Gods, Ādityās in general. This, however, may be a difference without distinction: for the Ādityas as invoked here, in the verses 4—6, are only those that have been invoked in the preceding verses of this hymn, namely, Váruṇá, Mitrá and Aryamán. The word Ādityās here, like the word *rājānas* in the verse 3, is to be taken as an epithet of the same three Gods without containing any reference to the remaining members of the divine group of Ādityās, namely, Bhága, Dákṣa, Aṃsá, Sūrya and Savitár. Indeed, on purely deo-technical (*Daivata*) grounds, the verses 7—9, particularly, the last two, might well have merited a separate enumeration inasmuch as their subject is not an invocation as such of the three Gods, Váruṇa, Mitrá and Aryamán but is, on the other hand, a sermon against the bad habit of vituperation (*durukta-nindā*), preached, of course, as a necessary qualification to make the invocation acceptable to the said Gods. As rightly noted by *Anukramaṇī* and *Bṛhaddevatā*, the verses 4—6, however, constitute a self-contained unit, contributing a single theme. Considering from this point of view, the purely mechanical character of the *Adhyāya-Varga-Anuvāka* division of Ṛ.V. is thrown into bold relief in that the verses 5 and 6, which, grammatically, must go together have been put in separate Anuvākas 22 and 23. As might appear from the following verse-wise translation of and a commentary on the last three verses of the hymn, v. 7 poses a question to which v. 8 seeks to supply a suitable reply, couched in terms of the course proposed by the speaker for being followed by himself and his companions, v. 9 supporting the stand, taken in v. 8, by enunciating it as a general precept.

Verse 7.

कथा राधामः सखायः,

स्तोमं मित्रस्यार्यम्णः ।[1]

महि प्सरो वरुणस्य ॥

How should we sing, o friends,

A hymn that might be full and great,

Of Varuṇa, Mitra and Aryaman?

(*a*) *Rādhāma* is related to the non-Pāṇiniyan √**rādh* 'to say' or 'sing' which may be a phonetic variant of √*rās* 'to say' (Dhātupāṭha I, 627). A cognate and synonym of Eng. √*read* and Gmn. √*reden*, this √*rādh* may be the real origin of the word *ā-rādhana*—'praise' or 'glorification' and *Rādhā*—, the Personification of Worship of Bhāgavata fame. *Sakhāyaḥ* 'friends', evidently refers to the poet's colleagues in the work of singing hymns (cf. Ṛ.V. VIII, 70, 13: सखायः क्रतुमिच्छत, कथा राधाम शरस्य । उपस्तुतिं .... ॥ where another poet seems to put, in the mouth of his colleagues, a similar question regarding their joint glorification of their patron, Śárá). Dayānanda alone has taken this word as a nominative form, obviously, not noticing its grave accent.

(*b*), (*c*). The translation takes the whole verse to be one simple sentence, the word *Psaras*—'a hymn of praise', qualified by the adjectives *stoma*—'full' and *mahi*—'great', being the object of the verb *rādhāma*. Skanda, the earliest available scholiast has likewise construed the whole verse as a simple sentence, but has made the word *stoma*—in the sense of 'praise' the object of the verb *rādhāma*, taking the words *mahi*—and *psaras*—, in the sense of 'great' and 'beautiful', respectively, as adjectives qualifying the noun *stoma*-. We may now quote him from his edition by Rājā:[2] "कथा ··· राधामः (*sic.* ०म) ··· संसाधयेमहे (*sic.* ०हि) ··· स्तोमं मित्रस्यार्यम्णः वरुणस्य च । कीदृशम् । महि महान्तम् प्सरः । रूपनामैतत् । सामर्थ्याच्चात्रान्तर्णीतमत्वर्थम् । रूपवन्तम् अत्यन्तशोभनमित्यर्थः ॥"

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1. The Direct Lineal System of Vedic accentuation as set into vogue in our Concordance is employed in this paper for marking accents in the Vedic text-citations in Devanāgarī. For a description and evaluation of the several systems of Vedic accentuation see our '*A Vedic Word-Concordance*', Vol. I, pp. LXIII ff. and CXVIII ff. (available, also, in reprint under the title, Vishva Bandhu: Vaidika-svarāṅkanariti-Prakāśa).

2. Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 8 (1935). The emendations suggested are ours.

Evidently, he had to take too much burden on himself in seeking to establish the impossible concord between his masculine noun *stoma-* 'praise' and his neuter adjectives *mahi-* 'great' and *Psaras-* 'beautiful', more so in the latter case, because he knew that it was a neuter substantive. Apparently, Venkaṭa-Mādhava felt the difficulty of the situation and the futility of the attempt of Skanda to overcome it. Therefore, he took another course by splitting up the construction of the verse into two independent simple sentences, the first comprising the Pādas *a* and *b* and the second presuming a repetition of the Pāda *a* towards its being read, a second time, with the Pāda *c*. This course, comparatively less exceptionable though, could not be passed as quite smooth. For, it would connect the verb *rādhāma* with two different roots, namely, with √rādh 'to make' (Dhātupāṭha, IV, 16) for the first sentence and with √**rādh* 'to praise' for the second sentence. Even admitting that there is a good case, on philological grounds, for the acceptance of the non-Pāṇinian √**rādh* 'to praise', (compare our own translation), the construction proposed, to say the least, looks improbable, because it unreasonably attributes two meanings to one and the same verb and, further, delimits the two different predications, the first, namely, 'fashioning' to a song to the Gods Mitrá and Aryamán only and the second, namely, 'praising' to the great manifestation of the God Váruṇa alone. Sāyaṇa positively improved the situation by reading, first, the verse, short of the two neuters *mahi* and *psaraḥ*, as a principal clause and, then, by introducing an extra subordinate clause to which were appropriated the said two neuters. Says he, "....मित्रादीनां त्रयाणां, महि महत्, प्सरो रूपम्। अतस्तदनुरूपं, स्तोमं स्तोत्रं, कथा केन प्रकारेण, राधाम साधयामः ॥"

Plausible as this construction sounds, it suffers from its having to read too much from outside, for, otherwise, the two words *mahi* and *psaraḥ* would be left out unconnected. Indeed, in case the poet had intended this, he, in keeping with the usual Vedic mode of expression, might have read the Pāda *c* as वरुणस्य महि प्सरो हि येषाम्, making the verse a *Bṛhatī* (Compare R.V. VIII, 70, 13 whose *Jagatī* Pāda *c*; उपस्तुतिं भोजः सूरिर्यो अह्रयः, which raises an *Uṣṇik* structure on a *Gāyatrī* ground, would have offered an exact parallel). Dayānanda's construction again worsens the position by concording the neuter *mahi* with the masculine *stomam* (as Skanda had done) and following Sāyaṇa in relegating *psaraḥ*, probably, as a neuter nominative, to an unwarranted ellipsis. Grassmann, Griffith and Geldner have taken the whole verse as one simple sentence, understanding *psaras* in the sense of 'refreshment', 'food' and 'delight', respectively, but have not succeeded in removing the rather disjointed look of the Pāda *c*. For, it is not clear why the poet should have different offerings for the Gods, namely, a hymn for Mitrá and Aryamán and food for Váruṇa. Or, is it intended that the hymn itself of Váruṇa is figuratively described as his food? Even then, it would read better if the entire hymn, addressed jointly to all the three Gods, be likened to the well dressed food for all of them alike. It is, however, to be pointed out that if this represented the real idea of the poet, he would rather have fashioned his Pāda *c* somewhat like वरुणस्य यस्तेषां महि

प्सरः or य एषां................. That the poet was quite careful in making his words well concorded is evident from his another verse, similarly couched in the form of a question, namely, Ṛ.V. I, 43, 1 in which the neuter pronoun *Kad* is to be read with (*Rudrāya Śantamāṁ*) *hṛde*. Thus, it appears that the efforts made so far to iron out a smooth construction of the present verse have not fared well only because both the words, namely, the masculine *stoma-* and the neuter *Psaras-* were taken as substantives. So, the key to the solution seems to lie in taking one of these words as an adjective. And, the contiguity of the other sure adjective, namely *mahi*, which is neuter, helps the decision, as followed in our translation, to take *psaras-* as a substantive and, in consequence, *st oma-* as an adjective in the sense of 'full', and 'hymn', respectively.

This sense of *stoma-* is supported by the adjective *stoma-taṣṭa-* which is read in connection with *mati-* 'hymn' (Ṛ.V. III, 39, 1 and 43, 2) and *Pitaras*, 'Manes' (Ṛ. V. X, 15, 9). In all of these occurrences, this word is used as an adjectival compound with the verbal noun *taṣṭa-* 'fashioning' as its second member and with the accent of the first member as its normal accent (cf. Pāṇini VI, 2, 1)[1].

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1. A distinction, however, is to be noted. When used in reference to *mati-*, 'hymn', the word *stoma-taṣṭa-* would indicate its 'profuse production', but when used in reference to *Pitaras*, 'Manes', it would indicate their 'profuse productivity.' This distinction springs from two different connotations here of the genetive case, namely, in the objective sense (*karmaṇi*) in reference to *mati-* and in the subjective sense (*kartari*) in reference to *Pitaras* (cf. Pāṇini, II, 3, 65). The above distinction, only grammatical as it is, does not, however, affect the essential meanings, namely, 'profuse' or 'profuseness' and 'fashioning' or 'production' of the words *stoma-* and *taṣṭa-*, respectively. Others have understood these words differently in their different occurrences without adducing any evidence in support of it. Thus, Venkaṭa Mādhava thinks that *stoma-* in Ṛ. V. III 39, 1 and 43, 2 means a (*Sāman*-adapted) verse (which, obviously, remains a verse, all the same), but in Ṛ.V. X, 15, 9 it means a verse-maker. Now it is a matter of common knowledge that the Vedic speech brings out the distinction between the homo-phonic sets of action and agent nouns by accenting them differently, *e.g. ápas-* 'deed' *apás-* 'doer' and *bráhman-* 'verse'. *brahmán-* 'verse-maker'. It is strange that Venkaṭa Mādhava who himself had laid great stress on the importance of accent as a key to vedic interpretation, should have thus paid scant attention to this subject. Sāyaṇa, too, has followed him only with this difference that he changes the places of the two meanings, namely, 'praise' and 'praiser', allotting Ṛ. V. X. 15.9 to the former and Ṛ.V. III, 39, 1 and 43, 2 to the latter. Now to take up the exegetical side, Ṛ. V. III, 39, 1 and 2, together, glorify the hymn of praise that is being offered to Indra: it speaks, outright from the heart, when it is being sung in assemblies, people forget sleep; it is ancient, having come down to us from ancestors who got its first flash from the heaven; it is dressed most beautifully and, finally, it is fashioned out so full and profuse

Etymologically, the word *stoma*, adj. 'profuse' as met with in the R̥.V. passages cited above or *n.* 'profuseness' as met with in Classical

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that it must go direct to the heart of Indra and win His pleasure and friendship. It will be seen that replacement of the last attribute, namely, 'being fashioned out in fullness' whether by 'fashioned out in measures peculiar to particular *Sāmans*' after Venkaṭa Mādhava or by 'fashioned out by hymn-makers' after Sāyaṇa would take away from this eulogy one of its most vital expressions without adding any new poetic beauty to it. For, would it not be quite obvious and stale too, to speak of a song as 'sung by singers'? Moreover, Venkaṭa Mādhava's reference to any *Sāman* measures seems to be out of place, because the use of the pronouns *iyam* 'this' (R̥.V. III, 39, 2) and *imāḥ* 'these' (R̥.V. III, 43, 2) clearly indicates that the object of glorification is no other than the present group of verses, including the glorifying ones themselves. For the same reason, Oldenberg's view in his Notes on R̥. V. that *stoma* here refers to *Sāman* chanting as distinguished from R̥K-reciting, referred to by √Śaṃs 'to recite' as also read here, cannot be accepted. Dayānanda's gloss *stuti-vistṛta* (R̥.V. III, 39, 1) and *vistṛta-stuti* (R̥.V, III, 43, 2) shows that he had an inkling of the idea of 'profuseness' (*vistṛta*) being wanted here, but too much familiarity with *stoma* in the sense of 'praise' (*stuti*) seems to have sidetracked him into mistaking *taṣṭa* for *tata* (=*vistṛta*). Others like Böhtlingk-Röth, Monier-Williams, Grassmann, Griffith and Geldner have hardly improved the position by advancing the tautological rendering purporting to be either 'a hymn produced for praise' (cf. Griffith, R̥.V. III, 43, 2) or 'praise produced by a hymn'. It will be noted that the former of these two paraphrases is inadmissible, on grounds of accent, too, for in that case, the word would have been an Oxytone (cf. Pāṇini VI, 1,223 read with VI, 2, 45; 139; 144). To take up, now, the case of R̥.V. X, 15, 9 in which *Pitaras* are said to have struggled hard (*jehamāna*—) and at last, forced their way up (*tātṛṣuḥ ?* ≟ √*dhṛṣ* 'force up' <*dādhṛṣuḥ*) among the Gods, that is, became recognised at their hands as being, like them, worthy of worship by men. They succeeded because being conversant with the proper application of hymns (*hotrā-vid*) and capable of profuse production (*stoma-taṣṭa*—), they could pile up for use to conquer their rivals (the Gods) an inexhaustible store of hymns (*arka*). Venkaṭa's *stotṛ-saṃskṛta* 'well-prepared by singers' and Sāyaṇa's *stotra-kartṛ* 'makers of songs', followed more or less, by the other writers, as renderings of *stoma-taṣṭa*, being an attribute, here, of *Pitaras* do not indicate the relation of means and end that, as on our showing above, exists between the Pādas *b* and *a* to have been properly considered by them. It seems there is an allusion here to some mythological tradition that *Pitaras* who had attained, through their pious deeds, to their exhalted position in the higher world of immortals by emerging, in a way, from their ordinary position among the mortals here, had yet to struggle hard to win proper deific recognition at the hands of the Gods and that, eventually, they did carry on that struggle and came out successful but they did so by entering the citadel of the heart of the Gods through their proper and profuse praise, in other words, by stooping to conquer them.

Sanskrit (See Amara II, 39; III, 141 and PW. for many more references) does not appear to be related to √*stu* 'praise', but seems to be cognate with OIA. *sthūr* (1)*a*— 'thick', *sthavira*— 'great', *sthaviman*— 'expanse', *stamba*— 'bunch', *stabaka* 'ibid'; NIA. *ṭhulā*— 'fat', *ṭhos*— 'solid', *thok*— 'whole-sale', *thabbā*— 'quantity'; English *stack*—, *stock*—, *stout*—, *thick*— all being derived from √**sthū* 'to be bulky' and not from √*sthā* 'to stand' as others have surmised (See, Walde-Pokerny, *sthāvi*—, *sthavira*—, II, 606; 603).

According to Böhtlingk-Röth, *Psaras* is included in the Nighaṇṭu list (III, 7) of words meaning 'splendour' or 'manifestation' (*rūpa*). This inclusion, since rejected, in favour of the variant reading *marut*, by the several later editors of that text, is however supported by Devarāja and one of the basic manuscripts of Sarūp's edition. Besides, it has on it the stamp of a hoary authority in that, as observed above, Skanda (compare his remark *rūpa-nāmaitat*) and, after him, Veṅkaṭa Mādhava and Sāyaṇa have accepted it. This, however, can mean only this that the compiler of Nighaṇṭu, probably, did read *psaras* in the sense of *rūpa*. But Böhtlingk-Röth and, after it, the entire line of modern Western scholars seem agreed on rejecting this meaning and suggesting, in place of it the meaning of 'eating', the word *psaras*, according to them, being derived from √*psā* 'to eat' (Dhātupāṭha II, 45) and, obviously, not from √*psā* 'to move' (Nighaṇṭu II, 14). The suggestion regarding the above meaning also appears, however, to have originated with the Indian scholiasts of yore who had surmised that *psaras*, when read in relation to Sóma, meant 'drinkable', (see Veṅkaṭa Mādhava on Ṛ. V. IX, 74, 3) and 'drinkable food' or 'drink' (see Venkaṭa Mādhava and Sāyaṇa on Ṛ.V. IX, 2, 2; 96, 3; 97, 27)[1]. They appear to have been inclined to derive the word from √*pā* 'to drink', although, with full recognition that Sóma was 'a drink' but, at the same time, 'a food' (*andhas*), too. In picking up the latter meaning as being the real one for every occurrence of the word, Böhtlingk-Röth seems to have welcomed the handy evidence of the said √*psā* 'to eat' of Dhātupāṭha.

There are, however, a few occurrences of this word that clearly indicate that when it is used in the objective relation to √*vac* 'speak', its proper sense is 'praise' or 'song of praise'.

Thus, Ṛ. V. IX, 2, 2 reads:

आ वच्यस्व महि प्सरो, वृषेन्दो द्युम्नवत्तमम् । आ योनिं धर्णसिः सदः ॥

Sóma is being pressed and poured, in a hundred streams, in the vat below, producing a loud and charming sound. Pāda *a* refers to this

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1. It is regretted that Skanda is not yet available on this portion of Ṛ.V. Probably, Venkaṭa Mādhava and, after him, Sāyaṇa, who has copied from him to a large extent, both owed this interpretation, too, to Skanda.

sound as a great and bright song (*Psaraḥ*) and urges Sóma to sing it on (*ā vacyasva*)[1]. Similarly, R̥.V. I, 75, 1, in addressing Agni, says :—

जुषस्व सप्रथस्तमं, वचो देवप्सरस्तमम् । हव्या जुह्वान आसनि ॥

Accept our hymn, most extensive and most praiseful of the Gods as it is; do accept it, for we offer it as our oblations are poured into Thy mouth.

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1. The test of interpretation of this and other similar texts, being cited hereafter, lies in hitting at the correct meaning of the verb √*vacya (compare *vacyate* R̥.V. I, 142, 4 etc. for the determination of accent). R̥.V. IX, 97, 2 speaks of Sóma as a great poet who is singing sweet songs (*mahān Kavir nivacanāni śaṃsan*) and urges Him to sing on (*vacyasva*). R̥. V. IX, 108, 10, addressing Sóma as a great orator (*sudakṣa*—), asks Him to pour forth his song (*ā vacyasva*) like a poet (*vahnir na*). For this meaning of *vahni*— compare R̥.V. III, 1, 1; 6, 2; 20, 1; V, 79, 4; VI, 39, 1; VII, 75, 5; 82, 4. √*vacya 'to speak' or 'to sing' is likewise seen used in R̥.V. I, 46, 3; 142, 4 (*iyam hi tvā matir mamāccha sujihva vacyate*); 184, 3; III, 6, 1 (*kāravah....vacyamanāḥ*); 6, 2 (*vacyantām te vahnayaḥ sapta-jihvāḥ*); 39, 1 (*indraṃ matir hrda ā vacyamānācchāpatiṃ stoma-taṣṭā jigāti*) X, 47, 7 (*mama....stomās caranti....manasā vacyamānaḥ*), and in A. V. XX, 127, 4 (*vacyasva rebha vacyasva*). In all these cases, the textual and contextual position points to √*vacya being connected with √*vac* 'to speak' and not √*vanc* 'to move' as Skanda (*e. g.* at R̥ V. I, 46, 3), Venkaṭa Mādhava, Sāyaṇa (*e. g.* at R̥. V. IX, 2, 2), Grassmann, Griffith and others have taken it to be. Geldner (see PG. II, 258f.) has also supported the latter view in an incidental discussion. √*vacya is found used as an active transitive verb in most of its occurrences and as an intransitive verb in only a few of them. It could be explained as an alternative form of *vacas*— < √*vacasya* and might not be taken as a passive or reflexive base from √*vac* (compare, R̥. V. I, 55, 4; IX, 99, 6 for similar use of √*vacasya*, the latter occurrence, actually, speaking of Soma as 'one who is singing songs'). Obviously, being an oxytone base, it is not connected with the fourth conjugation. The present verse (R̥.V. IX, 2, 2), in asking Soma to sing, should naturally be employing the word *psaras* in the sense of 'song' that might be sung and not 'food' that could be taken in but not sung out. Moreover, as in the present case, if it meant 'food', the same could not lend itself to being sung by Soma, which was just a deific personification of that food itself. In fact, grammatically, a transitive construction like the present one could not permit the subject and the object to be distinct only in name, being, otherwise, essentially identical.

1. However extensive a hymn might be, its attraction for the Gods would be only in direct proportion to the measure of divine praise that it is couched in. Therefore, the poet here, naturally, refers to the profuse presence in his hymn of this most essential element of it. The adjectival base *deva-psaras* is a *Bahuvrīhi* compound, duly preserving the accent of its first member, *deva*. Venkaṭa Mādhava and Sāyaṇa,

being familiar with only two meanings of *psaras*, to wit, (1) 'a drink' or 'a drink-food' and (2) 'splendour' or manifestation' (*rūpa*), and seeing that their hymn, consistently with its purely man-made Phonetic content, could neither contain in itself any food for the Gods nor embody in itself the splendour that belonged to them, were apparently, at their wit's end to read a sense in this word. So, they dismissed, outright, the familiar meaning namely, 'a God' of the word *deva*, and took it in the purely adjectival, but unfamiliar sense of *dīpta* 'shining'. It is not evident why Skanda, whom they had frequently followed at other places was ignored by them here. But it was, certainly, to their own disadvantage, for he had fared better, anyway, in paraphrasing the word as *devasya agneḥ rūpair....yukta— aśeṣāgni-rūpa prakāśana.* He is so near the mark that one wishes that it had occurred to him that the meaning of *prakāśana* 'description', which he felt like reading from outside could be directly conveyed here by the word *psaras* itself. Böhtlingk-Röth and, after it, other modern scholars, inclined to take *psaras* in the sense of 'food', have not explained how the word *deva-psaras* with such renderings as Monier-William's 'serving the Gods as food' and Griffith's 'food to the gods' could be taken as an adjectival compound and how, if it is not that, could it preserve the accent that it has done. Indeed, under their general interpretation, the word, in its relation to *vacas* as in the present text and, also, in its relation to Sóma as in the texts being noticed below, could not but be a *Tatpuruṣa* compound and not a *Bahuvrīhi* compound as, on the contrary, it actually is. For, *vacas* 'hymn' might be a substitute of the Gods' real food, namely, *Soma*, but could not be 'that something else which could provide them with their food'. Similarly, *Soma*, being itself their real food, could not be said to be 'that something else which gave them their food'. Indeed, it is the presence of the Bahuvrīhi compound itself that is a pointer to the really intended meaning, namely, 'praise' or 'a hymn of praise' of the neuter base *psaras*— when read in a context of √*vac* 'saying' or 'singing' to please some one. Etymologically, this base might have developed, phonetically, out of √**pra-svar* 'to speak well of' or 'sing of' <**pra-svaras*— <**pasaras*—. And, OIA. √ślāgh, NIA. √*sr* (1) *āh*-na and Pers. √srāīdan, and, possibly, OIA. √*śaṃs*, √*stu*, √*śloka*—, Pers. √*stāīdan*, all meaning 'praise' might have been cognates of said √**pra-svar*, the initial **p* (<**pra*) having dropped off from them. The neuter base *psaras*— which is read in Ṛ. V. IX, 74, 3; 96, 3; 97, 27; 104, 5; 105, 5, probably, in the sense of 'favour' or 'grace' to be received by the worshipper at the hands of the God or Gods and not in the sense of 'food' or 'nourishment' for the worshipper or the God or Gods, as the case may be, appears to be, etymologically, a cognate of √*pra-sad* 'to be pleased' <**pra-sadas*— 'favour' or 'grace' and, therefore, distinct from the present homo-phonic base.

Verse 8.

मा वो घ्नन्तं मा वः शपन्तत्,

प्रति वोचे देवयन्तम्

सुम्नैरिद् व आ विवासे ॥

(Comrades), to him of ye, I don't retort,

Who vilifies and to cursing does resort;

But, with words sweet, him of ye I do address,

Who, towards Gods, full of fervent devotion is.

The poet feels that his worship of the three Gods, Mitra, Aryaman and Varuṇa would become most pleasing to them if he could have a large number of people[1] with him for that purpose. But, at the same time, he wants to be extremely cautious in the choice of comrades who, it would seem, surround him in abundance. He knows that the Gods are pleased with those of sweet and sincere speech and dislike those of vile and impure speech[2]. So, not prepared to mince matters, he tells his companions quite plainly and forcefully, too, that while he would welcome, at his side, those whose main interest of life lay in sincere worship of the Gods, he would have no truck with those who instead of engaging themselves in worship that would be its best use, wasted the divine gift of speech by filling it with blasphemy.

The negative particle *mā* in Pāda *a* is repeated to emphasise the firmness of the speaker's above resolve to avoid the company of those of impure speech[3]. The enclitic II Person pronoun *vaḥ* in Pāda *a* as well as in Pāda *c* is a genetive of specification (*nirdhāraṇa*, see Pāṇini II, 3, 41). Syntactically, it cross-references *sakhāyaḥ* of the previous

1. That collective worship would gather a momentum of influence over its object is indicated by Ṛ. V. VIII, 70, 14 in a context that, as noted above, bears a good deal of resemblance with the present one.

2. Compare the sentiments expressed on this topic in Ṛ. V, I, 174, 7; III, 55, 7; V, 49, 5; VII, 18, 9; 10, 88, 7; 8 etc.

3. Veṅkaṭa Mādhava seems to have confused one *mā* with the enclitic pronoun *mā*?

verse, for it is out of them that the speaker wants to pick up his most congenial collaborators to glorify the Gods[4].

4. Skanda is not available on *vaḥ* in Pāda *c*, but, in Pāda *a* he takes it as a genetive of possession. Apparently clumsy as his construction "युष्माक........देवान् इच्छन्तम्" (where *yuṣmad—* and *deva—* must be identical) would be, it should be simply unthinkable that one devoted to the Gods (*devayát—*) could be, at the same time, carrying in him the taint of cruelty (√*han*) and cursing (√*śap*). Venkaṭa Mādhava saw the above incongruity and construed *devayát—* as referring to the speaker himself and *ghnát—* and *śápat—* as referring to his foes. But in thus construing, he worsened the position of *vaḥ*, which he took as an accusative. His paraphrase "(वो)युष्मान् (देवयन्तं) देवान् कामयमानो भवति, तम्", evidently, could not connect, as he wanted to, *yuṣmad—* and *devayát—*. The idea in his mind could have been conveyed by the single base *yuṣmayat—* (see, Ṛ. V. II, 39, 7) and not by the two separate words as found used here. Sāyaṇa, seemingly, overcame the above difficulty by taking *vaḥ* as a dative of report, objectively connected with the verb √*prati-vac* (compare Ṛ. V. VIII, 100, 5 for similar idiom). It is, however, not clear from this construction why *vaḥ* should not refer to *sakhāyas*, already under address in the context and should refer to the Gods, under address in the previous Tṛca but not in the present one. From his rendering of Pāda *c*, in which he apparently construes *vas* with the Gods, it would seem that, in Pādas *a* and *b* too, Grssamann has classified the Gods themselves into two groups, namely, those who are used to kill and curse and those who are sincere and truthful, and made the poet declare that he would hold in high esteem only the latter class of the Gods. Thus, according to him, *vaḥ* would be a genetive of specification in Pāda *a* and an accusative in Pāda *c*. This construction, though, grammatically, agreeing with our own, is the more unacceptable, because it not only makes the speaker address the Gods in place of his companions who were already under his address, but, also, unwarrentedly makes *prati*√*vac* 'to retort' or 'to report' and *devayát* 'devoted to the Gods' mean 'to hold in esteem' and 'sincere', respectively. He might have taken his cue from certain ancient texts which appeared to draw a line of demarcation between Varuṇa, who lorded it over all that was bound or blocked in any way, on the one hand, and Mitra, who was supreme where light of every kind prevailed, on the other (For the relevant texts, see Haṃsarāja: Vedic Koṣa, pp. 471ff.; also, Durga on Nirukta III, 16). But as should be evident from those texts, they can have no bearing on the present context which holds the three Gods, equally, in the highest esteem and does not hint, at all, at any of their distinctive traits of character or fields of action. Rājawāḍe takes *vaḥ* in Pāda *a* as well as Pāda *c* as accusative, standing for the Gods. The reference here, says he, is to certain non-Aryan people who would hate, kill (*i. e.* break the images of) and defile the Aryan Gods. To say the least, this interpretation presumes too much and, from the purely grammatical point of view, is utterly inadmissible, because it pays no heed to the accentual and syntactical aspects of *devayát—* in reading it as if it were *a-devayát—* and in making it related, as a transitive verb, to *vaḥ*.

The translation of *ghnant*— in Pāda *a* implies that √**ghan* 'to revile' from which the present base is derived is different from the familiar √*gh* (*h*) *an* 'to kill'. The context characterised by the description of a blasphemer as pitted against a God-worshipper and the general precept to shed the company of the former of the two and the contiguous presence of √*śap* in its familiar sense of 'cursing' or 'swearing' should support this postulation. Knowing as the speaker does that the Gods are deadly opposed to people given to blasphemy[1], he answers the question as posed by himself in v. 7 by declaring to his people towards reassurance of the Gods that he would shun, at any cost, the company of those whom the Gods did not like on account of their blasphemous nature. Thus, the familiar √*gh* (*h*) *an* 'to kill' can have no place in this context. O. I. A. √**ghan* 'to revile' is indicated by O. I. A. *ghana*— 'the vulgar' (compare Monier Williams' reference to *Subhāṣitāvalī*)[2].

Sumna— as used here in relation to √*vivās* 'to address', or 'converse' means 'sweet word' (compare, R̥. V. I, 106, 4; III, 3, 3; 68, 3; VI, 15, 7; 48, 12; VIII, 9, 21; X, 132, 2). √*mnā*, which is the radical element in this word, means 'to say' or 'to praise' (being a phonetic variant of √*bhan* 'to say' or √*pan* 'to praise')[3].

√*vivās* is not read in Dhātupāṭha. Nighaṇṭu (III, 5) reads it in the sense of 'attend on' or 'worship' (*paricaraṇa*—). Against the evidence of Padapāṭha, which does not treat it as a prepositionally composite verb, modern Western scholars have generally taken it as a compound of the preposition *vi* and √*vas* 'to shine' or 'to dwell'. Moreover, in the present context as also elsewhere where it is read √*vivās* does not seem to have either of these two meanings. On the other hand, the meaning 'to address', 'speak to' or 'invoke', as adopted in our translation and may be said to be in essential agreement with Nighaṇṭu's suggestion, fits in every where. Our meaning assumes that this verb is a basic reduplication of √**vās* 'to say' or 'to praise', being a phonetic variant (and not a wrong substitute as Monier-Williams thought), of √*vās* which Dhātupāṭha (IV, 571) has read in that sense, both being ultimately connected with the familiar √*bhāṣ* in the same sense[4].

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1. Compare, R̥. V. I, 129, 6; 152, 2; II, 23, 8; III, 41, 6; IV, 5, 12; V, 53, 14; VI, 61, 3; 72, 1; VII, 31, 5; VIII, 70, 10; 78, 6 etc.

2. O. I. A. *ghaṇṭā*— 'a bell' is derived from √*ghaṇṭ* 'sound' (Dhātupāṭha X, 236). Likewise, O. I. A. √**ghan* 'sound' would be suggested by *ghana*(*ā*)— 'a bell', 'a musical instrument' (see Amara I. 4) and Panj. *ghanḍi*— 'throat'. Similarly, it is implied, O. I. A. *ghana*— 'the Vulgar' should point to its source, namely √**ghan* 'to revile'.

3. Its meaning *abhyāsa* 'repetition' (as read in Dhātupāṭha I, 954) looks like a phonetic development from **abhi-bhāṣa*— 'repeated reading'.

4. Detailed discussion of the reduplicative process of this verb and the determination of its suggested meaning in reference to its occurrences in a fairly large number of Vedic texts might form the subject of a separate treatment elsewhere.

Verse 9

चतुरश्चिद् ददमानात्,

बिभीयात् आनिधातो ।

न दुरुक्ताय स्पृहयेत् ॥

A man would fear him, indeed,

who, lucki'st though, is vile-worded;

For, none would like being foully 'ddressed.

a, b The poet now proceeds to conclude the determined declaration, made by him in the preceeding verse, that he must not associate with those of blasphemous speech. For this purpose, he makes use, in a way, of what will be called a General Proposition, known to dialectics as *sāmānya-śāstra*—and to rhetorics as the *arthāntaranyāsa* Figure of Speech. Thus, he affirms that any sensible person would follow a course of action similar to the one which he has set to himself in v. 8. For, argues he in his mind, if for the sake of filthy lucre, with which, at the most, a blasphemer, provided he happened to be a wealthy person, could help him to some extent, some one did not mind clinging to him, he must not forget, that while he might be getting some money, he would surely be losing his soul itself by continuously listening to or being addressed with foul language.

Caturaḥ 'four' refers to the particular throw of dice known as *Kṛta*—, in which all the four dice used in the game should fall obversely. Or, possibly, it refers to the same throw in another form of the game, played with a much bigger number of dice, when dice thrown should come out to be divisible by four. This all-obverse[1] or quadri-multiple throw indicated the best luck to the thrower[2].

Dadamāna—'holding' is from non-Pāṇinian √*dad* 'to hold', being a phonetic variant of √*dadh* 'to hold' (Dhātupāṭha 1, 8). Ṛ. V. IV, 26, 6, in referring to the divine hawk (*śyena*—) as holding (*dadamāna*—) Soma (*aṃśu*—), also, uses the same √*dad* 'to hold'.

The 'holding' in our verse, however, has the sense of 'possession' or 'control' and, hence, 'a title to what this possession or control is bound to lead to, namely, wealth etc. as conveyed by the term 'good fortune'.

1. Compare the NIA. idioms '*sīdhā paranā*' and '*ulṭā paranā*' which, literally, mean 'to fall obversely' and 'to fall reversely' but convey the sense of 'being favourable' and 'being unfavourable', respectively. Apparently, these idioms sprang from the meanings attached to the obverse and reverse casts, respectively, of dice.

2. Campare, Dhātupāṭha III, 10 which refers to the use of √dhā 'to hold' in the sense of √*dā* 'to give' as well, indicating this phonetic variation in the opposite direction, *i. e.* $d > dh$: Also, compare Yāska (II, 2) "*daṇḍo dadāter dhārayati karmaṇaḥ etc.*"

Caturaḥ dadamāna—, in the present context as already discussed, means 'one who has on him a perfect smile of good fortune'. This derivative idiomatic expression seems to owe its origin to the game of dice, but the game as such, however, does not appear to be directly referred to here in any way.[1]

nidhātu— 'reviler', 'blasphemer' *—tos* (ablative sing,) seems to be the pivotal word in the present verse because around it revolves the conclusion, in general terms, of the topic commenced in v. 7 and brought to a head in v. 8, namely, that the best way to please the Gods with hymns in their honour would be to sing the same in chorus, untainted by the association with it of the blasphemous. Thus taken, it is derived from √**nidh* 'to revile' which, barring the familiar phonetic or, may be, merely manneristic variation *d* <*dh*, is identical with √*nid* (Dhātupātha 1.896), and √*nind* (Ibid, 66) and √*ned* (Ibid, 897) 'to revile'. Under the Pāṇinian morphological plan, this word is formed, in the sense of 'agent with the suffix-*atu* with the indicatories (*anubandha—*), *k* and *n* or *p* to explain its low-graded and initial radical accent. In this way, it becomes an extended cognate synonym of *nid—* 'reviler', the object of so much contempt in R̥. V.[2] There is another way, less probable though, of arriving at the same meaning of this word by taking it as a Bahurvrīhi compound of *ni* 'base' or 'foul' and (√**dhā* 'speak'>'), **dhātu—* 'speech'.[3]

The latter derivation will be agreeable to Padapātha which treats the word as a compound. it is difficult to say, with what second member —our postulate[4] or the ablative infinitive *dhātos*, as taken by almost everyone else who has dealt with the present text.

The enclitic *cit* is taken here as a 'particle of comparison' (*upamā—*) in Nighaṇṭu (III, 13), but the above contextual construction

1. Compare *Kr̥ta——*>*Kr̥tin—* 'lucky' or 'fortunate, (see, Apte) which in its actual use has lost all direct reference to the *Kr̥ta* throw of dice.

2. See F. N. 2 to p. 11 above.

3. For indications of the postulate √**dhā* 'speak', compare its familiar use in both senses of *abhi-dhāna—* namely. ,saying' and 'name' and *vi-dhāna—* and *vi-dhi—* 'statement' of something as binding'. *Dhenā—*, 'speech' (see Nighaṇṭu I, 11) is also derived from this radical through the change *dhā*>*dhī* (Compare Yāska VI,17). The grammatical term *dhātu—* also, seems to have come into vogue from its original sense of 'verb' or 'description', each separate *dhātu—*. surrounded by the varied morphological elements, having severally stood as the primary descriptive or predicative nucleus to denote a different object or situation.

4. Our second derivation bases itself on Bahuvrīhi compound and not on the prepositional compound *ni*√*dhā*+the suffix *tu* (*n*) in the sense of 'agent', because, in that case, the word should have borne accent on the radical syllable *dhā* and not, as we have it, on the prepositional member *ni* (compare Pāṇini VI, 2, 50).

shows that it should rather be taken as an adverbial or conjunctive particle in the sense of *api* 'even though', 'although' or 'notwithstanding that'[1].

ā in Pāda *b* is a particle of emphasis and surety (avadhāraṇa—) as Yāska has correctly taken it (III, 16) in paraphrasing it with *eva* and, accordingly, it is not an ablative-bound adnominal preposition as all others have apparently taken it. Indeed, the metric defect in Pāda *b* suggests the surmise that this *ā* might rather be a phonetic transformation of the emphatic particle *aha* (through āa)[2].

The view that the phrase *caturaḥ dadamāna*— meant 'a gambler' (kitava—) which might have been implicit in Nighaṇṭu (III, 13) was first stated, explicitly, by Yāska (III, 16). It has since been accepted, more or less, by almost all later writers who have treated the present verse in any connection[3]. But a gambler 'throws' and does not 'hold' the dice. He, however, can 'hold' what the dice might have favoured him with. So the phrase refers rather to the situation of the dice having already not only been cast but won too. As already indicated above, it only figuratively speaks of an affluent person as 'one who had scored Fours (kṛtá—)[4]. Such a person would not ordinarily merit being avoided or shunned by those around him unless he had misbehaved. Yāska knew that the context contained a forceful ban on association

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1. Compare, for similar and other uses of this particle, Yāska I, 4 "*ācaryaścit* etc." Also, see Oldenberg's footnote to p. 43 of his Ṛ. V.—Notes.

2. Rājawāḍe (Nirukta, Vol. I, p. 495) has come forward to remedy the metric defect by reading *nidhā-pāteḥ* in place of *nidhātoḥ*, giving the unwarring sense of 'wealth' to *nidhā*— which itself has not the least bearing on the context.

3. See, however, Rājawāḍe (Nirukta, Vol. I. p. 496) for the view that *caturaḥ dadamāna*— might mean 'one who gives away the four oceans of wealth' (compare, Ṛ. V. IX, 33, 6). Benfey, Ludwing and Bergaigne (La Religion védique, III, 158), also, did not favour the phrase being taken in the sense of 'a gambler' (see their surmises referred to by Griffith).

4. Compare Yāska's paraphrase *dhāravataḥ*— Keith and Oldenberg saw this hurdle in the way of this interpretation and attempted to overcome it in their own way, the former by taking √*dad* to mean 'attempting to throw' (see, JRAS., 1908, p 826, fn. 1) and the latter by reading here a reference to somebody else who 'holds' the dice for throwing them on behalf of a gambler (see, Ṛ. V. Notes). But the difficulty seems to have persisted because neither the one thought of any need of explaining how √*dad* could be made to yield the sense of 'attempting to throw' nor the other bothered to see what indication there was, if any, of there having existed 'a holder of dice' as distinct from 'a player of dice'. Moreover, it is to be pointed out that neither Yāska's 'dicer' nor Oldenberg's imagined 'dice-holder' could be properly described as 'holding the fours' till it had been determined after the actual throw that it was that which was known as *Kṛta*— in which the number

with a blasphemous person as is evident from his paraphrase of pāda *b* (*evam eva duruktād bibhyāt*)[1].

Therefore, probably, taking his cue from R̥. V. X, 34, 13 (*akṣair mā dīvyaḥ*) and other like texts which speak ill of dicing, he thought that 'a gambler' (*kitava—*) would be a suitable meaning for *caturaḥ dadamāna—* in the present context, obviously, overlooking that 'a gambler' (*kitava—*) as such could not always be, as has been shown above, a 'holder of Fours' in the real sense of the phrase. But impelled by the force of the Nighaṇṭu tradition that *cit* here was particle of comparison, he was

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'four' was supreme. Thus out of the two parties to the game, that alone could be said to be 'holding the Fours' whom the dice had favoured with that enviable position (compare, R̥. V. X, 34, 6 where this favour on their part is expressly stated in terms strikingly parallel to those of the present passage, *ā* √*dhā* 'to grant' as said of the dice being most appropriately represented by √*dad* 'to have' as said here in relation to one whom they had favoured by falling *Kr̥ta—* wise, that is to say quadruply). It may be added here that Geldner's reference (see his R̥. V. Trans., fn. to I, 51, 9) to A. V. VII. 50, 2 (*antar-hastam̐ Kr̥tam̐ mama*), also, does not support the view that *caturaḥ dadomāna—* could be said of a gambler when he has not yet actually scored the *kr̥ta—* throw. For, read in its context, the text referred to is to be headed by the verb *samaitu* and construed as a prayer "May *kr̥ta* come well within my grip", evidently, envisaging the situation following and not preceding the *kr̥ta* throw (Compare, for support of this construction, verses 8 and 9 of A. V. VII, 50 itself which, refer to *kr̥ta* as the most cherished result of dicing which, obviously, must be distinct from the action of mere 'holding' of dice in the hand before their actual throw. The verb *ā* √*dhā* in v, 8 when read with the same verb used in R̥. V. X, 34, 6 as already cited would mean 'to grant' or 'to favour with' and not, merely, 'to put' or 'to place').

1. Apparently, he has used the word *durukta—* in Pāda *b* as an adjectival noun, meaning 'one of foul speech' and, probably, understood *durukta—* read in pāda *c*, also, like that (compare, R̥. V. VIII, 2, 18 where *svapna—*, an agent noun, is, likewise, objectively related to √*spr̥h* 'to like'). As such *durukta—* will be taken as a Tatpuruṣa compound with its second member formed in the sense of 'agent' and carrying its accent intact (Compare, Pāṇini VI, 2, 139; 144). But Skanda and Durga have taken *durukta—* as an action—noun which, however, is to their disadvantage, for, proper comparison, if wanted, could be between 'a gambler' on the one side, and 'a reviler' and not 'the action of reviling' on the other. Also, these writers as well as the Western scholars who have followed them have construed √*spr̥h* 'to desire' in the sense 'to desire to speak' which is unwarranted, because this verb refers, objectively to a person or thing that the speaker is anxious to have or appropriate obviously, from outside himself and not from within himself. Our translation, which does not institute any kind of comparison, will construe equally well with *durukta—*being taken in either way, but it has taken it as an action-noun on the basis of its use as such in R̥. V. I, 147, 4 which offers a parallel contextual setting.

in no mood to wait and see if some other meaning of this particle might the better connect Pādas *a* and *b* to each other and give that force to their meaning which the context so much needed. It is, however, passing strange but rather unfortunate that what amounted to Yāska's miraculous contribution to the interpretation of the present verse has remained unnoticed and, therefore, unused so far. For, as has been remarked above, (*evam*) *eva duruktād bibhīyāt* is, really his paraphrase of pāda *b* and has not been added from outside the text for the purpose of just forestalling what would actually be the content of Pāda *c*. The sentence-structure demands that if Pāda *a* contained, as Yāska believed that it did, the mention of the object of comparison (*upamāna*—), namely, a dicer (*kitava*—), Pāda *b* must complete the simile by mentioning 'the object to be compared' (*upameya*—), namely, a blasphemer (*durukta*—). Yāska's heading his paraphrase of Pāda *b*, and not Pāda *c*, with *evam* 'so' conclusively indicates that he completed his simile by taking, we might say, Pāda *a* as its 'as-wing' and Pāda *b* as its 'so-wing' and emphasised the same thing over again, in general terms, in Pāda *c*. In fact, if he had intended to take *nidhātoḥ* as an ablative infinitive or ablative of a verbal noun from *ni* √*dhā*, as Skanda and Durga who have commented on his work and Veṅkaṭa Mādhava, Sāyaṇa and all other writers who have commented on this verse have done, so to say with one voice, he too, like them must have construed *ā* as an adnominal preposition governing the following ablative form and not paraphrased it, as he has done, with *eva*, thus making it 'a particle of emphasis'. Also, in that case, he could not but have given, as Skanda and others have done, a separate paraphrase of *nidhātos*. It is possible that Yāska's Vedic text read *nidātos* and not *nidhātos* and that, therefore, he considered the derivation of the base **nidātu*— from √*nid* 'to abuse' to be too evident to need any further treatment than the supply of its paraphrase *durukta*. This would mean that the reading of unfamiliar *dh* in place of familiar *d* in this word might have misled Skand and other later writers into wrongly connecting it with *ni* √*dhā* 'to bind' or 'to deposit' which, really does not fit in with the interpretation proposed by themselves[1].

1. Only Kātyāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra XV, 17, 18 in the entire range of Vedic literature employs *ni* √*dhā* in connection with dice which are mentioned there as having to be placed, on behalf of a King, by some one else appointed for this purpose, in a particular position. Evidently, this could not mean 'throwing' of dice as practised in the regular game. While the Vedic meaning of *ni*√*dhā* is characterised by 'fixity of position' or 'security' (compare, Ṛ. V. I, 163, 5 etc. for use in this sense of its verbal forms and derivatives like *nidhā*— and *nidhāna*—), the 'throwing' of dice, to the contrary, is mentioned as marked by their 'bumping' reaction which seems to be expressed, in a consolidated manner, by *ni* √*vap* which, radically, may be a cognate of √*bump* 'to jolt' (compare, Ṛ. V. X, 27, 17; 34, 1; 5; 9). To conclude, a regular throw of dice, the meaning which Skanda and others wanted *ni* √*dhā* to express in the present passage, was not known to Vedic idiom. Its apparent equation with *nidhana*— in the sense of 'end' or 'death' (see, Monier-Williams) need not be taken seriously.

II—Iranian Section.

(4) Interpretation of some Avestan and Pahlavi Words and Passages.

by

Ervad Maneck Fardunji Kanga.

In this paper I have selected the following words and passages from Avesta and Pahlavi texts which have not been properly explained by scholars in the field of Iranian Studies. As it is difficult to reproduce the orthographical peculiarities of Pahlavi words in transcription, I have taken recourse to the system followed by Prof. Ch. Bartholomae in Altiranisches Wörterbuch, "the indispensable instrument of all our studies." The words and passages under discussion are:—

I. Patačanbyō—Čītak Handarž i Pōryōtkēšān. 31 (Pahlavi Texts I. p. 45.)

II. Apar Xēm ut Xrat i FarroXᵛ-mart, Sec. 20-21 (Pahlavi Text II p. 166).

III. (a) ā-š (Pahl. Vend. I. 1; II 21; III 14);

(b) Av. ubjyāite (Pahl. Vend. VII 52. commentary).

(c) Xᵛązārak or huzārak (Pahl. Vend. XIII. 45.)

(d) Unān (Pahl. Vend. XVII. 2.)

I. The Av. word *patacanbyō* occurs in the Pahlavi Text[1] Čītak Handarži Pōryōtkēšān, 31 by way of a quotation from some Avestan passage which is now lost to us. Mss J and K 29 give the reading patačanbyō and Mss U_2 and P show reading patičanbyō. *Bartholomae* cites from the Ganji Šahīkān a word in Av. script which he takes as dat. pl. of pati. Čant:—"Which man is patičanbyō? Who after his father "ō škamb i mātar šavēt. N.P. pas uftād," which can hardly mean anything but "posthumous[2]". *Freiman* reads the word paitičanbyō and derives it from √Čand—,Čandēnītan, bal-čandag, to move, to shake and leaves the word untranslated by remarking that the word is doubtful[3]. *Nyberg* reads the word pata - Čanbyō without offering any etymology and meaning[4]. *Dastur Peshotanji Sanjana* reads

1. Pahlavi Texts ed. by Jamasp Asana I. p. 45 l. 16.
2. Z Air Wb. 179·
3. Pand Nāmaki Zartōšt. W.Z.K.M. 20. p. 262.
4. Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi und Glossar by Nyberg. S. V.

paitičanbyō like Freiman but offers no explanation of the word in the translation and the glossary of select terms[5]. *Mr. J. C. Tarapore* translates the word under discussion by "doomed" without giving any etymology and remarks that this word cannot be etymologically understood[6]. I myself have left this word unexplained when I published this work 'Čitak Handaszi Pōryōtkēšān in 1944[7]. Prof. Herzfeld has made an attempt to explain this difficult word. He says: "The explanation is based on the phonetic similarity of C. Ir. Čamb—and M. Ir. škanb-, and the inverse correspondence of O. Ir. šk: M. Ir. Č: It is written with the Č, which takes the place of Z-without exception—in M. P. fračant<frazanti, "progeny", *e. g.*, inscr. Fiiruzabad, l. 5: mtrnrshy vš frčndyn" Mihrnarseh and his progeny," also in the Pahl. Psalter patičant-seems to be M.P. patizant, comparable to frazanti and api. Zan Oa[8]". But he has not arrived at any meaning whatever.

I derive the word thus: pata-(patā, ptā, patar Pahl. pēt[9]) = father + Čan (cf. skr. शिश्न, Pahl. Čamiš, čamišn) meaning, testicles + byō abl. pl. suffix and I translate "from the testicles of the father." If we follow the variant reading pati - Čanbyō, it would then mean 'from the testicles of the master or husband.' Av. pati-skr. páti-means "master, husband, lord". This meaning suits the context very well. In order to justify this meaning of the word I give the transcription and translation of the passages in which this word is quoted:

Čē martōm *patacanbyō* ka hač pōšt i pitar ō škamb i mātar šavēt, aδak-aš Astvidāt mēnōkīhā band-ē andar ō grīv apakanēt, tāk zīvandak drahnāδ ān band nē pat mēnōk i vēh ut nē pat mēnōk i vattar hač grīv bē-kartan nē tuvān, bē pat ān i Xᵛēš hu-kunišnīh <i> ān i ahrō *β* pas hač bē vitīrišnīh ān band hač grīv bē ōftēt, ut ān i druvand pat ān i ham-band ō dōžaxᵛ niyēt[10].

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5. Ganji Šāhīkān p. 141; p. 14.

6. Pahlavi Andarz Nāmak by Mr. J. C. Tarapore p. 7 and p. 59.

7. Čītak Handarži ,Pōryōtkēšān tr. into English with notes by Ervad M. F. Kanga p. 10. f. n. 19.

8. Herzfeld, Zoroaster and His World. Ch. XXIV. p. 359 f. n.

9. Horn, Neupersischen Etymologie. 286. p. 64. Bartholomae (Air WB. 905-06, note 1) has noted that Geldner has adopted the reading patar throughout even though good mss. have pitar.

10. Pahlavi Texts ed. by Jamasp Asana p. 45. Sec. 31-32.

Further[11], when the seminal-fluid[12] <from the testicles of the father> goes from the spinal-chord of the father to the womb of the mother, Ast-vidāt[13] casts a noose invisibly into the neck; one cannot remove that noose from the neck till the end[14] of his life, neither through the good spirit nor through the evil spirit, but that noose falls off from the neck of the righteous after the passing-away, on account of his good deeds, whereas (Ast-vidāt) drags the wicked to the wicked-existence by means of the same noose[15].

II—Apar Xem ut Xrati Farrox -mart. Sec, 20-21:

I have selected Sec. 20 and 21 only from the Middle Persian Text 'apar Xēm ut X rat i Farroxᵛ-mart:' for discussion at this conference. I give below my transcription and translation of these two sections and discuss some important words, which have been misunderstood upto now. Prof. Pagliaro in his monograph on" Note di Lessicografia

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11. The word Čē, which introduces the sentence, means 'further, well, moreover"; cf. Šayist Nē Šāyist by Tavadia p. 28 f. n. 8 and p. 159 S. V. and Indo-Iranian studies by Tavadia p. 93.

12. I have translated the word martōm as 'seed of the man' *i. e.*, seminal fluid, in its literal sense and not in its ordinary sense of "man" as hitherto translated by Freimann, Nyberg, Bartholomae etc. It is derived from mart+tōm<tōhm, Av. taoxman, O.P. taumā, Pāz. Oum, Seed, sperm. origin; cf. Andreas-Barr, Bruchstücke einer Pehlēvi Übersetzung der Psalmen p. 62.

13. Av. astō-vidātu—lit. bone-breaker. divider of the body, is the daēva of destruction, from √dā-with vi-pref, to destroy; see my čītak Handarži Pōryōthēšān. p. 10. f. n. 20.

14. Lit. length; see Horn, N. p. Ety. 121; Salemann, G. Ir. Ph. I. 278 and Manichaeische Studien 155; Barth. Air Wb. 774 and Tavadia-Šāyist nē šāyist. p. 7.

15. Compare Vendidād XIX. 29: vizarš dēv nām,....rōβān bast nayēnēt druvandān i dēv-yasnān i āhōk-zivišnān martōmān [hat, har kas-ē pat band-ē andar gartan ōftēt; ka bē mīrēt, ka ahrōβ, ā-š hač gartan bē ōftēt, ka druvand, ā-š pat ān ham-band bē ō dōžaxᵛ āhanjēnd]. Cf. Pahlavi Vendidād by B. T. Anklesaria p. 383 l. 5-9 where he wrongly reads vādīnēt for nāyēnēt; āhū-zīvisnān (="living immortal lives) for āhōk-zīvišnān; as for ā-š and hanchēnd for āhanjēnd respectively, see Freiman, Pand Nāmaki Zartāšt. p. 263 f. n. 1.

Pahlavica[16]" has treated of a part of Sec. 20, whilst discussing the Pahl. word viyāpān kartan[17], but I differed from this learned authority entirely. Prof. Pagliaro transcribes and translates Sec. 20 in the following strain: "Martom-eč i kūr viyāpān kē pat bun i kār start ut vat-xrat uš har gāh pat frahang i gētīhān pat pēš + startak har rōč Kamar be aparāzand u afrank žanand andar bun dārvār gurg dārand ....<<un uomo cieco e distratto che sul piano dell'azione è confuso edi cattivo discernimento e sempre nel sapere pratico è a priori confuso (di quei tipi che) ogni giorno riattano la volta e rompono le decorazioni e sul pavimento di legno tengono ill fornello..............>>.

I beg to give my transcription and translation of these passages: (20) Martom-ič i kōr nıyāzān, kē pat bun i kār start vitārt hač-iš, har gās pat frahang vistāx^v pat pēš stūtak, har rōč kamar bē aβrāzēnd, ut aβrang ōzanand andar bun, šalvār; dōrēn dārēnd, mōčak tang i paštak, i saxtak, sahik kamar nikīrēnd, ut sīnak staβar mānēndku-mān nēst kas handāzak. (21) Kōr pašēmān ān rōč bavēnd i ka pat dāt ī X^vēš hačaδartar šavēnd, kē X^vāstak X^vart i pētar kart ut handōxt, i dūtakān yāft, X^vap būt šūt ;kē pīlak i kīsak nikīrēnd sarak a-nām; kētāk Xōšk pāδak i kandak; kē andar mān ut mēhn nikīrēnd; čisčiš dīt<an> i gart andar Xumbra i Xōšk i tuhīk vēnēnd; kē andar bun māndak, dužāfrīk <ut> nām i škastak; ka frāč ō nišast ut hanjaman rasēt, api-šān zang a-zōr ut škastak hač vītārtīh i X^vēš tarsēnd; nēst aβzārīh i pēšak, aβzār pat dēnār nē višēt nē pat vaxš ut nē pat rāzak.

Translation: (20) Also the blind and needy men are those who in the beginning of the work (are) stupefied and turned away from it; everytime they are proud of their knowledge and praised beforehand; everyday they raise up the waists and humiliate at the outset; they put on pairs of trousers and narrow shoes of Morocco leather and watch their stiff resplendent waists and keep chests stiff (thinking) that there is nobody like us. (21) The blind become repentent that day when they go most downwards by their own laws, who devoured, enjoyed and squandered the wealth, which (their) fathers made and accumulated and which was acquired by the members of the family; who peep into the bottom of the purse for a small coin and (find) no trace (of it), the sections of which (are like) the dry bottom of a moat; who survey to see various things in the houses and mansions but find dust in empty dry utensils; who at the outset are repentent, cursed and ignominious; when they come to the assembly and occupy seats in the front, their legs are powerless and broken and they entertain fright on account of their distracted nature; they have no skill of (any) profession and they profess skill neither in 'Dēnārs' nor in their interest nor in (their) architect.

16. Estratto della "Rivista Degli Studi Orientali. Vol. XIX. 1941. 289 ff.

17. Ibid pp. 289-292.

Notes.

Niyāzān: The needy, solicitous, necessitous, derived from Av. yās with ni-pref; Skr नि + याच् Pagliaro reads it viyāpān and translates "distratto"-distracted. The word viyāpān, Av. vi-āpa, vivāpā means desert, wilderness, barren waste. See my Pahlavi yašts p. 101.

Vitārt: Past-part of inf vitārtan, caus. of vitartan, to cause to pass, proceed, to move away, to cross, Av. vi+tar-. meaning turned-away (from it); Pagliaro reads u vat-Xrat and translates "di cattivo discernimento" of wicked judgment and reads the following word hač-iš as u-š.

Vistaxᵛ: The Editor of the text rightly suggests the reading in the f. n. vistāxᵛ, meaning, proud; cf N. Pers Gustax, Armen. vstah 'confident' in which višt could be compared with Budh. Sogdian "Wyštk" "agitation," Benveniste, Notes iii 229. p. 70. Pagliaro reads the word gētihiān and translates "worldly, pertaining to this world."

Stūtak: Praised, glorified honoured, eulogizeds, from inf. stūtan, Av. stav-;cf. stāyītan; Pagliaro reads startak with a sign+and translates "confuso," i,e., confused, confounded.

Šalvār: Šalvār, trousers; c.f. Messina, Ayātkāri Zāmāspīk, Ch. 12.12: "ušān zanān pa šalvār vastart hēnd u marzišn vas kūnēnd. Messina translates it in Italian "calzoni", meaning, pyjamas, trousers. Pagliaro reads it "dārvār, "pavimento di legno."

Dō-ren: Lit. means 'two-fold', made up of dō, two+rēn, suffix for multiplicatives (G. Ir. Ph. I. 1.290) which Neryōsang translates by skr. "gunam", fold; c. f. Unwala, Hōm yāšt p. 73 f. n. to para 16 (45); cf. yasna XI-9 where Av. uyē is translated dō-rēn and Pahl. Vend. V-28: dō-vēn. Darmesteter (Et. Ir. pp. 150-151) says that the Persian suffix īn is added to the ordinal numeral, but in Pahlavi this suffix is added to the cardinal and adds further that the letter r which precedes īn is wrongly written for letter v. Salemann (Mid. Pers. Gram. p. 65) remarks that the suffix rēn is doubtful as regards its origin and use. Pagliaro reads the word "gurg" and translates "tengono" "lupo" meaning "wolf".

Sahīk: Pers. Sahī "resplendent, showy" misunderstood and misapplied as "erect" in Persian, vide Henning's monograph on "Two Manichaen Magical Texts p. 47; BSOAS. 1947. Vol. XII, part I. cf. Handarž i ōšnar Dānāk by Dhabhar p. 10: ut čē harvisp-ākāsīh ut harvisp-dātārīh ut harvisp-dānišnīh i Xᵛēš čīš-ē ēn *sahīktar* aržōmandtar ut sūtōmandtar....dāt.=for He on account of His own omniscience and all-creatorship and all-knowledge created this thing which is more resplendent, more precious and more advantageous. Here Dhabhar translates 'sahīktar'

by "more straight", which is not appropriate in the context. See Dhabhar, Pahlavi Rivayēt accompanying Dātistān-Dēnīk p. 91: ahrāδihētōn *sahīk* ut vazurg ut aržōmand = righteousness is so resplendent, grand and precious. In the footn te Dhabhar gives the meaning of 'Sahīk' as "straight," which does not suit the context. Stig Wickander, in his "Der Arische Männerbund pp. 16-17, has transcribed and translated the whole passage commencing from ahrāδih ētōn sahīk .... There he reads the word 'sahīk' with a question mark and translates "erhaben" (?), which is not correct.

Māndak or mānīk: repentent, faulty, defective, from inf māndan, to repent, see Horn, Neupersischen Etymologie. 966, p. 215. This word occurs in Pahlavi Texts II. p. 148; Kārnāmak; Artaxšēr-i-Pāpakān (Antia, Ch. II. 26; Sanjana Ch. I. 43; Anklesaria Ch. II. 26) and Nīrangistān (Anatol Waag p. 84; Bulsara p. 394).

(*a*) Pahlavi Texts II p. 148: *māndak* ō ratān garzītan = to repent of sins or faults to the spiritual-leaders.

(*b*) Kārnāmak: ut nun-ič bōžišn gōβ, pat pētīk *māndak* hangār = and now give the explanation; regard it as the fault of (your) father.

(*c*) Nirangistan: ku har, kē andar yazišu frōt *māndayīh* kunēt aš pātfrās garzēt = "*i.e.*, any who might allow defect in the Holy Thanksgiving Service shall confess that to him and shall implore him to be prescribed the retribution (therefor)" (Bulsara.)

Waag (ibid. p. 126) compares the word with NP. mānda and translates "auslassung" and quotes in support of it Bartholomae's discussion of the phrase mānday garzītan "eine Auslassung, eine Unterlassung begehen" (Zur Kenntnis der mitteliranischen Mundarten 2. 32. 1.40 ft.)

Here the meaning 'repentent' defective (of character) suits the context well. Probably the word is an abbreviated form of pašēman, derived from paiti-manah = having a repentent mind. Horn (NP. Ety. p. 69) derives it from O.P. patiš-māna (Skr. prati-man) to requite, to pay. cf Hubschmann-Persische Studien. p. 40. 312.

Dūzāfrīk: Cursed, from duz, Av. duš-, OP. duš-Arm LW. dž (Horn, NP Ety 565 p. 126) + āfrīk from āfrītan, to bless; hence the word means "cursed."

Viset: He opens, inf. višātan, to open, to conquer (Frahang; Pahlavik by Junker p. 83); See Salemann, Mid Pers. Gram. p. 130.

Rāzak: Architect, making, Manich. Mid. Pers. r'z; cf vičitakīhā-i-Zātsparam 29. 2: rāz-i-kērōk kē katak dēsēt, *i.e.*, a skilful builder who builds a house; rāz i kērōk=skilled architect. (Bailey, Zoroastrian Problems in the IX Century Books p. 84 and 94.; See BSOS IX. 8.7). This word is wrongly translated by "bribe" and is compared with Pers. tāz. This Pers. word means deceit, deceptive attitude and the meaning 'bribe' hitherto assigned by some scholars is not appropriate.

Pastak i Saxtak: "of morocco leather"; cf. Pahl. text draxt i Asūrīk, 35 mōžak hēm saxtag; see Prof. Henning's paper on "A Pahlavi Poem" p. 644 f.n. 4, reprinted from the BSAOS, XIII. 3. 1950.

III. I have selected only four words for the purpose of discussion in this Conference from Pahlavi Vendidād by B. T. Anklesaria, who has failed to transcribe and translate them. These are:—

(*a*) ā-š (Pahl. Vend. I.1; II.21; III. 14): Mr. Anklesaria reads it a-s and omits translating the sentence in Frakart I[18]. I read it ā-š, ā meaning 'then', frequent in Pahlavi as correlative <* ād, Y Av. āat[19]. It is regularly followed by an enclitic pronoun, ā-š, ā- -mān, ā-šān, or -č,-či, ā-č, ā-či, 'then also'; for examples see Bartholomae-Zum Sasanidischen Recht Part III. p. 23-24; Part V-8, 25, 38; Zur Kenntnis der mitteliranischen Mundarten I. 8; IV. 14.

Vend. I & 1 Com.: ēn ku martōm ān gyāk ku ō zādēt, yi-š ō parvarēnd, ā-š vēh sahēt, ku nēvaktar<ut>āsāntar; ēman dāt=this is that place where man is born and whereon he is nourished, then he feels it best, *i.e.*, most excellent and comfortable; this I created.

Vend. II 21: Yim ān i ōhrmazd guft āšnūt, ka-š apāyist dīfan, ā-š dīt=Jamshed listened to what Ohrmazd has proclaimed; when he ought to see, he saw it.

Vend. III 14: Karēman ētōn kunēt yi-š pat gōmēz apāyēt šōstan, ā-š X^var ō bun.=When one makes (the body) so polluted that it is necessary to wash by means of bull's urine, then (there accrues) to the stock one X^var[20] sin.

(b) *Ubjyāite:* The word occurs in Pahl. Vend. VII. 52 commentary, Prof. Darmesteter remarks: "Sec. 53-54 (of the Avesta Vendidād) belong to the Pahl. commentary; they are composed of disconnected

18. Pahlavi Vendidād. p. 1.
19. Bartholomae, Zum Sasanidischen Rechtbuch. IV. 46.
20. A degree of sin; cf. Šāyist Nē Šāyist by Tavadia p. 13, §16.

quotations, part of which refers to different deeds by which a Tanāfuhr sin may be redeemed, while the other part refers to the rules of what may be called the book-keeping of good actions and sins[21]." The sentence 'yat hē avat pourum ubjyāite' is quoted by the commentator in the commentary from some Avestan nask which is now lost to us. Dastur Darab Sanjana and Dastur Hōshang Jamasp Asana give the reading of the word ubjyāite without any variants[22]. It is strange that Mr. B. T. Anklesaria gives the reading "Uba Jyāite" and he translates the quotation thus: "When both his may go (even) so much[23]." His translation is quite vague and unintelligible. Ervad Kavasji Kanga takes it pres. subj. 3/1 atm. from √ ubj, to press down, to destroy[24]. Bartholomae derives the word from √ ubj, to weigh[25] and compares it with Skr. Ubj[26]: This meaning of Bartholomae suits the context better. The quotation runs as under: Gōgušnasp guft: ē pat sitōs ēvat pat dit bēštvēt: Yat hē aval paourum ubjyāitē.=Gōgusnasp said: know that at the time of Sitōš[27] one will go for the other: his (good deed) outweighs[28] so much. It may be noted that Mr. Anklesaria has kept the word "tanī" in his Pāz. transcription. The word tanī is not a Pāz. word and it is the ideogram of Ir. dit. see Junker, Frahang i Pahlavik p. 118. See Pahlavi Vendidād p. 128 l. 7 and l. 14 words "vad" and "askahûnêt" are kept in his Pāz. transcription. These two words are ideograms and their Iranian forms are 'tāk' and 'vindēt' respectively.

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21. Sacred Books of the East Vol. IV. Second Edition, 1895. p. 89 f.n. 3. Darmesteter has left untranslated these quotations, which form paras 53 and 54 in Westergaard's Edition of the Vendidād. Ervad Antia has followed Westergaard cf. Vendidād Text p. 74.

22. Pahlavi Vendidād by Sanjana p. 126 l. 18 and by Jamasp Asana p. 278 l. 7.

23. Pahlavi Vendidād by Anklesaria p. 175.

24. Avesta Dictionary p. 104. 25. Barth. Air Wb. 605. 26. Grassman Wb. 259-60;

27. *i.e.* at the dawn of the fourth day; for details, see Tavadia, SNS. 10H.

28. Darmesteter (S B E Vol. IV p. 270) translates the sentence thus:

"Gogûshnasp says: during the sitôsh, sin and merit are compared."

Yad hē avad paourum ubgyāitē—"if it outweighs so much . . ."

"If sins outweigh the merits by three Srôshō-karanâm, [he shall stay] in hell till the day of resurrection." Compare Artāk Vīraf Nāmak VI 9-11.

(c) *huzārak: Pahl. Vend. XIII 45:*

Mr. Anklesaria reads this word "hu-chihara" and "hvāzār" respectively and translates "good cheerfulness" and "forbearing". The correct reading and meanings of this word have been pointed out by Prof. Bailey in the Bulletin of School of Oriental Studies, Vol. IX p. 91, where a number of references are given. He reads it "Xᵛazār, Xᵛazara" and translates "small, little, few." Mr. R C. Zachner has discussed this word fully[29]. He reads huzārak and agrees with Prof. Bailey's interpretation. To the references cited by Bailey and Zachner I add one more from the Pahlavi Text Čītak Handarž i Pōryōtkēšān, 54[30]. The reading huzārak is now assured by Mid Pers Turfan hwz'rk, cited by Henning. The sentence runs thus: hu-šnōhr Čēgōn āsrōn, ku pat *Xᵛazārak* apar pat rāmišn bē šavēt=well-satisfied like the priest, *i.e.*, he is contented with a little[31]. From this it will seen that Mr. Anklesaria's transcription and translation are far from correct.

(d) *Unān (Vend XVII 2)*: ētōn ān apar tōšēnd andar *unān* [andar sūlāk] aivāp andar rēšišu (andar drēm].

Mr. Anklesaria (Pahl. Vend. p. 340) reads "aûn" and leaves it untranslated in the sentence quoted above. He reads: "aêtûn ân awartôsēnd andar-aûn,—(andar sûra),—(ayûp andar) rêsêt (rêsakān) —(andar....)" and translates thus: "thus thereby are left over small pieces of hair in '*aûn*'—(in crevices),—or (on) the hairs of the beard,—(on twisted locks of hair)."

The word is to be read unān, meaning 'rifts, holes' and this meaning is further supported by the Pahl. gloss "sūtāk", holes. It is the mere transcription of Av. word unā-sb. fem., meaning "earth-hole" (Reichelt, Avesta Reader p. 152 and 224[32]): Dastur Jamesp Asana (Glossarial Index p. 229) reads ûnâ and says "meaning uncertain." See Pahl yasn 71. 9: unīk, Pahlavi translation of Av. word upas ma-adj.

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29. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Jan. 1940 pp. 35-45.

30. See my Čītak Handarž i Pōryōtkēšān. p. 14.: ān i ēnhazārak sar, kē dēnvattarīh amar ut mazdyasnīh Xᵛazār ut dēn adātīh frahist..... Freiman (Pand Nāmak i Zartōšt. p. 277) read ačārak wrongly.

31. Compare Anklesaria's translation: (he is) well-contented like the athravan (that is, with good cheerfulness he becomes over joyful).

32. Barth Air Wb. 401 and Z Air Wb. 29.

'living' the earth, under the ground; and unānēnd-Pahl. yasn. 10-15= they make a rift[33].

I read the drim as drēm[33] and compare with Av. Word driway subs. fem. "mole, birth mark and derive it from inf darrītan, to tear. Mr. Anklesaria has shown "ram" in Pahl. characters and left it untranslated.

I translate the quotation under discussion thus: in this way they are left over in burrows [in holes] or in the tendrils [in the moles].

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33. See Dhabhar. Pahl. yasna and Vīsparad. Glossary p. 52 and p. 185 also ibid. Pahlavi Visperad Karda I. f. n. 2. p. 296. See A Waag, Nirangistan p. 99: "andar ō *un* (andar ānē sūrāγ), ayāβ andar kaδārce *darm*."; compare Vend. XVII 2; See Bulsara, Nirangistan p. 455 Ch. IX 1.

(5) The Pahlavi Word for 'Monster'

by

Dastur Hormazdyar Mirza, Udvada.

1. In B. S. O. A. S. XII pp. 41-43, Dr. W. B. Henning has given a very illuminating note on the M. P. T. word pšqwč, occurring in a Manichaean magical text. Quoting evidences from Iranian and foreign sources, Dr. Henning has come to the conclusion that the word means 'a griffin or a monster like a griffin'. Dr. Henning has pointed out that besides M. P. T. the word, in various modified forms, occurs also in Pahlavi, in the Talmud, in Armenian, and in Georgian.

2. In the Manichaean magical text (Henning, B. S. O. A. S. XII pp. 39-47), the Spirit of Fever is described as a figure having three forms and wings like a pškwč [: paškuč 'griffin']. But, as Dr. Henning remarks, the comparison is not clear. Dr. Henning quotes Pahlavi Rivayat accompanying the Dadistān ī Dēnīk p. 22.10, where the Pahlavi word bškwč occurs. This Phl. passage will be discussed later. In the Talmud the word occurs as pušqanṣā; and it is 'traditionally explained as a female raven'. According to Dr. Henning, Armenian paškuc translated the Greek word for 'griffin'. Dr. Henning quotes Marr for the statements that 'in the Armenian Geography the *paskuč hav* 'bird paskuč' is among the strange animals of India'; and that the word occurs in Middle Armenian as pasguč; and 'in an unpublished medieval dictionary it is glossed by bone-swallower (Ossigrage)'. In Georgian the word occurs as p'askunji with variants; and it translates the Greek word for 'griffin'. According to Marr, quoted by Dr. Henning, 'in late medieval versions of the Shahname p'askunji renders Pers. Sīmurγ; and it is 'in body like a lion, his head, beak, wings, and feet are like those of an eagle; he is downy; some of them are four-legged, some two-legged; he carries off elephants, hurts horses; there is also another kind, which is quite like an eagle, but very big'. Dr. Henning notes that Ossetic pakondzi (a loanword from Georgian) is a winged creature with seven heads'; and that in 'an Ossetic tale recorded merely in Russian the same beast is called Paskondi'. According to Dr. Henning, Mme. Trever describes the monster as 'the winged dog of the Ossetic epic'; and recalls 'a Ukrainian beast Paskuda'. Dr. Henning recalls also 'the ordinary Russian appelative paskuda 'monstrosity'.

3. On the strength of what has been stated above Dr. Henning notes four chief forms of the word: pušqansā, paškuč (with baškuč),

paskuč, and p'askunji. As to these forms of the word, Dr. Henning remarks:

> 'Armenian and Georgian may have come from Middle Iranian *pašku* (*n*) č/j, but —*sk*— is strange. The Aramaic may have come from Iranian or vice versa; —ṣ— can be —č— in either direction. Perhaps an Akkadian word?'

4. This short paper is intended to suggest a possible etymological explanation of the word. As shown below, the word occurs twice (in two forms) in Pahlavi; and from the context in which the word is used in Phl. it appears that the Pahlavi word means' a monster, a noxious creature of the Evil Spirit, Ganāk Menōk.

5. In Phl. two forms occur:

(1) bškwč—Pahl. Rivāyat Dātistān ī Dēnīk, edited by Ervad B. N. Dhabhar, p. 22.10. The original initial p— is here changed to b— due to Mod. Persian influence.

(2) pšgwnč—Mēnōk ī Xrat, edited by Ervad T. D. Anklesaria, p. 91.4, note 45; edited by Dastur Sanjana, p. 46.16.

6. The word pškwč may be explained as a compound word: pš—+ —kwč. The first component may be explained as derived from Av. fšav—, fšu— (Bartholomae, Altir. Wb. 1029; Kanga, Av. Dic. p. 329), a modified from of Av. pasav—, pasu— (Altir. Wb. 879; Av. Dic. p. 329): 'animal'. The second component part may be explained as a derivative of Av. kaxuzi (Vidēdāt XXI, 17), a term denoting the class of a daēvic creature, as explained below. Hence the word would mean 'an animal of the daēvic group, a despicable animal, a contemptuous animal, a monster'.

7. The Av. fšu— occurs in the compound frādat-fšu— (Yas. 1.4; 2.4; 3.6; 4.9; 6.3; 7.6; Gāh II.6); and the second component thereof, namely fšu—, is generally translated into Phl. by fšāk, pašak, fšah, etc- see Pahlavi Yasna, edited by Ervad B. N. Dhabhar pp. 6, 14, 22, 30, 39, 45, and Glossary pp. 77, 85; Zand ī Khurtak Avistāk, p. 49. But in these cases the Phl. word is a component part of the name of the Yazata, and may, therefore, be regarded as mere transcript of the Av. word. Moreover, other Av. compound words containing fšu— as second component, namely Av. kammafšva—, drvafšu—, frafšu—, matfšu—, haurvafšu—, the second component is translated by Phl. ramak 'flock'. Hence one can, with justification, object to this word being taken as an ordinary Phl. word with general sense of animal. But in Vidēvdāt VII. 4, Av. varatafšō is translated into Phl. vartak fšakīh (Hoshang p. 300), and vartak fšūkih (Sanjana p. 137). Similarly, in Yas. XXXIX-1 Av. pasukanam is translated pasvīkān (Dhabhar p. 173). Moreover, the

derivatives of this Av. Phl. word are preserved in Mod. Iranian dialects, as noted by Paul Horn, Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie p. 287. We can, therefore, argue that the word fšak, pašak, or pasak is attested in Phl., though it is very rarely used.

8. As to the second component word—kwč, it can be explained as derived from Av. kaxuzi (Vidēvdāt XXI-17). The word in this case is used in the sense of an evil creation; and it occurs in the same context as ayehe (which is obscure), and yātumaiti jahi: 'a sorceress'. In the Phl. Vidēvdāt the word is translated as xvarreh kastār: 'decreaser of glory', and explained ahrman: 'Evil Spirit'. Bartholomae, Altir. Wb. 432, explains the word: 'Bezeichnung einer Klasse weiblicher Wesen der daēvischen Schöpfung'; and translates 'verächtliche Gauklerin; Gaukler;' Skt. kuhaka—. Kanga, Av. Dic. 123, explains: 'name of a Druj or an evil spirit', and quotes Harlez recalling Mod. Pers. کخ kakh, and کج kaj.

9. It appears that the Av. word kaxuži is preserved in various forms in Mod. Pers. as *kakh*, kaj, kaz, kaž or kuž, and kūž, and also in other Mod. Iranian dialects, as noted below:

(1) Steingass, Persian-English Dictionary,

p. 1016	کج	: kaj 'crooked, curved, wry, distorted, bent'.
	کج باز	: kajbāz 'unfair play, fraudulent'.
p. 1017	کج خواه	: kaj khvāh 'deceitful'.
	کج دل	: kaj dil 'crooked in mind, perverse, ill-natured'.
	کج دم	: kaj dum 'having a crooked tail, a scorpion, a dragon.'
p. 1018	کخ زنده	: kakh zhanda 'an evil spirit, a demon'.
p. 1027	کژ	: kazh 'crooked' etc.
	کژ بیان	: kazh byān 'giving a wrong or perverse explanation.'
	کژ بین	: kazh bīn 'squinting, malignant'.
p. 1028	کژ گاو	: kazh gāv 'the mountain-ox of Tibet with a bushy tail, the sea-ox.'
p. 1061	کوژ	: kūzh 'crooked, curved'.

(2) Lorimer, Phonology of the Bakhtiari, Badakhskani, and Madaglashti Dialects of Modern Persian, p. 106: Bakhtiari kaj, kač: 'crooked'.

(3) Grierson, Ishkashmi, Zebaki, and Yazghulami—An account of Three Iranian Dialects, p. 84: Ishkashmi kaž: 'crooked'.

10. In connection with these Mod. Iranian words, we may quote the following sentence from chapter 23, on the Xarfastars, the noxious creatures, of the Saddar Bundehesh, edited by Ervad B. N. Dhabhar, p. 93 : کوزه که آن را بتازی مور خوانند +

'a *Kuza* which is called ant in Arabic.' See also B. N. Dhabhar, Persian Rivayats p. 520. Furthermore, in Persian Rivayats, کرکوزه karkūza is mentioned as one of the noxious creatures; see M. R. Unvala, Darab Hormazyar's Rivayat, p. 272·9 B. N. Dhabhar, p. 268.

11. As shown above, Avesta and Pahlavi words give both -š- and -s-, as in Av. fšav-and pasuka-; and also in Phl. fšak, pašak, and pašvikān. This, therefore, clearly explains the 'strange -sk-, as noted by Dr. Henning, in the Armenian and the Georgian forms of the word. Moreover, in common with Mod. Pers. کژ kuž, and کژ kuž, the word pškwe is written in various forms with -u-, long or short. The Phl. word, therefore, should be read paškūž, baškūž, or paškunž, with the meaning as settled above.

12. According to the literal meaning of the Avesta word kaxuži 'sorcerer, sorceress,' as given by Bartholomae, the Mid. Iranian word paškūž should mean 'an animal, or a noxious creature which is a sorcerer'. This idea of a noxious creature being a sorcerer is not unknown in the Iranian literature. In connection therewith we may quote Great Bundahišn, edited by Ervad T. D. Anklesaria, p. 144·15ff. :

ētōn gōwēt ku xraftar hamāk yātūk u mār yātūktar; bē haγar-š (. . . as in D. H.) ōzat nē mirēt (read . . . for . . .). mār ān-ič hast kē zahr pa čašm dārēt pa nikiriēn marton bē ōzanēt čigōn ka gazīt ēstēt; ān-ič i hast hač dūr (. . . as in DH.) gyāk gāw u gōspand u asp u mart apāč ō x^vēš čhanjēt ōpārēt; u aždahāk ān-ič bavēt, u-ž hand čand dušūākih patiš kē hangōšītak i vināskārān anākīh kunēt.

kastar xraftar [ī] gilak yātūk-dēnīh rāy x^varišnīk čiš ī pa dūrīh hač ōi nihēnd bē šavēt, ēvar ku nē pa bōō vēnišn (. . . as in DH.) bē pa yātūkīh awiš apāyēt.

'It is said that the noxious creatures are all sorcerers; and the serpent is a greater sorcerer (than other noxious creatures), unless it is killed, it does not die. The serpent is also that (creature) which has poison in the eyes, and kills men by sight, just as if they (*i.e.* men) are bitten (by serpents); that is also (the creature) which drags animals, sheeps, horses, and men from afar towards itself, (and) devours (them); and the dragon also is one (of them); and he has very much evil knowledge, who thereby perpetrates evil just like sinners.

The smaller noxious creature of mud, on account of sorcerous nature (yātūk-dēnīh), approaches articles of food, which they (*i.e.* men) put at a distance away from it; it is clear that it reaches upto it, not on account of smell (and) sight, but on account of sorcery.'

13. The word occurs in the following Phl. texts:

(1) Pahlavi Rivayat accompanying the Dātistān ī Dēnīk, p. 22·7ff. mēnōk ī drōn ka yazēnd apāk avēšān dēvān kāričār kunēnd 99 bār ētōn saxt kōxšēt čigōn gāv baškūž . . . nun-avēšān dēvān bē ō zamīk zanēnd u cigōn tagarg ka bē ō zamīk ōftēt.

'The Mēnōk of Drōn, when people worship (him), fights 99 times with those dēvs as fiercely as the Bull (fights) the monster (baškūž); now they (*i.e.* people) (are able to) smite those dēvs on the earth; and (the dēvs are) like hail when it (*i.e.* hail) falls on the earth.'

In this passage, the Bull may be a form assumed by the Mēnōk of Drōn just as Varaeraγna-assumes the form of a beautiful Bull, as described in the Behram Yašt 7. The fight between the Bull and the monster may be compared with that between Tištrya, in the form of a beautiful horse, and Apaoṣa, in the form of a dark and frightful horse, as described in the Tištrya Yašt 20-28. According to the Great Bundahišn (p. 62·7) Tištr assumes also the form of a bull in his fight against Apōš. The monster (baškūž) may be same as the dreadful monster, the form assumed by Apaoṣa.

(2) Mēnōk ī Xrat, ed. Ervad T. D. Anklesaria, p. 91·5ff; ed. Sanjana, p. 46·15ff.; ed. Andreas, p. 31. 1f.:

u hač sām sūt ēn būt ku-š mār ī sravbar u gurg ī kapūt kē paškūnž (as in K35) xᵛānēnd................bē ōzat.

'And from Sām was this benefit that he killed the horned serpent, and the dark-coloured wolf, which they (*i.e.* people) call monster (paškūnž)'.

Pazand reads: pāhaniča; and Sanskrit has: पेहिनमिति

14. In the above passage, the dark-coloured wolf (gurg ī kapūt) is called monster (paškūnž). This gurg ī kapūt is referred to in the Great Bundahishn, ed. T. D. Anklesaria p. 147·13-14. In the Chapter on nature of the wolf species, it is stated that the Ganāk Mēnōk produced a noxious wolf of dark body; and out of this Ganāk Mēnōk produced various kinds of wolves, one of which is (Great Bundahišn p. 147·13f.):

palang kē kapūt-ič (written .... for . . .) xᵛānēnd.

'the panther, which they call also dark-coloured'.

According to these Phl. texts, therefore, Phl. baškūž or paškūnž is a dark-coloured noxious creature of the wolf-species.

15. It appears that the Phl. word p'šk: pašk: 'gnat', Great Bundahišn p. 144·13, is cognate with Mid. Pers. paškūž. Moreover, the following words from Mod. Persian, and from various other Mod. Iranian dialects, culled from various sources, may also be regarded as cognate with Mid. Pers. paškūž:

(1) Steingass, Persian-English Dictionary, p. 252:

پشک	pašk	:	'owl'
پشک	pušk	:	'cat'
پشه	paššа	:	'gnat'

(2) Grierson, Ishkashmi, Zebaki, and Yazghulami—An Account of Three Iranian Dialects, pp. 91, 108, 112:

Ishkashmi	paša	:	'fly'
,,	piš	:	'cat'
Sanglīčī	pašai	:	'fly'
,,	piš	:	'cat'
Waxī	piš	:	'cat'
Zēbakī	puš	:	'cat'
Šuγnī	paš	:	'cat'
Yūdγā	piškoh	:	'cat'
Sarīkolī	piš	:	'cat'

(3) Lorimer, The Phonology of the Bakhtiarī, Badakhshani, and Madaglashti Dialects of Modern Persian, pp. 115, 183, 199:

Baxtiarī paška	:	'fly'
Bādaxšānī pušuk	:	'cat'
Madaglaštī pušuk	:	'cat'

16. The above explanation shows that the word paškū (n) ž is Iranian; and in Phl. it means 'despicable, contemptible noxious creature, a monster'; and from Iranian it found its way into various languages of Middle East, and Europe.

(6) "Vasimcha Yam Panchasdwara" in the "Sea Vourukasha"

by

H. R. Bana m.sc.

In the last and eighth chapter of Haptan Yasht of Khurdak Avesta, Yasna Haptanghaiti Ha 42, 4, "Vasi Panchasdwara" is also extolled. The words Vasi Panchasdwara is found to occur only once in the existing Avestan texts as stated above.

The text of Haptan Yast suggests that all items included in it have direct or indirect bearing on the seven Ameshaspentas including Ahuramazda, who also is one in their Union; that is 'One United whole' formed by the union of the seven Ameshaspentas.

In the last or the eighth chapter of this yast, after extolling the Ameshaspentas, roads, bridges, grown up corn, Ahuramazda and his chosen prophet, Vohumana, Alburz, the earth and the sky, the three-legged ass, the tree Gaokerena etc. the reciters say; "Vasimcha Yam Panchasdwaram Yazamaide" "We extol the vasi (a place) with 50 gates." (Ref. translation by Late Ervad C. E. Kanga).

Vasi is translated by Late Ervad Kanga as "A huge aquatic animal; a sort of Leviathan" (P-483 Av. Eng. Dictionary by Kanga). In doing so, Ervad Cawasji Kanga seems to have followed the translation of Bundehishna. However, the same word "VASI" is translated as a proper noun indicating the name of place in his translation of Khordeh Avesta Page 189—Yt. Haptan. The word Panchasdwara is not clearly translated by Kanga on P. 314 of his dictionary but he takes it as a proper noun of a fish along with the word "Vasi". However, in his Khordeh Avesta, the word Panchasdwara is taken as adjective to "Vasi" and translated as 'Having 50 gates.' Scholars differ in giving the correct translations of "Vasimchayam Panchasdwaram." Harley, Darmsteter, Mills have taken the words to mean "A gigantic Fish with fifty fins"; Ervad Cawasji Kanga has followed Spiegel in translating the words as "A place named Vasi with fifty gates." Spiegel, however, takes it as "a place with fifty fountain heads" and takes it as an imaginary (Spiritual) abode—a mythical land having fifty fountains.

Bundehishna chapter 18th gives us details regarding the contents of the Sea Vourukashna. One of these is the tree Gaokerena bearing the seeds of all earthly vegetation or the white Haoma—giving the

elixir of immortality. To protect this "Symbol of immortality" which is to be utilised at the time of Renovation (Frashokereti) when all the recreated beings will be immortalised, Ahuramazda created ten Fishes (Pah. Mahi) which go round the tree. One of these Fishes has its head always turned towards a Vazag (a sea monster of the species of the Lizard or the frog) which is constantly trying to attack and kill the tree of immortality, but for the guarding Fishes. The Fishes and the Vazag are said to cut everything that comes in their way into two except "Vasi Panjasadvaran." (Ref. J. J. Mody's translation of Bundehisna Page 75).

In chapter 14th of the Bundehisna 10 genera or kinds of fishes are mentioned and these are further sub-divided into 282 species. Of these the first created, hence, the ancestor of all, is called "Arij" Fish. This genus "Arij" is also called "Kara" Fish in chapters 18th and 24th of Bundehisna.

The fish "Vasi Panchasdwaran" is related to the Kara Fish as it is said to stay in the same place Vourukasha. It is so big that its length only cannot completly be traversed by a man travelling from morning till evening.

Many of our scholars are unanimous in suggesting that the Sea Vourukasha (Pah. Frahokant) is an open space between the earth and the sky or the earth and the heavenly abode (Garodemana) which I am inclined to accept for the purpose of this paper.

Prof. Shapurji K. Hodiwalla in his "Zarthustra and his contemporaries in the Ṛgveda" on page 69 says "The Sea Vourukasha is, I think, here as in several other places, used for the open space between the earth and sky."

Mr. Ardeshir Khabardar translates Jaryo Vourukasha as "The expanse of the orbit of the Sun, Planets 12 rashis (Zodiacal stellar signs) and 27 Nakshatras or asterisms" or in short "Ecliptic circle."

The two meanings attributed to the word Vasi by various scholars namely 'Space' or 'Fish' can thus be settled by taking into consideration the two meanings of the word 'Vourukasha,' namely 'expanse' or the 'Sea'.

Whatever the meaning of the word 'Vasi', we can analyse it as something with fifty outlets or doors. To me the word space or enclosure with fifty doors appears to be most suitable. This may be the space enclosed by the "line of action" (field of activity) of the seven Ameshaspentas and their various helpmates which collectively form an enclosure contained in space (Vourukasha) made from their Schyothnaongh—actions. In Rapithwan Gah and Sraosha Yast we read about this Anjuman of Ameshaspenthas "Avat Vyakhnemcha Hanjamanem cha Yajmaide Yat asti Ameshnam spentanam, Bareshnavo

Avanghae Asno Dhimatem":—We extol this society and assembly of Ameshaspentas which they have kept high above in the space (Asno-Sky). This space has 50 outlets which are multiples of 7 namely 7×7=49, plus one, for the combined action of all helpmates towards Garodemana. The fiftieth outlet connects VASI with Garodamena. Thus the seven Ameshaspenthas spread their good guiding actions or influence on the seven Keshwars making total number of outgoing outlets to 49. The souls of the material creations who accept this line of action laid down before them by the efforts of the Ameshaspenthas are nearing perfection and immortality. In other words, they are said to have tasted the elixir of immortality, Gaokerana. The Sea Vourukasha is said to be connected to the material world, according to Aban yast. This link is in turn linked with Vasi panchasdwara. The fiftieth door of this Vasi links the immortal souls who deserve highest heaven with Garodemana. In Avesta we read "Yoi Hapta Hamo Manangho, Hamo Vachangho, Hamo Schyothnaongho" about Ameshaspentas who are said to be one in thought word and deed. Seven Ameshaspentas, therefore, require only one door to link the souls with higher abode (Garodemana) as a reward for attaining perfection and hence immortality. In Gathas we read "Ameshaspenta Gathao Geurwain" which suggests that the Gathas were brought to the knowledge of Zarthushtra by the Ameshaspentas. Gathas are the essence of knowledge which would lead humanity to perfection through their actions. The contents of the expanse (Sea) Vourukasha may summarily be explained as under:—1. Vasi Panchasdwara:—an expanse kept aloof and separate in the expanse Vourukasha, with 49 outlets for spreading the immortalising method of working laid down by Ameshaspentas (7 in number) for creations to act in the Keshwars (7 in number according to Avestan scriptures). The essence or spirit of the creations when perfected by this line of action of Ameshaspentas are immortalised and merge into expanse Vasi Panchasdwara through the medium of Gaokerena tree. Thus immortalised the spirits (Urvans) get Frashokeroti and are sent to Garodemana, the abode of Ahuramazda through the fiftieth outlet.

2. *Gaokerena*:—The elixir which acts as a medium to immortalise the Urvan and is represented by a tree in the expanse Vourukasha.

3. *Vazag*:—It is a frog or lizard or some similar personification of Angramanyue which tries constantly to introduce evil line of action into the Ahurian creation of the seven Keshvars.

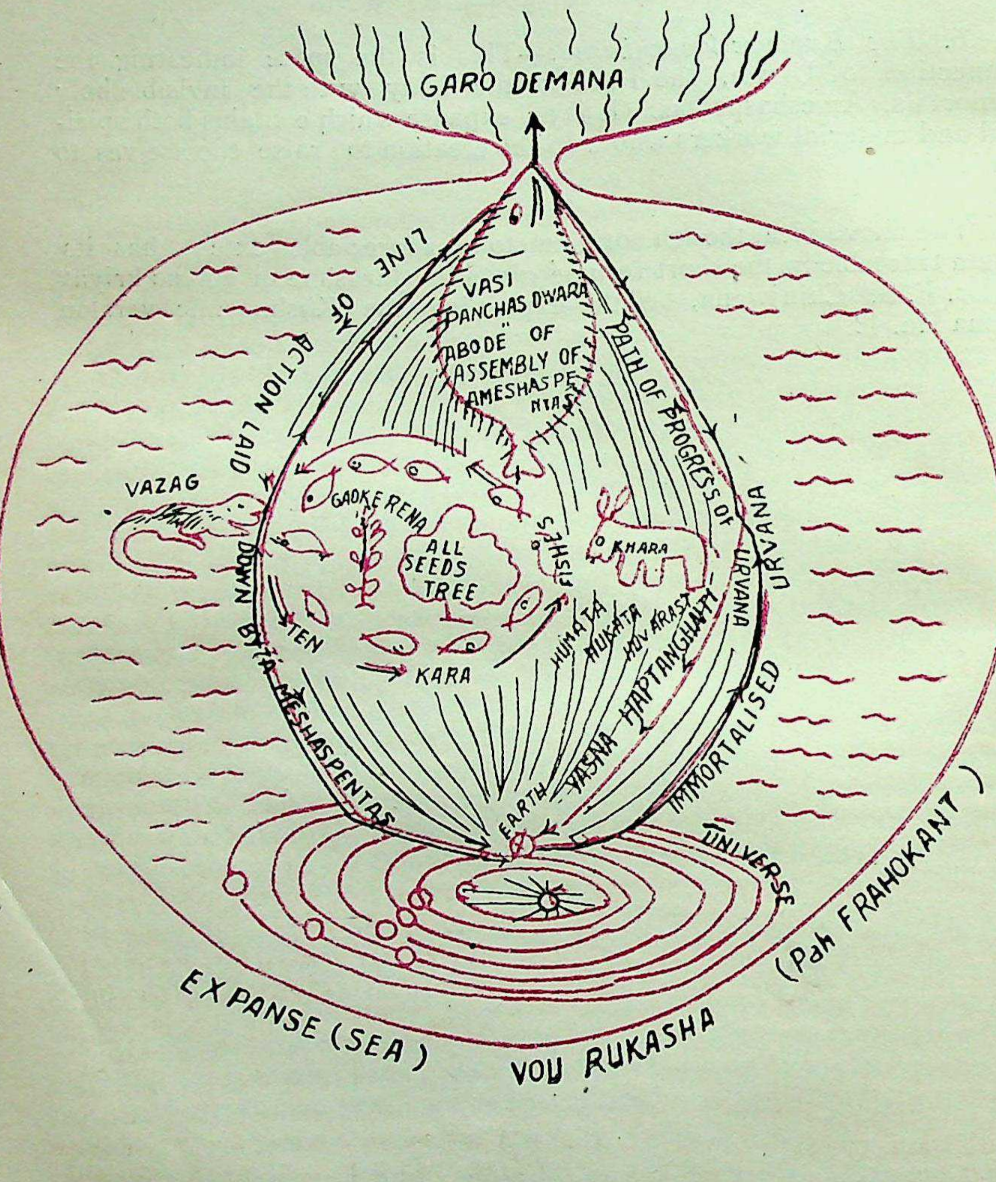
4. *Kara fishes:*—These are protectors of the two trees one Gaokerena and the other carrying all the seeds of the trees which grow on the seven Keshwars. Thus they are protectors of life and help the creation to live and make effort for immortalising their spirit.

5. *Khar:*—The three-legged ass appears to indicate the three key words Humata, Hukhta, Huvarashta which can help Urvan to rise to the level of perfection. This, therefore, is a further medium to work in

conjunction with Vasi Panchasdwara like Gaokerena. The creation desirous of attaining immortality or perfection like that of 7 Ameshspentas has to procure the particular line of action coming from the 49 outlets through the tree Gaokerena and the three-legged ass. Thus the latter two link Urvanic portion of material creation with the Minoi Immortals namely Ameshaspentas.

6. *The Expanse Vourukasha:*—This is the space indicating the connection of Urvan, the Tanu or the body with the invisible holy immortals, Ameshaspentas. It is an expanse which contains both spiritual and material workers who help the creation to raise themselves to perfection.

The above idea, though original to an appreciable extent, has its origin traceable in the short resumé given in "Jazashne in buland kriyā" by Dr. F. S. Chinjwalla, while explaining the Khshnoomic version Yasna Ha. 42.


GARO DEMANA
LINE OF ACTION LAID DOWN BY A MESHASPENTAS
VASI PANCHAS DWARA
"ABODE" OF ASSEMBLY OF AMESHASPENTAS
PATH OF PROGRESS OF URVANA
VAZAG
GADKERENA
ALL SEEDS TREE
FISHES
KHARA
TEN
KARA
HUMATA HUKATA HUVARAST
HAPTANGHAITI
YASNA
URVANA
IMMORTALISED
EARTH
UNIVERSE
EXPANSE (SEA)
VOU RUKASHA
(Pah FRAHOKANT)

(7) THE DATE OF THE DEATH OF YAZDAGARD III

by

J. M. UNVALA, PH.D. (HEIDELBERG, GERMANY).

Arab and Persian historians are unanimous about the place where Yazdagard III, the last Sassanian sovereign met his tragic fate. It was a flour-mill near the city of Marw, where he was assassinated by a miller named Khosrō at the instigation and order of Māhōē the margrave (*marzbān*) of Marw. Among the oriental sources, Firdausī only gives in his *Shāhnāmah* the date on which this event took place as the night of the 30th day of the 3rd month (*Khordād Māh Anīrān Roz*) of the Persian year, as the late Mr. Fardoonji D. J. Paruck calls it. He says in his *Sassanian Coins*, Bombay 1924, pp. 120-121, as follows: "The exact date of the death of Yazdagard is not known. Arab and Persian historians give only the year A. H. 31, without indicating the month. This year ran from 24th August, 651 to 12th August, 652, and the 20th year of Yazdagard from 12th June 651 to 10th June, 652. The Arab astronomer Kutbu-d-dīn says that Yazdagard was killed in the year 960 of the embolismic period which corresponds to 651 A. C. Firdausī places the event in the night of the 30th day of the 3rd month Khordād, *i. e.* 90th day of the Persian year, corresponding to the night between 9th and 10th September, 651. This date corresponds to the night between 17th and 18th Muharram A. H. 31." W. H. Valentine considers A. H. 31 as corresponding to 651 A. D., the date of the death of Yazdagard (*Sassanian Coins,* London p. 70), as also Colonel Allotte de la Fuye. A. Mordtmann says that Yazdagard was assassinated between 21st March and 23rd August, 651 (*ZDMG.* 34, p 151), and according to the late Mr. Palonji Barjorji Desai, precisely on the 23rd August, 651 (*History of the Sassanians* in Gujarati, Bombay p. 47)). Ferdinand Justi places this event in Autumn 651 (*Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie,* II, p. 547) and J. de Morgan in September, 651 (*Monnaies Orientales,* Paris tome I, 3 fasc, col. 597, note 2). It should be, however, observed that Lt. Col, P. M. Sykes gives 652 A. D. as corresponding to A. H. 31 (*A History of Persia.* London 1915, vol. I, p. 544). The late Mr. Mancherji Pestonji Khareghat has given 652 as the date of the death of Yazdagard (J. M. Unvala, *Collection of Colophons of Manuscripts bearing on Zoroastrianism in some Libraries of Europe*, Bombay 1940, p, 19, note 1).

Now, the following two dates are important for arriving at the correct date of the death of Yazdagard III. Mr. Paruck says that Yazdagard ascended the throne in the second half of 632 or in the first half of 633 A. D. (*Sassanian Coins*). The *Reader's Encyclopaedia,*

London begins the era of Yazdagard with 16th June, 632, which is also the year of his accession to the throne. Ten years later, *i. e.* in 642, corresponding to A. H. 42, he lost the fateful battle of Nehavand. He passed ten other years in the vain hope of stemming the tide of the victorious Arabs until he was assassinated at Marw in 652, *i. e.* exactly twenty years after his coming to the throne. This year 652 A. D. commenced a new era in Iran, called the *Era of the Zoroastrians*. It is found in the colophons of Avesta Pahlavi manuscripts written by Persian Zoroastrians. The formula used to mention this era is; *andar sāl i....pas hac sāl i 20 hacōe be yazdakart sāh ī sahrayārān i, e.* "in the year................after the 20th year of (the reign of) His Majesty Yazdakart, son of Šahriyār." This era is also called *Pārsīk* in the third colophon of the *Denkart, i. e. andar sāl i 1009 pārsīk pas hac sāl i 20 i ōe be yazdðkart i. e.* "in the Parsi year 1009 after the 20th year (of the reign) of His Majesty Yazdakart" (Unvala, *Collection of Colophons*, p. 19, note 1). Now, as the late Mr. Khareghat places the enthronement of Yazdagard in 632, 652 A. D. must be considered as accepted by him as the date of the death of Yazdagard.

In *Erānšahr nach der Geographie von Ps. Moses Xoṛenac'i*, Berlin 1901, p. 67, J. Marquart gives an interesting description of the last attempt of Yazdagard III to resist the Arab invaders as follows: "According to Arab sources, Yazdagard entered into negotiations on the advice of Māhōī, the Maṛzbān of Marw, with Nēzak Tarkhān, the prince of the Hētāls, who was residing in Bādgēs, as we learn from later sources. The Tarkhān behaved himself before the King of Kings (*Sāhīnsāh*) as an independent prince.

"According to Sebeos (p. 137), the Arab army which was stationed in Pars and Khuzistan, marched against Yazdagard, the king of the Persians, in the 20th year of the reign of Yazdagard to the east in the country called Pahlav which had been formerly the country of the Parthians. And Yazdagard fled away from them, but he could not escape them. They overtook him on the border of the K'ušank' and destroyed his whole army. He fled and went to the armies of the T'ētalk' who had come from their country to his help. The army of the T'ētalk' took Yazdagard prisoner and killed him. We see here again that the country of the T'ētalk' was independent of Iran." The Nēzak Tarkhān mentioned above was a prince of the Hephthalites, the *Hetals* of the Arabs, several of whose coins have been published by me in *The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, vol. V, Part I, Bombay, 1941. They have the name of the prince written in Pahlavi characters on the right of his effigy, which had been wrongly read *Napkī Sāh (MLKA)*. The T'ētalk' were none other than the Hephthalites, the name being an Armenian form of *Hetal*. Their country was transoxiana, according to Muqaddasī.

Speaking of the Ṭabaristān era, Paruck says on p. 122 of his *Sassanian Coins*: "The Ispahbads remained faithful to Zoroastrianism and apparently viewed themselves as direct descendants of Yazdagard

since the era employed on the Ispahbad coins seem to have the date of Yazdagard's death as its epoch"........Now, J. Marquart commences the era of Tabaristān with 11th June, 651 A. D. (*Erānsahr*, p. 133). Herein he is followed by W. H. Valentine who gives 651 as the date of the death of Yazdagard and also as the first year of the independence of Ṭabaristān (*Sassanian Coins*, p. 70). I have said in my *Coins of Tabaristān*. Paris 1938, p. 7, § 2: "The province of Tabaristān declared its independence under the Ispahbad princes of the royal Sassanian blood immediately after the assassination of Yazdagard III, the last Sassanian king in 651 A. D. These princes following an old Sassanian custom, inaugurated a new national era called the era of Ṭabaristān on the 11th June, 652 A. D." I had given this date according to Mordtmann, who had published several coins of Ṭabaristān in *ZDMG*. VIII, pp. 173 seq. J. Walker also starts this era from 11th June, 652, corresponding to A. H. 31. (*A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins*, London 1941, p. LXX). The Ispahbad princes drew their lineage from Dādbōē or Dādōē, a descendant of Jāmāsp, the youngest son of Sassanian king Fīrūz.

From what precedes the following conclusion is drawn: The date of the death of Yazdagard III has been placed between the 21st March, 651 and 11th June, 652 by scholars of repute. The year is, however, certainly 652, which even the late Mr. Mancherji Khareghat has accepted as correct. The Ispahbads of Ṭabaristān whose country was not situated far away from Marw, the place of assassination of Yazdagard, must have been immediately informed about the tragic event, as they inaugurated their era on the 11th June, 652. This must be the probable date of the assassination.

III—Classical Sanskrit Section.

(8) The relation between the Alankāraratnākara and the Alankārasarvasva and its gloss the Vimarśinī—and the date of the Alankāraratnākara

by

Prof. C. R. Devadhar

Ferguson College, Poona.

It is most gratifying to note that recently that indefatigable scholar Mm. P. V. Kane has brought out a third revised edition of his Sāhitya-darpaṇa, wherein he has attempted to bring up-to-date the history of Alaṅkāraśāstra appended to the work as an introduction: It was, however, with a feeling of surprise and dissatisfaction that in the list of Alaṅkāra works the Alaṅkāraratnākara is mentioned as a work of uncertain date, although in my edition of the text published long ago (1942) I have fixed the date of the author with tolerable certitude as the end of the 12th century or the beginning of the 13th. No reference is made to the printed edition, and when a person of Mr. Kane's eminence has ignored the work—it is hardly a matter of surprise that the wider world of scholars has scarcely noted its publication in printed form. With a view, therefore, to bring to the notice of scholars this work which has fallen into unmerited oblivion, I am repeating in the following pages, my observations on the work in its relation to the Sarvasva and the Vimarśinī, and my arguments in favour of giving him so high a date as the end of the 12th century.

The author of the Alaṅkāraratnākara belongs to that school of rhetoricians who, while implicitly accepting the authority of the Dhvani doctrine, yet hark back to rhetoricians like Daṇḍin, Bhāmaha, and Rudraṭa, who looked upon tropes and figures as supplying in a dominant measure the principal element of charm and interest in poetry. The work has fallen into unmerited oblivion, owing possibly to the vigorous attack of the Vimarśinīkāra whose able brief for the author of the Alaṁkārasarvasva places that work in the front rank among works on Alaṅkāra. That the work was once very popular in Kāśmīrā is proved from the fact that Yaśaskara, a Kasmirian poet, thought it fit to compose a Devīśataka, a century of songs in praise of Pārvatī, in which each verse, besides being a panegyric of the goddess, also serves as an illustration of Ratnākara's Alaṅkārasūtras. This indicates that the work had a considerable vogue in the country of its birth and the same is further corroborated by the fact that Appaya Dīkṣita as well as

Jagannātha thought it fit to adopt his views. Jagannātha refers to the Ratnākara in as many as eleven different places, mostly to controvert his views, but in one or two places, to show how the writer shows his independence of the ancients, as when he holds that Rūpaka occurs when identity (Abheda) is based on a relation other than that of similarity, like the relation of cause and effect, or when he maintains that Apanhuti occurs when there is the concealment of the Upamāna, with a view to show its identity with the Upameya: a variety of Apahnuti recognized and adopted by Appaya Dīkṣita under "Paryastāpahnuti."

The author has written his own sūtras on Alaṅkāra, has elaborated them in his commentary, illustrated them by examples drawn from varied sources, and summarised his views on particular topics in what are known as Parikaraślokas. In doing so, he seems to have placed before him ancient models, like the Dhvanyāloka, which, as is well-known, consists of four parts (*a*) Kārikas, (*b*) Vṛtti, (*c*) Illustrations, and (*d*) Parikaraślokas. The Sūtras are very concise, and, unlike the Kāvyaprakāśa, written in prose. There is no doubt that the immediate object of the author was to write a new Alaṅkārasūtra in imitation of and to controvert the Alaṅkārasarvavsa of Rājānaka Ruyyaka. It is not necessary to refer to the numerous points of agreement between the two writers; what is of interest are the disagreements between them; and from these it is scarcely possible to escape the impression that the author was a rival of Ruyyaka and wrote this work mainly to confute him.

(*a*) To start with, the figure of speech पुनरुक्तवदाभास is regarded as an अर्थालंकार by Ruyyaka, and a शब्दालंकार by Śobhākara. Sobhākara says: "आमुखतुल्यार्थत्वस्य च शब्दधर्मत्वेन शब्दाश्रयत्वाच्छब्दालंकारोऽयम्। न तु अर्थधर्मः पौनरुक्तमलंकारः इत्यार्थालंकारता वाच्या।". The view is controverted by Jayaratha who supports Ruyyaka in regarding this figure as an अर्थालंकार.

* रत्नाकराभ्यन्तरतो गृहीत्वाऽलङ्कारसूत्राणि यथाक्रमेण।
बन्दीव देव्या गिरिराजपुत्र्याः करोमि शंसन् श्रुतिगोचराणि॥
(देवीस्तोत्रे)

(*b*) Regarding the verse तत्पादनखरत्नानां यदलक्तक etc. cited by Sarvasvakāra from the Vikramāṅkadevacarita in illustration of Nidarśanā, Ratnākara remarks that since in this verse there is a direct superimposition of the sense of one sentence on that of another, the case is one of वाक्यार्थरूपक, a view controverted by विमर्शिनीकार and by अप्पय्यदीक्षित following the सर्वस्वकार and विमर्शिनी, but supported by Jagannātha in his Rasagaṅgādhara.

(*c*) Ratnākara takes exception to Sarvasva's definition of व्यतिरेक—remarking that the words विपर्यये वा should not be added, since that would mean that the figure व्यतिरेक also obtains in those places where the उपमान is shown to be superior to the उपमेय, which is absurd, because the उपमान is by its very nature always superior to the उपमेय (उपमानस्यान्यस्मादाधिक्यं हि स्वभावतः सिद्धम्); the Sūtra, therefore, should be amended in the way shown by रत्नाकरकारः—

उपमेयादन्यस्य न्यूनत्वं प्रतिकूलत्वं वा व्यतिरेकः । p. 22, in place of Sarvasvakāra's Sūtra उपमानादुपमेयस्याधिक्ये विपर्यये वा व्यतिरेकः । (Sarvasva, p. 101). The विमर्शिनी defends Sarvasvakāra by showing that in the stanza given in illustration of this variety of व्यतिरेक—*viz.* क्षीणः क्षीणोऽपि शशी भूयो भूयो विवर्धते सत्यम् where the Moon and Youth are contrasted, the उपमेय 'Youth' is intended to be shown as inferior to the उपमान 'Moon' (अस्मिन्प्रियवयस्योपदेशे प्रियं प्रति कोपोपशमाय चन्द्रापेक्षया यौवनस्यपुनरागमनं न्यूनगुणत्वेनैव विवक्षितम्). He further remarks that this, however, does not mean that the उपमेय is in reality inferior to the उपमान —, since the उपमेय is intended to be shown as possessed of superior excellence, (न चैतद्वास्तवमुपमेयस्य न्यूनगुणत्वम् । तस्यैव सातिशयेन प्रतिपाद्यत्वात् । प्रकृतार्थोपरञ्जकत्वे हि सर्वथा कवेः संरंभः । तच्चाधिकगुणमुखेन भवत्वितरथा वा को विशेषः । तस्माद्युक्तमेव विपर्यये वा इति सूत्रितम् । प्रत्युत प्रतिकूलत्वं वेति सूचितमयुक्तम् । उपमानादुपमेयस्याधिक्ये इत्येतावतैव लभ्येनास्य व्याप्तत्वात् । विमर्शिनी p. 103).

The controversy is really very old. Rudraṭa held the view that व्यतिरेक is possible in both the ways (*i.e.* उपमानादुपमेयस्याधिक्ये विपर्यये वा सर्वस्व—) and cited the stanza क्षीणः क्षीणोऽपि शशी भूयो भूया—etc. The same view was held by उद्भट and his commentator प्रतीहारेन्दुराज; Mammaṭa controverts the view, and our author falls in line with Mammaṭa. The echoes of the controversy are to be met with in the works of Vidyānātha and Appaya Dīksita, who side with the सर्वस्वकार, and of Hemacandra, Vidyādhara and Jagannātha who uphold Mammaṭa.

(*d*) The author of Ratnākara finds fault with the definition of उत्प्रेक्षा given by Sarvasvakāra (तेनाध्यवसाये व्यापारप्राधान्ये उत्प्रेक्षेति लक्षणमपर्यालोचिताभिधानमेव । p. 47) on the ground that उत्प्रेक्षा being of the nature of fancying one thing as being probably identical with another, involves doubt or incertitude (सन्देहात्मक) and not अध्यवसाय of identity of two objects wherein there is an element of certainty (निश्चयात्मक). Sarvasvakāra and his commentator, however, defend the position by pointing out that अध्यवसाय *i.e.* representation of one thing (विषय) as identical with another (विषयिन्)—a representation in which the विषय is completely swallowed up by the विषयिन् is really

two-fold: accomplished (सिद्ध) and in the process of accomplishment (साध्य); there is certitude in the former, and want of it in in the latter; and therefore it becomes the basis of the figure उत्प्रेक्षा which is सम्भावनात्मक. The controversy is referred to by the Rasagaṅgādhara-kāra, who points out that there is no authority for the distinction of अध्यवसाय into सिद्ध and साध्य (साध्याध्यवसाये मानाभावात् Rasa. p. 399), and thus supports our author in his criticism of Alaṅkārasarvasva.

(*e*) Our author does not agree with Sarvasvakāra in holding that the figure भ्रान्तिमान् is based upon similarity (सादृश्य); his contention is that wherever one thing is mistaken for another, we get this figure भ्रान्तिमान् and it is independent of the consideration whether the error arises through similarity or through some other cause. The Vimarśinī upholds Ruyyaka and criticizes our author. With regard to the five types of अतिशयोक्ति mentioned by Ruyyaka, our author's contention is that the fifth type कार्यकारणयोः पौर्वापर्यविपर्ययः is really included in the fourth type असंबन्धे संबन्धः and so the number could be reduced to four.

(*f*) In Śobhākara's view, the definitions of समासोक्ति, व्याघात समाधि, सूक्ष्म and उदात्त, as given by Sarvasvakāra are defective. The definition अप्रस्तुतस्य गम्यत्व is defective, because, says Śobhākara, if the subject (धर्मी) is also comprehended in Samāsokti it would be a case of रूपक or अतिसयोक्ति. Śobhākara takes exception to the second variety of व्याघात "सौकर्येच कार्यविरुद्धक्रिया च" on the ground that it is included in the first variety; while with regard to Sarvasva's definitions of समाधि and सूक्ष्म, Śobhākara holds that they are अव्यापक, too narrow; the second variety of उदात्त—"समृद्धिमद्वस्तुवर्णनम्" is according to our author the असंबन्धे संबन्धनम् type of अतिशयोक्ति. It is needless to say that the विमर्शिनीकार defends the views of the Sarvasvakāra against these attacks of Śobhākara.

Our author holds very peculiar views about the nature of an अलंकार and about संसृष्टि and संकर. According to Sutra 110 "एतेऽङ्गित्वेऽलंकाराः" he lays down that the figures of speech enumerated and defined in the work deserve the name of अलङ्कार only when they are "principal" not in relation to Rasa but in relation to other figures of speech. Alaṅkāras are never found in an unmixed or pure form. Everywhere it could be shown that there are subtle nuances or shades (अलंकारान्तर-च्छाया) of other figures of speech which are subordinate to the principal figure. This would intimate that figures of speech are never "absolute" or "pure", but always mixed in character and hence संसृष्टि in which two figures of speech are found in one and the same verse or poetical piece, as "aloof" (तटस्थ) from one another is an untenable position. Hence संसृष्टि is impossible. As for सङ्कर, the figure which is subordinate

(अङ्गत्वे तु संकरः 112) is to be called सङ्कर; so that सङ्कर or संसृष्टि are not separate figures of speech as the ancients hold, for that would reduce all figures of speech to only two *viz.* संसृष्टि or संकर, since figures in their absolute or pure form are never met with: but in any given case the figure which stands as principal is the figure of speech there, while the one dependent on it is to be called सकर ; thus if there is a blend of सम and परिवृत्ति and परिवृत्ति is प्रधान, we say that परिवृत्ति is the अलंकार while सम is the सङ्कर. Here is quite a novel and original view, and naturally does not pass without notice and severe strictures by the author of the अलंकारविमर्शिनी, who as we have shown in the foregoing discussion, defends Ruyyaka against the attacks of Śobhākara.

There are quite numerous citations from the text of रत्नाकर in the विमर्शिनी, and many of the illustrations given by our author are bodily incorporated in the विमर्शिनी. There are also a few places where विमर्शिनीकार thought it fit to support our author, as for instance, when he agrees with रत्नाकर that यथासंख्य does not deserve to be a figure of speech. Jayaratha mentions that his distinct aim is to clear up the position of the author of अलंकारसर्वस्व who is unfairly criticized by रत्नाकरकार, and not to enter into a detailed examination of the very novel views of the author of the रत्नाकर. (एवमन्येषामपि समग्राणामभिनवालंकाराणां चान्यैरन्यालंकारयोगो योजयितुं शक्य एवेति ग्रन्थविस्तरभयादस्मद्दर्शने तद्दूषणोद्धारस्यैव प्रतिज्ञातत्वादस्माभिः प्रतिपद्येन न दूषितम् ।).

From all these indications, it should not be difficult to fix the date of our author. That he wrote after Ruyyaka and may have been either his coeval or lived just a little time after, is proved from his detailed criticism of Ruyyaka's work, and it is also equally clear that he preceded Jayaratha, the author of विमर्शिनी, who defends Ruyyaka against our author's attacks. Ruyyaka's date is known. "He was the son of Tilaka, lived in Kāśmira and was the teacher of Mankha, the author of Śrīkaṇṭhacarita who was attached to the court of king Jayasiṅha (1129 to 1150 A.D.) "Jayaratha, the commentator of Ruyyaka, was the son of Śṛngāra, the minister of king Rajarāja who ruled at Satīsaras (राजराज इति भूभुजामभूदग्रणीगुणिगुणाश्रयः परम् । तां सतिसरसि राजहंसतामातनोत्किल घनागमेऽपि यः । विमर्शिनी p. 257)." He quotes from Pṛthvīrājavijaya, a poem describing the victory of the Chauhan king Pṛthvīrāja who died in 1193 A.D. and must have flourished probably in the 13th Century."

Śobhākara, the son of the minister Trayīsvara, thus belongs to the latter part of the 12th Century or the early part of the 13th, as he comes after Ruyyaka and precedes Jayaratha.

Śobhākara occupies a unique position in the field of rhetoric. He shows considerable independence in his views and boldly attacks ancient writers wherever he feels that the traditional views are unreasonable. Some of these views were accepted by later writers and even so intrepid a critic and rhetorician as Jagannātha thought it fit to acknowledge that there is reason and justice in the opinions held by our writer. A detailed story of the Alaṅkāra controversies dating quite from the days of Rudraṭa and ending with Jagannātha would certainly make a very alluring subject of discussion, in which our author will be found to have contributed a considerable volume of very original and weighty ideas. The work certainly deserves to be rescued from the unmerited oblivion into which it has sunk.

(9) The Kośa Citations in Commentarial Literature Belonging to the Classical Period.

by

E. D. Kulkarni, M. A., Ph.D.

The importance of Kośa literature from the point of view of Sanskrit literature, grammar and history of the Sanskrit word, has been amply proved by the copious use of them made by the critics and the commentators while commenting on Sanskrit texts. The approach to the subject is naturally two-fold *viz.* the study of Kośa citations occurring in literature belonging to pre-classical period and that of Kośa citations as we meet with in literature belonging to the classical period. The present paper is an humble attempt to touch some aspects of the latter part of the whole problem.

Now so far as the citations of Kośas are concerned, the study has to be divided into three main parts:

I—Kośa citations in the commentaries on various Sanskrit texts. *e. g.* Kavīndrasarasvatī in his *Padacandrikā* on *Daśakumāracarita* quotes the following Lexicographers by name:—

(*a*) (1) Ajaya (2) Amara (3) Kāmandaka? (4) Keśava (5) Mahīpa (6) Bharata (7) Bhāguri (8) Vararuci (9) Vopālita (10) Śāśvata (11) Sajjana (12) Halāyudha and (13) Haima.

(*b*) He quotes the following Lexicons by name:—

(1) Utpalinī (2) Kośa (3) Kośasāra (4) Dvirūpakośa (5) Nighaṇṭu (6) Medinī (7) Ratnakośa (8) Ratnamālā (9) Viśva (10) Vaijayantī (11) Śabdārṇava.

(*a*) Mohanadāsa in his *Dīpikā* on *Hanumannāṭaka* quotes the following Lexicographers:—

(1) Amara (2) Caraka (3) Dhanañjaya (4) Dharaṇi (5) Vīrabhānu (6) Śāśvata (7) Sārasvata (8) Halāyudha (9) Haima.

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1. The Department of Sanskrit Dictionary on historical principles has planned to compile a Dictionary of Sanskrit based entirely on all available Kośas, published and unpublished, as a contributory study towards a *Dictionary of Sanskrit on historical principles.*

(b) He quotes the following Lexicons:—
(1) Abhidhānacintāmaṇi (2) Ekākṣara (3) Nāmamālā (4) Nighaṇṭu (5) Liṅgānuśāsana (6) Viśvakośa (7) Śabdabhāskara (8) Śabdaśeṣa (9) Saṁsārāvartaśabdaśāsana.

II—Kośa citations in the commentaries on Kośa-texts, *e. g.*

The following are the Lexicographers quoted by Kṣīraswamin in his commentary on *Amarakośa.*

(a) (1) Abhidhānakāra (2) Indu (3) Kātya (4) Candra (5) Candranandana (6) Durga (7) Dhanvantari (8) Mālākāra (9) Muni (10) Meṇṭha (11) Bhāguri (12) Bhoja (13) Rudra (14) Śāśvata.

(b) He quotes the following Lexicons:—
(1) Anekārtha (2) Abhidhānaratnamālā (3) Abhidhānaśeṣa (4) Amaramālā (5) Deśīnāmamālā (6) Nāmamālā (7) Nighaṇṭu (8) Mālā (9) Vaijayantī.

(c) He cites the following commentators:—
(1) Upādhyāya (2) Gauḍa (3) Nārāyaṇa.

(d) Lexicons, Lexicographers and commentators quoted by Rāyamukuṭa in his commentary on *Amarakośa*, are the following:--

(1) Abhidhānamālā (2) Amaradatta (3) Amaramālā (4) Aruṇa[2]....? (5) Aruṇadatta (6) Utpalinī (7) Kaliṅga (8) Kātya[3] (9) Kokkaṭa (10) Kaumudī (11) Uṇādisūtravṛtti (12) Jātarūpa (13) Dāmodara (14) Deśīkośa (15) Dharaṇikośa (16) Nānārthasaṅgraha (17) Nāmanidhāna (18) Nāmaprapañca (19) Nāmamālā (20) Nigamākhyakośa (21) Padacandrikā (22) Balaśarman (23) Bṛhadamarakośa (24) Bhāguri (25) Ratnakośa (26) Ratnamālā (27) Rabhasapāla (28) Rudra (29) Rūparatnākara (30) Vācaspati (31) Vopālitasiṁha (32) Vyākhyāmṛta (33) Vyāḍi (34) Śabdārṇava (35) Saṁsārāvarta.

(e) Lexicons and Lexicographers quoted by Bhānuji:—

(1) Amaradatta (2) Amaramālā (3) Utpalamālā (4) Kātya (5) Kaumudī (6) Deśīkośa (7) Ratnakośa (8) Rabhasapāla (9) Rudrakośa (10) Rūparatnākara (11) Vācaspatikośa (12) Vopālitasiṁhakośa (13) Śabdārṇava (14) Saṁsārāvarta.

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2. Are Aruṇa and Aruṇadatta the same?
3. Are Kātya and Muni one and the same?

III--Kośa citations in Kośas themselves. We have given below a list of Lexicons and Lexicographers cited by Keśavaswāmin in his *Nānārthārṇavasaṁkṣepa*.[4]

(1)	Ajaya	109	(2)	Amaradatta	11
(3)	Amarasiṁha	10	(4)	Udayana	1
(5)	Kātya	1	(6)	Keśava	1
(7)	Kṣīraswāmin	1	(8)	Cāṭukāra....?	1
(9)	Jayamaṅgala	1	(10)	Jayāditya	2
(11)	Dattaka	1	(12)	Dhanañjaya	21
(13)	Piṅgala	1	(14)	Bodhra....?	1
(15)	Bhāguri	3	(16)	Bhoja	2
(17)	Rabhasa	264	(18)	Vararuci	10
(19)	Varāhamuni	1	(20)	Vasubhaṭṭa	3
(21)	Vākpati	4	(22)	Vaijayantī	72
(23)	Śabara....?	1	(24)	Śākaṭāyana	39
(25)	Śāśvata	20	(26)	Sajjana	59
(27)	Sāraswata	2	(28)	Suśruti	1
(29)	Harṣa	3	(30)	Harṣanandī	17
(31)	Halāyudha				

By the study of these aspects of the problem, the scholarship and the range of literature studied by the commentator, will be made prominently apparent and we shall know exactly the individual contribution of the commentators to Lexicography.

The commentarial literature is important from another point of view also. The commentator generally explains each and every word occurring in the text. The study of the commentaries will, therefore, help us in many cases in reconstructing the text, the commentator has commented upon. It again constitutes in itself by its very nature a good field for studying the *paryāya* words. The approach to the study of *paryāya* words is again two-fold: (1) the study of *paryāya* words where the commentator cites an authority, one or the other, to justify the meaning he assigns to the word in the text, and (2) the study of *paryāya* words where the lexicons are not cited by the commentator or where the commentator was not rather required to quote an authority to justify the interpretation, the usage being quite current in his days[5]. When the work on these two problems will be completed and the results

4. The figures against the names refer to the number of occurrence. Keśavaswāmin refers to many others by *Kaścana, Kecit, Śabdaviśāradāḥ, Viditāgamāḥ, Kaścit Svatantradhīḥ, Apare, pare itare,* etc. etc.

5. A student of Dr. S. M. Katre is working on this problem for the Ph.D. degree.

co-ordinated, it is bound to prove a very fruitful source of Lexicography and will supplement the work based entirely on Kośa literature.

The study of Kośa citations will help also the Editor of unpublished Kośas in his critically editing the Kośa. The Editor who undertakes an editing of the Kośa, has to face many difficulties before he finally settles his text. Sometimes the Mss. are hopelessly corrupt and he has to correct those corruptions in the light of other lexicons and more often in the light of the extracts cited from the work he is editing in the commentarial literature. He has to compare the readings in the Mss. with those which are given by the commentators and finally settle the readings of his text. We shall take an instance to illustrate this point. The one Ms. of *Nānārthamañjari*[6] of Rāghava reads the following lines as follows:—

L. N.

629 *ītiḥ pracāre syande ca prakāre lohakīṭake/*
630 *ārakūṭe pravāse ca dimbe gamanaduḥkhayoḥ/*
631 *ativṛṣṭāv anāvṛṣṭau śalabhe mūṣike śuke/*
632 *atyāsanne ca rājānas cātho jātiṣ tu janmani/*
637 *rītiḥ svabhāve śravaṇe dūraprakṛtisaukhyayoḥ/*

The other three Mss. of *Nānārthamañjari* read more or less in the same way with insignificant variants here and there. If the above meanings assigned to *ītiḥ* are examined in the light of other published lexicons, we get the following results:—

1 *Nānārtharatnamāla* assigns *syanda, prakāra, lohakiṭṭa, ārakūṭa* to *rītiḥ*, and *pravāsa, dimba, ativṛṣṭyādi to ītiḥ.*
2 *Medinī* assigns *pracāra, syanda, lohakiṭṭa* to *rītiḥ* and *pravāsa, dimba, ativṛṣṭyādi* to *ītiḥ*.
3 *Śāśvata* assigns *pracāra, ārakūṭa* to *rītiḥ*.
4 *Anekārthatilaka* assigns *pravāsa* to *ītiḥ*.
5 *Amarakośa* assigns *pracāra, syanda* to *rītiḥ* and *pravāsa, dimba* to *ītiḥ*.
6 *Śabdakalpadruma* assigns *pracāra, syanda, lohakiṭṭa ārakūṭa* to *rītiḥ* and *pravāsa, dimba, ativṛṣṭyādi* to *ītiḥ*.
7 *Nānārthārṇavasaṁkṣepa* assigns *pracāra, ārakūṭa* to *rītiḥ*.
8 *Vaijayantī* assigns *pracāra, ārakūṭa to rītiḥ* and *pravāsa* to *ītiḥ*.
9 *Halāyudha* assigns *ārakūṭa* to *rītiḥ*.
10 *Anekārthasaṁgraha* assigns *lohakiṭṭa* to *rītiḥ* and *pravāsa to ītiḥ*.

6. Paṇḍit Kṛṣṇamūrti Sharma, a Shastri in the Dictionary Department, has undertaken to edit this Kośa with the help of four Mss., three of which are in granth script and one in Malayālam script.

From the discussion made above we can see that there is some confusion between the meanings of *ītiḥ* and *rītiḥ* and if under these circumstances one could find extracts cited from *Nānārthamañjari*, in the commentarial literature, it would immensely help the Editor in settling his text.

Furthermore the Editor has to face another difficulty. He notices certain extracts cited in the commentary, which are attributed to a particular Lexicographer by the commentator but cannot be found in the extant Mss. Then the problem arises before the Editor whether the citation is extracted from a different work bearing the same name or the commentator had an altogether different version of the Text from which he quotes and which is lost to us now. The study of Kośa citations will facilitate the work of the Editor and will throw a sufficient light on the problem in general.

For this all the citations have to be collected from the entire commentarial literature and arranged according to the Lexicographers to whom the citations are attributed or according to the works from which the citations are extracted. Side by side it will then help us to reedit the printed Kośas in the light of the citations from them in the commentaries, as the same phenomenon occurs in the case of printed Kośas also. e. g. in Mallinātha's commentary on *Māghakāvya*, two passages are cited from *Abhidhānaratnamālā* on I. 19 and XVI. 18 but they cannot be traced as Aufrecht remarks in his preface to *Abhidhānaratnamālā*, in the *Abhidhānaratnamālā* of Halāyudha. Dr. V. Raghavan, in his introduction to *Amaramaṇḍana* of Kṛṣṇasūri, notices certain citations quoted by Śrīharṣa in his *Amarakhaṇḍana* which cannot be traced in the printed Kośas[7].

Occasionally the commentator gives a citation from the works of Caraka, Vyāḍi, Rabhasa, Sajjana, Sārasvata and other ancient Lexicographers whose works have not seen the light of the day or have not been discovered as yet. If all the citations from such works are collected from the commentarial literature and Kośa literature, we shall be in a position to restore these texts to some extent or at least construct a glossary discussing the meanings as given by them.

(*a*) We have given below a glossary as could be constructed from the citations attributed to Sajjana in *Nānārthārṇavasaṁkṣepa*[8].

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7. The present writer in his article on *'Kośa citations in the commentaries on Bhāratacampū'* (to be published in the first issue of Vāk) has examined all the citations of Kośas in the commentary of Rāmacandrabudhendra and meets with the same difficulties.

8. The material on the citations attributed to Caraka, Vyāḍi, Rabhasa, Sāraswata and other ancient Lexicographers, is ready with the present writer and he intends to publish a series of articles on the topic in near future.

aṭṭā[9] f. 1.10.4 *nāṭyoktau vṛddhā veśyā*/an old harlot.

anubandha m. 3.8.26 *krodha*/anger.

abhiṣaṅga m. 3.7.8 *duḥkha*/sorrow.

abhihāra m. 3.6.4 (1) *saṁśleṣaṇa*/mingling together; (2) *abhikramaṇa*/ attacking.

ariṣṭa n. 2.48.17 (1) *añjanābha varṇa*/colour resembling collyrium; (2) *nikāra*/piling up, heap.

avadāta n. 3.18.4 *apradhāna karma*/an unimportant or insignificant work.

āḍambara m. 3.30.59 (1) *krodha*/anger; (2) *ābhoga*/enjoyment.

āśaya m. 2.62.184 (1) *saṅgha*/heap, multitude; (2) *cetas*/heart.

āśā f. 1.48.64 *samīpa*/near.

ijyā f. 1.11.13 *jananī*/mother.

upalā f. 2.67.24 *diś*/quarter.

kaṭa m. 1.56.157 *valaya*/bracelet of gold.

kālī f. 1.58.182 *śāsanadevatā*/the female messenger of an Arhat.

kuṇḍa n. 1.63.236 *kumbha*/bowl, pitcher, water-pot.

kutapa m.n. 8 89.496 *sāyamāstaraṇa*/a sort of blanket.

kubja mfn. 1.62.231 *nikharva*/dwarfish, a dwarf.

kheṭa m.n. 1.70.321 *nadyadrimadhyastha nagara*/a place lying between a river and mountain.

gata mfn. 1.71.336 *atīta*/gone away.

gaurī f. 1.75.380 *śāsanadevatā*/the female messenger of an Arhat.

carcikā f. 1.77.401 *pārvatyā nāma*/N. of Pārvatī.

cāṭu m. 1.78.415 *darvī*/a ladle.

jana m. 1.82.464 *aprājña manuṣya*/an unintelligent person.

jayā f. 1 81.449 *śāsanadevatā*/the female messenger of an Arhat.

taraṇi f. 2 120.840 *raya*/ quick motion, speed.

tāra m. 1.87.524 *rada*/tusk of an elephant.

dara m.n 1.92.575 *chidramātra*/a hole.

dhvaja m. 1.96.631 *vṛkṣamātra*/a tree.

nadīṣṇa mfn. 2.43.26 *taraṇe yaḥ paṭuḥ*/expert in swimming.

napād 1.100.672 (1) *sarpa*/a serpant; (2) *apatya*/a child.

niṣka m.n. 1.101.688 *rahas*/a lonely place, solitude.

picchā f. 1.109.774 *sarvapicchilamaṇḍala*/the scum of any grain.

pīlu m. 1.109.781 *kaṭphalanāma vṛkṣa*/N. of a small tree by name kaṭphala.

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9. The figures against the vocables refer to volume, page and stanza respectively.

puṇyaśloka mfn. 3.25.2. *priyaṁvada*/speaking kindly, agreeably speaking.

pravacana n. 3.20.26 *śāstra*/scripture.

pravṛtti f. 2.5.50 *uccāra*/pronounciation, utterance.

bodhi m. 1.117.875 *buddha*/an epithet of Buddha.

bhava m. 1.118.882 *kopa*/anger.

bhāsvat m. 1.100 906 *pakkaṇa*/a village inhabited by savages of barbarians.

madra n. 1.122.927 *śubha*/auspiciousness, happiness.

mahī f. 1.123.942 *nadībheda*/a river.

mārī f. 1.127.986 *kālarātri*/the night of all-destroying time.

mṛṇāla mfn. 2.173.1440 *dayita*/cherished, beloved.

raṇaraṇaka m. 3.89.15 *viyoga*/separation.

ligu m. 1.140.1142 *mantra*/a hymn, sacred text.

vaṇḍa n. 1.144.1189 *śiśnamātra*/the male generative organ.

varivasyā f. 3.5.50 *parīṣṭi*/service, homage.

varṣman m.n. 1.146.1209 *śuṣmasaṁjñabala*/a kind of strength by name *śuṣma*.

vāma m.f. 1.146.1216 *uṣṭra*/a camel.

vrata n. 1.143.1178 *vidhāna*/rule, formula manner.

vyatikara m. 3.16.108 (1) *vyājokti*/dissimulating statement;
(2) *prastāvokti*/introductory statement;
(3) *samparkokti*/mixed statement.

vyuṣṭi f. 1.151.1272 *mahīruhaphala*/fruit of the tree.

śikhā f. 1.159.1366 *bhūruhaḥ agra*/top of the tree.

śukti f. 1.162.1397 *karṣasaṁjñaka unmāna*/a weight by name Karṣa.

śūrpa m.n. 1.162.1406 (1) *ardhaprastha*/half the prastha, which is a particular measure.
(2) *droṇākhyaparimāṇasya caturguṇa māna*/a measure of four droṇas.

sambādha m. 2.211.1886 (1) *kārā*/a prison.
(2) *saṁkaṭa*/danger.

sparśa m. 1.166.1453 (1) *jāra*/a paramour.
mf. (2) *kiṅkara*/a servant.

svavāsinī f. 3.6.53 *navavadhū*/a newly married girl.

(*b*) A glossary as could be constructed from the citations attributed to Harṣanandi in *Nānārthārṇavasaṁkṣepa*.

aṅgula m. 2.53.82 *aṅguleḥ paryāya*/a finger.

kaṇika m. 2.81.399 *bhinnataṇḍulāvayava*/a broken particle of rice.

karka m. 1.56.160 *turaṅgasya sita varṇa*/white colour of a horse.

karuṇa n. 2.82.415 *dainya*/wretchedness, miserable state.

chitvara mfn. 2.113.763 *śaṭha*/rougish.

dakṣiṇa mfn. 2.126.896 *kuśala*/able, clever.

dhānā f. 1.97.640 *yavānāṁ bhṛṣṭānāṁ sthūlacūrṇa*/a particle of fried barley.

paśu m. 1.27.75 *grāmya*/rustic, vulgur.

piśuna mfn. 2.149.1169 (1) *mantrabheda*/breach of counsel, betrayal of design
(2) *kavacan*/....?
(3) *pareṣām apavādin*/speaking ill of others.

bhadanta m. 2.159.1283 *sarvasanyāsin*/a term of respect applied to all sanyāsins.

mūlera m. 2.173.1438 *āpaṇīyavanaspati*/a shrub to be sold in the market.

mṛṇāla mfn. 2.173.1440 *padmakorak*/a bud of lotus.

laḍaha mfn. 2.183.1555 *vilāsavat*/sportive, playful, lusty.

vipina n. 2.196.1707 *jaladurga*/water-fortress.

vidharma m. 2.198.1734 *vyatīcāra*/hostility.

śreṇi m.f. 1.164.1425 (1) *aṣṭādaśagaṇviśeṣa*/eighteen gaṇas.
(2) *paṅkti*/a line, row.
(3) *dhārā*/stream or current of water.

snāva m. 1.171.1506 *snāyu*/muscle.

We are giving below a list of Lexicons, Lexicographers and commentators quoted in literature[10].

(1) *Agniveśa*—as a medical authority by (1) Vāgbhaṭa (2) Miśrabhāvsa (3) Rudrabhaṭa. (4) Tīsaṭa.

(2) *Abhidhānamālā*—by (1) Rāyamukuṭa (a) Bhaṭṭoji.

(3) *Anekārthakairavākarakaumudī*—(a commentary on Hemacandra's Anekārthasaṁgraha) by (1) Mahendrasūri.

(4) *Anekārthadīpikā*—by (1) Mallinātha on *Kirātarjunīya*.

(5) *Abhidhānaratnamālā*—by (1) Mallinātha on *Śiśupālavadha*.

(6) *Amaradatta*—by (1) Bhānuji (2) Medinīkara (3) Rāyamukuṭa (4) Halāyudha.

(7) *Amaramaṅgala*—by (1) Keśava (2) Maheśvara.

(8) *Amaramālā*—by (1) Kṣīraswāmin (2) Bharatasena (3) Bhānujī (4) Rāyamukuṭa (5) Vardhamāna.

10. The material has been collected by consulting Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*.

(9) *Aruṇa*—by (1) Kośakalpataru (2) Rāyamukuṭa.
(10) *Aruṇadatta*—by (1) Ujjvaladatta (2) Rāyamukuṭa.
(11) *Ardhanārīśvara*—by (1) Cāritravardhana on *Raghuvaṁśa*.
(12) *Indu*—by (1) Kṣīraswāmin on *Amara*.
(13) *Ujjvala*—by (1) Mallinātha on *Meghadūta*.
(14) *Uṇādisūtravṛtti*—by (1) Puruṣottamadeva in *Varṇarocanā*, (2) Ujjvaladatta (3) Rāyamukuṭa.
(15) *Utpalamālā*—by (1) Bhānujī (2) Mallinātha (3) Puruṣottamadeva (4) Medinīkara (5) Rāyamukuṭa (6) Śivarāma on *Vāsavadattā*.
(16) *Ekākṣaranighaṇṭumālā*—by (1) Hemādri on *Raghuvaṁśa*.
(17) *Ekākṣaramādhavanighaṇṭu*—by (1) Hemādri on *Raghuvaṁśa*.
(18) *Ekākṣaramālā*—by (1) Hemādri on *Raghuvaṁśa*.
(19) *Ekākṣarābhidhānamālā*—by (1) Padmanābhadatta.
(20) *Kaliṅga*—(—Amarakośaṭīkā) by (1) Ujjvaladatta (2) Rāyamukuṭa.
(21) *Kalpadrunāmamālā* of Keśava—by (1) Dinakara on *Raghuvaṁśa* (2) Bhaṭṭoji (3) Mallinātha on *Kirāta* and *Raghuvaṁśa* (4) Rāyamukuṭa (5) Hemādri on *Raghuvaṁśa*.
(22) *Kalpadruma*—by (1) Caṇḍeśvara Thakkura.
(23) *Kālya*—by (1) Kṣīraswamī on *Amara*. (2) Bhānuji (3) Maheśvara (4) Rāyamukuṭa (5) Hemacandra.
(24) *Kāmadhenu*—by (1) Caṇḍeśvara Thakkura.
(25) *Kokkaṭa* (Amarakośaṭīkā)—by (1) Rāyamukuṭa.
(26) *Kośasāra*—by (1) Śivarāma on *Vāsavadattā*.
(27) *Kaumudī* (Amarakośaṭīkā)—by (1) Nayanānandaśarman (2) Bharatasena on *Bhaṭṭikāvya* (3) Bhānuji (4) Rāyamūkuṭa.
(28) *Khyāticandrikā*—by (1) Rāmanātha in *Trikāṇḍaviveka*.
(29) *Gaṅgādharakośa*—by (1) Cadasiṁha (2) Medinīkara.
(30) Gadasiṁha's *Anekārthadhvanimañjarī*—by (1) Uṣmaviveka (2) Raghunandana (3) Ramānātha.
(31) *Candrakośa*—by (1) Bhaṭṭoji.
(32) *Candranandana*—by (1) Kṣīraswāmin.
(33) *Jātarūpa* (Amarakośaṭīkā)—by (1) Rāyamukuṭa.
(34) *Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana* of Bhāskaramiśra Somayājin—by (1) Acārarka (2) Caturavargacintāmaṇi (3) Dānamayūkha (4) Nirṇayasindhu (5) Madanapārijāta.
(35) *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* of Puruṣottamadeva—by (1) Ujjvaladatta (2) Mallinātha (3) Medinīkara (4) Raghunandana (5) Śivārāma.
(36) *Trivikrama*—by (1) Dinakara on *Raghuvaṁśa* (2) Hemādri on *Raghuvaṁśa*.

(37) *Durga*—by (1) Kṣīraswāmin (2) Gaṇaratnamahodadhi (3) Devarāja.

(38) *Dāmodara*—by (1) Rāyamukuṭa.

(39) Dhanapāla's *pāiyalacchīnāmamālā*—by (1) Bhānuji (2) Hemacandra.

(40) *Dhanvantarinighaṇṭu*—by (1) Kṣīraswāmin (2) Bhāvaprakāśa (3) Smṛtyarthasāgara.

(41) *Dharaṇikośa*—by (1) Ujjvaladatta (2) Gadasiṁha (3) Medinīkara (4) Rāyamukuṭa.

(42) *Nānārthasaṁgraha* of Ajayapāla—by (1) Ujjvaladatta (2) Gaṇaratnamahodadhi (3) Medinīkar (4) Rāyamukuṭa (5) Śivadāsa.

(43) *Nānārtharatnamālā* of Irugapa—by (1) Bhaṭṭojī (2) Bhānujī (3) Veṅkaṭa.

(44) *Nāmanig haṇṭu* of Mādhava—by (1) Devarāja.

(45) *Nāmani dhāna* of Sarvajñanārāyaṇa—by (1) Bhānuji (2) Rāyamuk uṭa.

(46) *Nāmaprapañca*—by (1) Rāyamukuṭa.

(47) *Nāmamālā* of Dhanañjaya—by (1) Asālatiprakāśa (2) Bhaṭṭoji (3) Rāyamukuṭa.

(48) *Nāmamālā*—by (1) Kṣīraswāmin (2) Medınīkara (3) Vāmana (4) Hemacandra.

(49) *Nigamākhyakośa*—by (1) Rāyamukuṭa.

(50) *Pārijāta?*—by (1) Caṇḍeśvara Thakkura.

(51) *Prakāśa*—by (1) Caṇḍeśvara Thakkura.

(52) *Balaśarman*—by (1) Rāyamukuṭa.

(53) *Bṛhadamarakośa*—by (1) Bhānujī (2) Rāyamukuṭa.

(54) Bhaṭṭamalla's *Kriyānighaṇṭu*—by (1) Mallinātha.

(55) *Bhāguri*—by (1) Keśava (2) Kṣıraswāmin (3) Mallinātha (4) Mahīpa (5) Maheśwara (6) Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti (7) Medinikara (8) Rāyamukuṭa (9) Halāyudha (10) Hemacandra.

(56) *Bhūriprayoga* of Padmanābhadatta—by (1) Nārāyaṇaśarman (2) Bhaṭṭoji (3) Rāmanātha.

(57) Bhojadeva's *Nāmamālikā*—by (1) Kṣīraswāmin (2) Mahīpa (3) Sāyaṇa.

(58) *Madanapālavinodanighaṇṭu*—by (1) Nighaṇṭurāja (2) Bhāvaprakāśa (3) Smṛtyarthasāgara.

(59) Mahākṣapaṇaka's *Anekārthakośa*—by (1) Gaṇaratnamahodadhi.

(60) Mahīpa's *Anekārthatilaka*—by (1) Śivarāma on *Vāsavadattā*.

(61) Mādhava's *Ratnamālā*—by (1) Rāyamukuṭa.

(62) *Mādhavakośa*—by (1) Medinīkara.

(63) *Mālatīmālā*—by (1) Mallinātha (2) Rāmananda on *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*.

(64) *Muni* (Kātyāyana?)—by (1) Kṣīraswāmin on *Amara*.

(65) *Meghapradīpa*—by (1) Viśvaprakāśa.

(66) *Medinīkara*—by (1) Asālatikośa (2) Bhūriprayoga (5) Śivakośa.

(67) *Ratnakośa*—by (1) Gadasiṁha (2) Bhānuji (3) Mallinātha (4) Rāyamukuṭa (5) Śivarāma on *Vāsavadattā*.

(68) *Ratnaprakāśa*—by (1) Mallinātha on *Śiśupālavadha*.

(69) *Ratnamālā*—by (1) Bhānujī (2) Medinīkara.

(70) *Rabhasapāla*—by (1) Kṣīraswāmin on *Amara* (2) Bhaṭṭojī (3) Bharatasena on *Bhaṭṭikāvya* (4) Bhānujī (5) Mādhavīya-dhātuvṛtti (6) Medinīkara (7) Rāyamukuṭa (8) Śivarāma on *Vāsavadattā*.

(71) *Rudrakośa*—by (1) Gadasiṁha (2) Bhānujī (3) Mallinātha (4) Medinīkara (5) Rāyamukuṭa (6) Śivarāma.

(72) *Rūparatnākara*—by (1) Sundaragaṇi in *Dhāturatnākara* (2) Bhānujī (3) Rāyamukuṭa.

(73) *Vararucikośa* (Kātya ?) by (1) Medinīkara (2) Malāyudha.

(74) *Vācaspati*—by (1) Keśava (2) Bhaṭṭojī (5) Bhānujī (4) Maheś-vara (5) Sundaragaṇi in *Dhāturatnākara* (6) Hemacandra.

(75) *Vikramādityakośa*—by (1) Bhānujī (2) Medinīkara (3) Sun-daragaṇi in *Dhāturatnākara* (4) Hārāvalī.

(76) *Viśvaprakāśa*—by (1) Medinīkara.

(77) *Viśvarūpa*—by (1) Bhaṭṭojī (2) Maheśvara (3) Medinīkara.

(78) *Viśvaśambhumuni's Ekākṣaranāmamālikā*—in glosses on *Abhi-dhānacintāmaṇī*.

(79) *Vopālitasiṁha*—by (1) Abhidhānaratnamālā (2) Ujjvaladatta (3) Bhānujī (4) Maheśvara (5) Medinīkara (6) Rāyamukuṭa (7) Śivadatta (8) Sundaragaṇi in Dhāturatnākara (9) Halāyudha.

(80) *Vyākhyāmṛta* (Amarakośaṭīkā) by (1) Rāyamukuṭa.

(81) *Vyāḍi*—by (1) Keśava (2) Ujjvaladatta (3) Bhānujī (4) Maheśvara (5) Medinīkara (6) Śivarāma on *Vāsavadattā* (7) Sundaragaṇi in *Dhāturatnākara* (8) Rāyamukuṭa (9) Hārāvalī (10) Hemacandra.

(82) *Śabdataraṅginī*—by (1) Ujjvaladatta.

(83) *Śabdabheda*—by Jayamaṅgala on *Bhaṭṭikāvya*.

(84) *Śabdaśabdārthamañjūṣā*—mentioned by Veṅkaṭa.

(85) *Śabdārṇava*—by (1) Ujjvaladatta (2) Bhānujī (3) Mallinātha (4) Medinīkara (5) Rāyamukuṭa (6) Śabdamālā (7) Śivakośa (8) Sundaragaṇi (9) Hārāvalī.

(86) *Śākaṭāyana*—by (1) Gaṇaratnamahodadhi (2) Jayamaṅgala (3) on *Bhaṭṭikāvya* (3) Bhaṭṭojī (4) Bharatasena (5) Mallinātha (6) Mādhavīyavṛtti (7) Vopadeva (8) Śākaṭāyana (old) (9) Hemacandra.

(87) *Śāśvata*—by (1) Ujjvaladatta (2) Kṣīraswāmin (3) Gaṇaratnamahodadhi (4) Mallinātha (5) Medinīkara (6) Vararuci.

(88) *Śeṣa*—by (1) Kṣīraswāmin on Amara.

(89) *Śrīdhara*—by (1) Sundaragaṇi in *Dhāturatnākara*.

(90) *Sāñja*—by (1) Nārāyaṇa on *Amara* (2) Rāmanātha on *Amara*.

(91) *Sārasvatakośa*—by (1) Bhānujī (2) Rāyamukuṭa.

(92) *Saṁsārāvarta*—by (1) Bhānujī (2) Medinīkara (3) Rāyamukuṭa (4) Hārāvalī.

(93) *Halāyudha*—by (1) Kāṭavema on *Śākuntala* (2) Jayamaṅgala on *Bhaṭṭikāvya* (3) Narahari in *Cūḍāmaṇi* (4) Nārāyaṇa on *Uttararāmacarita* (5) Padmanābhadatta on *Bhuvaneśvarīstotra* (6) Bharatasena on *Bhaṭṭikāvya* (7) Bhānujī on *Amara* (8) Raṅganātha on *Vikramorvaśīya* (9) Rāyamukuṭa on *Amara* (10) Śivadatta in *Śivakośa* (11) referred to by Medinīkara.

(10) Legal Interpretation of the Pancatantra

The Story of the Cat as Judge between the Partridge and the Hare.

by

L. Sternbach, LL.D. (New York).

1. When we read a literary work we read it either from the point of view of its contents, or because of its literary form, or for thoughts contained in it. Very seldom, however, do we read it from the point of view of law. Yet very often imperceptibly law enters into our actions, into every step of our daily life. If we do shopping, if we go to a blacksmith, if we go to a jeweller to order a ring, or step into a tram, bus or a taxi, in each of these cases we conclude one or more legal contracts which, from the legal point of view, very often, are complicated. The same is the case when reading literary works. While reading the Mṛcchakaṭika, for instance, we had probably never noticed that in this beautiful drama we find description of a juridical act, namely, a contract of deposit. In this case the act was concluded between Cārudatta and Vasantasenā and the whole drama is based on legal rules resulting from the conclusion of this contract of deposit. They relate to the responsibility of the depositor, the influence of *vis major* on the obligation of returning the thing deposited, etc. These juridical problems are the thread running through the whole of this drama. However, no mention of this fact appears in any of the critical editions of the Mṛcchakaṭika.

2. In reading the Arabian Nights, the first time one reads it from the point of view of its contents, the second time from the point of view of its customs, as well as contents which were current there. Then it may be seen that some legal problems are raised in these tales. On reading the Arabian Nights for the third time, fourth and tenth time, the conclusion is reached that this work reflects the daily life of the people, the life which really existed and not that which was contained in the books, on the basis of which legal contracts were concluded and legal actions were performed. The legal contracts contained therein are clearer and more alive, and are a better illustration of the application of legal rules than the dull legal rules contained in the law-books.

3. When reading the Indian tales and, in particular, the Pañcatantra, perhaps for the twentieth time, I came to the same conclusion.

Many scholars have written about the Pañcatantra and I shall not be able to add to their works. However, I should like to point out that the tales contained in the Pañcatantra, though fables, depict faithfully the daily life in India and the juridical problems resulting from it.

4. What is the aim of interpretation of tales from the point of view of the Smṛtis? It is to:—

(a) point up various juridical problems raised in the Pañcatantra,

(b) show how the respective problems are solved in the Smṛtis and in the Pañcatantra,

(c) demonstrate whether these problems which appear in the Pañcatantra were solved in conformity with the Smṛtis,

(d) demonstrate how far the legal rules contained in the Pañcatantra reflect the legal rules contained in the Smṛtis.

On the basis of these considerations, the manner in which the legal rules contained in the Smṛtis were applied in daily life may be demonstrated. It is certain that the author, or authors of the Pañcatantra were not jurists and were unaware of the legal rules in force. If certain juridical problems mentioned in the story were solved in accordance with the rules of the Smṛtis, it shows that these rules were widely known, so that even laymen quoted them. In particular, Manu was one of the authorities on which the Pañcatantra is based, as stated in the introduction to P.[2]

Moreover, if we interpret the Pañcatantra from the point of view of law, we frequently arrive at very interesting conclusions. We know that various versions of the Pañcatantra exist in which some of the tales, especially those which have something in common with law, are differently narrated. Some of them are in conformity with the rules contained in the Smṛtis and others are not. In particular, later texts, the longer version (*textus ornatior*)[3], attempt to conform the text in the Pañcatantra with the legal rules, in order to eliminate seeming inconsistencies. On the other hand, if some of the Pañcatantra texts quote certain rules of the Smṛtis, we may note the wording in which they were known in daily life at the time when the Pañcatantra was written, and what other legal rules, not contained in the Smṛtis, were in use.

5. Following are the translations of the two versions, the shorter and the longer, of the story of the cat as judge between the partridge and the hare (P. 3, 4). The short version states[4]:—

Once long ago I was dwelling in a certain tree. In a hole under the tree dwelt a bird called a partridge.

Now as a result of our dwelling together a friendship sprang up between us, and every day at early evening (after we had eaten and taken our recreation outside) we would spend the time in pleasant conversation with questions on both sides. Then one time the partridge

failed to arrive (even at even-tide), at the time when we were wont to converse. For this reason I was much perturbed at heart, and I wondered: "Can he have been killed or caught," or has he taken a liking to another dwelling-place, (that he does not come)? "While I was pondering on this many days passed." (And) after this a hare named Longears came and settled in the hole in which he had lived. And when I saw him I reflected: "That friend of mine is not; what concern have I with the dwelling?" When he had remained there some time, the partridge came back (to the same place). When he found the hare in his hole, he said: "(See here), this is my place, so depart (from it quickly)." He said (to him): "Fool, (do you not know that) a dwelling (and food) are to be enjoyed by whoever is at hand?" The partridge said: "There are witnesses available here; let us ask them, since that is what the case demands. And it is said in the lawbooks:—

Concerning tanks, pools, and ponds, concerning a house and a dwelling, the testimony of neighbours is decisive; thus Manu has declared."

"So be it," agreed the other, and they set out to have the question decided at law. I also followed close behind them, being curious (to see what the outcome would be). When they had not gone very far (from there) the partridge said (to the hare): "(But) who will hear our law-suit?" The hare said: "(Why, here is) this aged cat named Curd-Ears, who lives on the bank of the river, devoted to penance, and who shows compassion to all living creatures: he knows the law: he will make a lawful decision for us". (And hearing this) the partridge said: "Away with that mean creature! (And it is said:)

> (Do not trust who covers himself with the mask of a devotee.
> Many devotees are seen at the holy pilgrimage-places who lack not throats and teeth!")

And hearing this (the cat) Curd-Ears, (who had assumed a false aspect in order to make his living by easy means,) that he might win their confidence, stood up on two legs and gazed (steadfastly) towards the sun, and with out-stretched arms, closing one eye (only), engaged in prayer. (And) as he prayed their hearts trusted in him, and they crept up towards him and made known their dispute about the dwelling (saying): "O holy devotee, teacher of the law, we two have a dispute; so decide it for us according to the law-codes!" And he said: "I am old and my senses are dulled, so that I cannot hear very well from a distance. Come quite close and speak loud." Then they came nearer and told their story. Then he, (Curd-Ears), winning their confidence so as to make them come closer, recited texts from the lawbooks:

> "When righteousness is destroyed, it destroys in turn; when righteousness is preserved, it preserves. Therefore we must not destroy righteousness, lest it, being destroyed, destroy us.

Righteousness is our only friend that follows us even in death: for all else goes to destruction together with the body.

In blind darkness are we sunk who offer sacrifices with beasts. A higher religious duty than harmlessness has never been nor shall be.

Whosoever regards other men's wives like a mother, other men's possessions like clods of earth, and all creatures like himself he has true vision."

(So) by his hypocrisy he won their confidence to such an extent that they came up to him quite close; and then with one stroke they were (both) caught and killed (by that mean creature).

6. In the longer version the same story reads as follows[5]:

At one time I was myself living in a certain tree. And beneath the same tree dwelt another bird, a partridge. So by virtue of our near neighbourhood there sprang up between us a firm friendship. Every day, after taking our meals and airings, we spent the evening hours in a round of amusements, such as repeating witty sayings, telling tales from the old story-books, solving puzzles and conundrums, or exchanging presents.

One day the partridge went foraging with other birds to a spot where the rice was ripe and abundant, and he did not return at nightfall. Of course, I missed him greatly and I thought: "Alas; Why does not my friend the partridge come home tonight? I am much afraid he is caught in some trap, or has even been killed." And many days passed while I grieved in this way.

Now one evening a hare, named Speedy made himself at home in the partridge's old nest in the hole. Nor did I say him nay, for I despaired of seeing the partridge again.

However, one fine day the partridge, who had grown extremely plump from eating rice, remembered his old home and returned. This, indeed, is not to be wondered at.

No mortal has such joy, although

In heaven's fields he roams,

As in his city, in his land,

And in his humble home.

Now when he saw the hare in the hole, he said reproachfully: "Come now, hare, you have done a shabby thing in occupying my apartment. Please be gone, and lose no time about it."

"You fool!" said the hare, "Don't you know that a dwelling is yours only while you occupy it?" "Very well, then," said the partridge, "suppose we ask the neighbour." For, to give you a legal quotation.

For ownership of cisterns, tanks,

Wells, groves, and houses, too,

The neighbours' testimony goes—

Such is the legal view,

And again :

When house or field or well or grove

Or land is in dispute,

A neighbour's testimony is

Decisive of the suit."

Then the hare said: "You fool! Are you ignorant of the consecrated tradition which says :—

"Suppose beside your neighbour you

For ten long years abide,

What weight have learned arguments?

Eye-witnesses decide.

Fool! Fool! Did you never hear the dictum of the sage Nārada?

The title to possession is

A ten year's habitation

With men. But with the birds and beasts

Mere present occupation".

"Hence, even supposing this apartment to be yours, still it was not occupied when I moved in, and now it is mine".

"Well, well!" replied the partridge, "if you appeal to consecrated tradition, come with me, and we will consult the specialists. It shall be yours or mine according to their decision." "Very well," said the other, and together they started off to have their suit decided. I, too, was at their heels, out of curiousity. "I will just see what comes of all this." I said to myself.

Now they had not travelled far when the hare asked the partridge: "My good fellow, who is to pass judgment on our disagreement?" And the partridge answered: "On a sand-bank by the sacred Ganges, where there is sweet music from the dancing waves that intercross and break when the water is swept by nimble breezes, there dwells a tomcat whose name is Curd-Ear. He abides unshaken in his vow of penance and self-denial, and character has begotten compassion".

But when the hare spied the cat, his soul staggered with terror, and he said: "No, no! He is a seedy rascal. You must have heard the proverb:

Oh, never trust a rogue for all

His pharisaic puzzling:

At holy shrines some saints are found

Quite capable of guzzling."

Upon hearing this, Curd-Ear, whose manner of life had been assumed for the purpose of making an easy livelihood, desired to win their confidence. He, therefore, gazed straight at the sun, stood on his hindlegs, lifted his fore-paws, blinked his eyes, and in order to deceive them by sentiments, delivered the following moral discourse. "Alas! Alas! All is vanity. This fragile life passes in a moment. Union with the beloved is an empty dream. Family endearments are a conjurer's trick. But for the moral law, there would be no escape. Oh, listen to Scripture!

Each transitory day, O man,

To moral living give;

Else, like the blacksmith's bellows, you

Suck air, but do not live.

And furthermore:

Non-moral learning is a curse,

A dog's tail, nothing less,

That does not save from flies and fleas,

Nor cover nakedness.

And yet again:

A rotten ear among the wheat,

Among the birds a bat,

Is he who spurns the moral law;

The merest living gnat.

The flowers and fruit are better than the tree;

Better than curds is butter said to be;

Better than oil-cake, oil that trickles free;

Better than mortal man, morality.

The praise of constant steadfastness

Some wise professors sing;

But moral earnestness is swift,

Though many fetters cling.

Forget your prosings manifold;

The moral law is briefly told:

To help your neighbour-this is good

To injure him is devilhood".

Having listened to this moral discourse, the rabbit said: "Friend partridge, here on the river-bank is the saint who expounds the moral law. Let us ask him."

But the partridge said: "After all he is a natural enemy. Let us ask him from a distance. So together they began to question him: "O holy moralist, a dispute has arisen between us. Pray give judgment in accordance with the moral law. And whichever of us is found to speak falsely, him you may eat."

"Dear friends", said the cat, "I implore you not to speak thus. My soul abhors every act of cruelty, that street-sign pointing to hell. Surely, you know the Scripture:

The holy first commandment runs

Not harsh, but kindly be

And therefore lavish mercy on
Mosquito, louse, and flea.
Why speak of hurting innocence?
For he, with purpose fell
Who injures even noxious beasts,
Is plunged in ghastly hell.

"Nay, even those who slay living creatures in the act of sacrifice are befuddled, and their hermeneutic theology is at fault. And if you object to me the passage, "One should sacrifice with goats" in that passage the word "goats" signifies grain that has aged seven years. 'Go, oats'—such is the true exegensis. And then, consider the passage:

If he who cuts down trees or cattle,
Or make a bloody slime in battle,
Should thereby win to heaven-well,
Who (let me ask you) goes to hell?

"No, no. I shall eat nobody. However, I am somewhat old and do not readily distinguish your voices from a distance. So how am I to determine winner and loser? In view of this, pray draw near and make me acquainted with the case. Then I can pronounce a judgment that discriminates the essence of the matter, and thus causes no impediment in my march to the other world. You know the stanza:

If any man, from pride or greed,
Timidity or wrath,
Judge falsely, he has set his foot
On hell's down-sloping path.

And again:

Who wrongs a sheep, slays kinsmen five;
Who wrongs a cow, slays ten;
A thousand die for maidens wronged;
A thousand die for men.

"Therefore confide in me and speak clearly at the edge of my ear."

Why spin it out? That seedy rogue won their trust so fully that both drew near him. Then, of course, he seized them simultaneously, one with his paw, the other with the saw of his teeth. And when they were dead, he ate them both.

7. From the legal point of view, there are also some differences between these two versions which, may be, will allow us to come to a conclusion which of these versions is the better one.

What are the juridical problems solved, or better to say, touched in this story? There are three main problems: the first is that the dwelling may be enjoyed by whomever is at hand; the second is that in the case of a dispute regarding dwellings the testimony of neighbours is decisive; the third is that the king had to decide in the case of a dispute between his subjects.

8. Let us confine to the problem of the enjoyment of the dwelling by whomever is at hand. This problem is not solved in the Smṛtis clearly; it may be only solved on the basis of general legal rules.

It is evident from both versions of the story of the cat as judge between the partridge and the hare that the partridge possessed the hole or rather possessed its use, that is the legal right to use it. The hole before being taken possession of by the partridge, did not belong to anybody. Thus, it was a *res nullius.* But from the moment the partridge took possession of this hole and has shown his will to use it (had the *animus utendi*). this will to use it formed the title for the acquisition of the hole. In legal nomenclature this act gave him the' *titulus acquirendi* of the hole, since no special act was necessary to acquire an object which did not belong to anybody, was *res nullius.* The partridge had thus the right to the hole, even if he left it for a moment; he had the legal right to return to it and the hare could not take possession of the hole which belonged to somebody else, since the partridge wanted to return to it[6]. The partridge did not abandon the hole, If he had done so, the hole would become an abandoned object *(res derelicta)* and would become again a *res nullius* and thus could be legally taken by anybody and certainly also by the hare. This act of occupation, called in juridical language *occūpatio* would then be the *titulus acquirendi* for the person who has occupied the hole, the will to keep it for himself. But the partridge, in the story of the cat as judge between the partridge and hare, wanted to keep the hole, the hole was still his and the hare could not legally occupy it. Therefore, from the legal point of view the cat as judge could only pass the judgment in favour of the partridge.

9. In the longer version of the cat as judge between the partridge and the hare, the substance of the story is the same. In that version the partridge, or sparrow Kapiñjala went to another place; it is stated clearly, in that version that he went to another place in order to gain his livelihood; he was expected to return.

A new problem arises in the longer version. It is stated there that hare was not warned that the hole was occupied by somebody else; therefore, the hare occupied the hole in good faith, *in bona fide.*

10. The ancient Indian law knows the distinction between *possessio* and *detentio* (that is physical possession of an object by a person without his will to keep it for himself)[7] and the legal consequences of such a distinction. In particular the Smṛtis state that objects which were given only into detention could not be acquired by *usucapio*[8] that is acquisition of the title or right to property by uninterruped and undisputed possession of it is for a certain term prescribed by law. The Smṛtis distinguish also between acquisition of some objects by *ūsucapio*[9] and *praescriptio*[10], that is loss of a right by neglecting to use it during the time limited by law. They also state that it might happen that the owner has no right to claim the return of his property, even though the possessor of this object did not acquire it (by *usucapo*)[11]. In order to acquire a certain object by *usucapio* the Smṛtis prescribe an uninterrupted[12] possession in good faith, *in bona fide*[13] without any hindrance lasting for many years[15]. Bad faith, *mala fides* excludes the possibility of acquisition of an object by *usucapio*. *Usucapio* creates the *titulus acquirendi* of ownership which excludes the possibility of proving ownership of an object by the previous owner by means of witnesses, documents, etc[16]. The period necessary for *usucapio* depends on the object to be acquired by *usucapio*; it extends to ten years or more[17]. In different Smṛtis ownership could be acquired after the lapse of different periods of time[18] and originally more, object could not be acquired by that way. After some time, however, with the development of legal rules, they could be acquired in varying periods of time[19].

The Smṛtis also state clearly that, in spite of possession of some objects during a period necessary for *usucapio*. they cannot be acquired in this way. This problem is solved in Mn., Y., Vas., N., K., Bṛh., Sukr., G.,[20], N. Quot.[21]. Some of these objects cannot be acquired by *usucapio* because of the nature of the contract (lack of good faith, *bona fides*), or of the object to be acquired by *usucapio* (real exceptions). others because of the person who is the owner (personal exceptions).

To the first group (because of lack of *bona fides*) belong *ādhi*[22], *nikṣepa* or *upanidhi*[22], *nidhi*[24]; and because of the nature of the object to be acquired by *usucapio: bhūmi*[25], *sīmā*[26], *paśu*[27], female slaves and boats[28]. Personal exceptions are more numerous. The aim of their introduction is either protection of the said person, or the *praesumptio* of lack of good faith, *bona fides*. To the first group belong the estates of the king *rāja*[29], ministers (*amātya*)[30], children (*bāla*)[31], mentally backward people (*jaḍa*)[32], women (*strī*)[33], ascetics (*śrotriya*)[34] and heretics (*pāṣaṇḍa*)[35]; to the second group belong the estate of the sons-in-law[36] or of kinsmen[37].

As far as the tale of the cat as judge between the partridge and the hare is concerned, the most interesting problem is that of *usucapio*, or rather of object which cannot be acquired by *usucapio*. Land (*bhūmi*) could not be acquired by *usucapio* only according to G. i. e., probably, in the oldest Smṛti; this seems to indicate that only in the oldest time land

could not be acquired by *usucapio*, although in more recent times *usucapio in bona fide* of the land gave the *titulus acquirendi* and consequently, ownership[38].

11. In the longer versions of the tale of the cat as judge between the partridge and the hare, the hare occupied the hole in good faith, *in bona fide*. This is evident from the texts in which it is stated that nobody has forbidden (*nivāritaḥ*) him to occupy the hole. Therefore, Kapiñjala says to the hare: "It is not right that you occupied my dwelling. Vacate it as soon as possible". And the hare replies: It is not your dwelling-place; it is mine....". "If you think so, Kapiñjala replies "then let us as ask the neighbours" because:

> "For ownership of cisterns, tanks,
>
> wells, groves and house, too,
>
> the neighbours' testimony, goes—
>
> such is the legal view"[39]

or because:

> "When house or field, or well, or grove,
>
> or land is in dispute,
>
> a neighbour's testimony is
>
> decisive of the suit'.[40]

These texts are based on the Smṛtis, in particular on Mn. (VIII-147). According to this Dharmaśāstra land is to be acquired by *usucapio* after ten years. Identical as in the longer versions of the tale of the cat as judge between the partridge and the hare, it is stated there that in the case of a public (*i. e.* uninterrupted [41]) possession of land during a period of ten years the evidence of witnesses and documents is not admissible. It is admitted *eo ipso* (Mn.) that its possessor acquires ownership of the land or houses [42]. by *usucapio*.

The hare, in order to support his statement, quotes according to the longer versions the following sentence ascribed to Nārada:—

> "The title to possession is
>
> a ten year's habitation
>
> with men. But with the birds and beasts
>
> mere present occupation" [43].

As far as I could ascertain, this sentence of Nārada cannot be found in N., or other Smṛtis and probably was invented *ad hoc* by the hare in order to prove his right to the hole. It must be also noted that

the period of time quoted in the tale would be too short to prove the acquisition of the property by *usucapio* and that no special rules were promulgated for animals.

It should be noted that, from the legal point of view, *usucapio* was inadmissible because of lack of time necessary for *usucapio*, even if we admit that the hare was *in bona fide*.

12. It should be noted that the tale of the cat as judge between the partridge and the hare is not the only one in the Pañcatantra in which the problem of acquisition of a *res nullius* (the hole), occupation of a hole, etc. is raised. This problem seems to be very popular in the various versions of the Pañcatantra.

In the tale of the lion and the wary jackal, a hungry lion came to a great mountain and thought that some animal would come into the cave during the night. Then a jackal, the owner of the cave, came and began to sing [44]. In this tale it is stated that he who quitted for some time the object that was taken into possession (the hole), having still the *animus utendi*, is always considered as owner of this object (*svāmin*). This fact proves, once more that the hare, in longer versions of the tale of the cat as judge between the partridge and the hare, had the legal right to the hole.

On the other hand, in the tale of the frog's revenge, when the frog-king, after having given his relatives to the black snake to be eaten by him, says that he should return home, the black snake replies that certainly in the meantime his hole has been occupied by a stranger [45].

The fact of the occupation of the hole by strangers during the absence of its owner can also be observed in the frame-story to book IV, where the crocodile is informed that during his absence his house has been occupied by another crocodile [46]. Having returned the crocodile killed the intruder and recovered his home [47].

In the tale of the jackal and the war-drum, we also read about a hungry jackal who hearing a war-drum crept near it thinking that he would get food and having come to this conclusion he picked a spot, dug up a hole and crept in [48].

In these tales it is not stated that somebody warned the intruders saying that the hole was in possession of somebody else. That is clearly stated in the longer versions of the tale of the cat as judge between the partridge and the hare.

13. From the various versions of the tale of the cat as judge between the partridge and the hare it is evident that all these versions are based upon legal rules which we can find in the Smṛtis; that the juridical problems contained in this tale were presented by both the litigents

(the hare and the partridge) from the legal point of view and in conformity with the rules contained in the Smṛtis; that, although the hare very wisely quoted juridical arguments, his case ought to be dismissed; and that the longer versions are clearer and better in so far as legal problems are concerned.

According to the short version (P), the legal problem is not clearly described and it is difficult to understand the hare's arguments. It is not clear whether the hare abandoned the hole; on the other hand, the very interesting problem of the possible acquisition of the hole by *usucapio* is lacking.

The longer versions, in particular. PK. and PBK., contain the explanation that the partridge did not abandon the hole, since he went away only to find food (and *eo ipso*) still had the *animus utendi* the hole). This version also raises a new problem, *viz.* whether the hare, who was *in bona fide* (nobody has forbidden him the use of the hole), could acquire it by *usucapio*. The hare based his claim upon the rule that by uninterrupted possession a human being acquired the right to the hole *by usucapio* but that this rule does not apply to animals [49]. It seems to be clear that this rule was invented *ad hoc* and is not based on the Smṛtis. A special legal rule for animals could not be promulgated however, the hare could plead in the court that, being *in bona fida*, he took possession of a *res nullius*, and in this way prove his *titulus acquirendi*. The judge, however, hearing the case and basing his judgement on the deposition of witnesses-neighbours (M. 8·262, and others) ought to pronounce his judgment in favour of the partridge, because the witnesses-neighbours, could only state that the hole was a *res nullius* or a *res derelicta*. that, in spite of *bona fides* of the hare, it could not be acquired by him by *usucapio*, as the period of time necessary for *usucapio* had not elapsed [50].

In connection with the legal interpretation of the tale of the cat judge between the partridge and the hare, it is possible to come to the conclusion that the longer versions are clearer and more logical and, although the text, as quoted in the shorter versions may be the original one, the value of the tale and the logical solution of the problems raised there, increases in the longer versions, in particular in the Viṣṇuśarman (PK., PBK.), thus becoming more easy to read and to understand to the Indian readers.

FOOT-NOTES.

1. Compare *L. Sternbach*, Indian Tales Interpreted from the Point of View of the Smṛtis: Pañcatantra 1.13. JAOS 68.2, 84-91.

2. *Manave vācaspataye śukrāya parāśarāya sasutāya cāṇakyāya ca viduṣe namo 'stu nṛpaśāstrakartṛbhyaḥ.* (P kathāmukham 1.)

3. This paper is based, in the first place, on *F. Edgerton's* Pañcatantra reconstructed ...(AOS 2) (P), the most critical text of the Pañcatantra. The Tantrākhyāyika, ed. by J. Hertel (PHT) is also used; this version is the nearest to P. Other texts utilised in this study were the Viṣṇuśarman ed. by *I. G. L. Kosegarten* under the title Pantchatantrum sive quinquepartitum de moribus exponens (the first text of the Pañcatantra published in Europe) (PK) and the critical edition by *F. Kielhorn and G. Buehler* (BSS 1, 3, 4) (PBK), as well as *J. Hertel's* recension of the Jaina Monk Pūrṇabhadra (HOS 11) (PHP).

PBK and PHP are the longer versions.

4. Translated by *F. Edgerton* in P (AOS 3).

5. Translated by *Arthur W. Ryder* in "The Panchatantra", The University of Chicago Press.

6. As it may be enjoyed by whomever is at hand, *i.e.* takes a *res nullius* into Possession. P 3.4, 93 stated: *mūrkha, (kiṁ na te viditam,) upasthānabhogya āvāso (bhuktiś ca.)*

7. Compare *L. Sternbach*, Juridical Studies in Ancient Indian Law; 11. Law of Deposits; par. 4. Suppl. to BhV 7.3-4.

8. Compare *L. Sternbach*, Juridical Studies in Ancient Indian Law; 7. Pledge; par. 40. BhV 6.9.

9. Mn 8.148, N 1.78, 80, G 12.37, Vi 5.187, Bṛh 7. 28,41, Kāty 327.

10. Mn 8.147, Y 2.24, Vās 16.16-7, N 1.79, Bṛh 7.43, Śukr 4.5, 221-3.

11. Śukr 4.5,223-4.

12. Bṛh 7.28.

13. N 1.84-8, Śukr 4.5,223.

14. Mn 8.147, Y 2.24, N 1.78, Bṛh 7.28,41, Śukr 4.5,22.

15. N 1.90, Bṛh 7.28, Kāty 329, Vi 5.187, SmṛC 3.166.

16. Bṛh 7-41. Compare Kāty 299.

17. According to Mn (8.147) every object is acquired by *usucapio* after the lapse of ten years (compare G 12.37). Similarly N 1.79. According to Y 2.24) land may be acquired after the lapse of twenty years of time, and money after ten years. According to Vās (16.16-7) a property inherited from the father, an object bought, etc. may be acquired by *usucapio* after the lapse of ten years. According to Śukr (4.5,437-40) small properties may be acquired by *usucapio* after the lapse of ten years and land after twenty years. According to Bṛh (7.28,43) uninterrupted possession for thirty years or by three generations created ownership. Compare also Kāty (299-301) and N (Quot. 2.21.)

18. For instance according to Mn. (8.147) land may be acquired after ten years and according to Y (2.24) after twenty years. Compare Vyāsa in Śūlapāṇi (*ad* Y 2.24), G 16.39 and others.

19. According to G (12.39) animals. land, females are not lost by adverse possession. Immemorial possession is mentioned in Bṛh (Saṁs (329). According to Bṛh (Saṁs 327), Vi (5.187) land may be acquired by *usucapio* after possession by three generations.

20. *Ādhiḥ sīmā bāladhanaṁ nikṣepopanidhī striyaḥ,*

rājasvaṁ śrotriyasvaṁ ca na bhogena praṇaśyati (Mn 8. 149.)

Ādhisīmopanikṣepajaḍabāladhanairvinā,

tathopanidhirājastrīśrotriyāṇāṁ dhanairapi (Y 2.25).

Ādhiḥ sīmā bāladhanaṁ nikṣepopanidhī striyaḥ,

rājasvaṁ śrotriyadravyaṁ na bhogena praṇaśyati (N 1.81.)

Ādhiḥ sīmā bāladhanaṁ nikṣepopanidhistathā,

rājasvaṁ śrotriyasvaṁ ca na bhogena praṇaśyati Śukr 4.5,225).

Athāpyudhāharanti,

paitṛkaṁ krītamādhiyamanvādheyaṁ pratigraham,

yajnādupagamo veṇistathā dhūmaśikhāṣṭamīti (Vās 16.16).

Tatra bhuktānubhuktadaśavarṣam (Vās 16.17).

Anyathāpyudāharanti,

ādhiḥ sīmā bāladhano nikṣepopanidhistriyaḥ rājasvaṁ śrotriyadravyaṁ na saṁbhogena hīyate (Vās 16.19).

Jñātayaśśrotriyāḥ pāṣāṇḍā vā rājñāmasannidhau paravāstuṣu bivasanto na bhogena hareyuḥ; upanidhimādhiṁ nidhiṁ nikṣepaṁ striyaṁ sīmānaṁ rājaśrotriyadravyāṇi ca. (K 191.1-3).

Asvāminā tu yadbhuktaṁ gṛhakṣetrāpaṇādikam,

suhṛdbandhusakulyasya na tadbhogena hīyate (Bṛh 7.44).

Vaivāhya śrotriyairbhuktaṁ rājñāmātyaistathaiva ca,

sudīrgheṇāpi kālena teṣāṁ sidhyati tanna tu, (Bṛh 7.46).

Ajaḍāpogaṇḍadhanaṁ daśavarṣabhuktaṁ paraiḥ sannidhau bhoktuḥ; na śrotriyapravrājitarājanyapuruṣaiḥ; paśubhūmistrīṇāmanatibhogaḥ (G 12.37-9).

21. N. (Quot) 7.12)

22. Mn, Y, Vās, N, K, Śukr, N Quot. Compare *L. Sternbach*, Juridical Studies in Ancient Indian Law ; 7. Pledge, par. 39—50; BhV 6.9

23. Mn, Y, Vās, N, K, Śukr, N Quot.

24. N

25. G.

26. Mn, Y, Vās, N, K, Śukr.

27. G. Compare N Quot 7.12.

28. N Quot. 7.12; Compare for females G.

29. Mn, Y, N, K, Bṛh, Śukr.

30. Bṛh.

31. Mn, Y, N, Vās K, Śukr.

32. Y.

33. Mn, Y, N, Vās, K, Śukr.

34. Mn, Y, N, Vās, Bṛh, Śukr.

35. K.

36. Bṛh.

37. K.

38. Mn, Y, N, Vās, K and Śukr enumerate *sīmā* as objects which cannot be acquired by *usucapio*. Medh (*ad* Mn 8.149) adds the following commentary on *sīmā*: *Sīmā maryādā grāmādīnām : b ahusādhāraṇyāddhi tātropekṣā saṁbhavati; gṛhādīnāṁ tu prākāraparikhādirūpā dvi:rihastaparimāṇarūpā dvayoḥ sādhāraṇī yā 'nyatare kathaṁcidupajīryamāṇā sva!patvādbhogaśca kaścitkayantaṁ kālamupekṣyetāpi; tatrāpi dānādisvatvāpagamahetuṁ saṁbhāvayataḥ; atastatputrāḥ pautrā vā gūḍacihnādinā prajñāpitasīmatvādācchindantyeva.* Since *sīmā* are only boundaries or objects which are in the boundary-line.

39. *Vāpīkūpataḍāgānāṁ gṛhasyopavanasya ca,*

sāmantapratyayāt siddhirityevaṁ manurabravīt (PK 3·91, PHP 3.83).

The *śloka* as quoted in P.K. and PHP is almost identical with that of P. 3.47 which is identified with the Smṛtis (Mn 8.262. Kāty 734).

In PK and PHP the same maxim is repeated in other words in the subsequent *śloka*. It is stated there:

Gṛhakṣetravivādeṣu kūpopavanabhūmiṣn,

samutpanne vivāde tu sāmantāt praṣyayo bhavet (PK 3.92, PHP 3.84).

I did not find these *ślokas* in the identical wording in any of the Smṛtis.

40. *Vāpīkūpataḍāgānāṁ devālayakujanmanām,*

utsargāparataḥ svāmyamapi kartuṁ na śakyate (PBK 3.93).

41. Compare Bṛh 7.28.

42. Some of the texts use instead of *kṣetra* (land) the word *gṛha* (house.)

43. *Mānuṣāṇāmayaṁ nyāyo munibhiḥ parikīrtitah,*

tiraścāṁ ea vihaṃgānāṁ yāvacchiśusamāśrayaḥ (PBK 3.95)

PK (3.105-6) and identically PHP (3.94-5) and PBK (3.104-) state:

Ahiṁsā pūrvako dharmo yasmāt sadbhirudāhṛtaḥ,
vūkamatknṇadaṁśādīṁstasmāt tānapi rakṣayet.
Hiṁsakānyapi bhūtāni ya hiṁsati sa nirghṛṇaḥ,
sa yāti narakaṁ ghoraṁ kiṁ punaryaḥ śubhāni cā.

44. *Atha guhāsvāmī dadhimukha nāma śṛgālo dvāri phūtkartum ārebhe* (PHP 218.11-2).

45. *Madīyabiladurgam anyai ruddhaṁ bhaviṣyati* PHP 234.3).

46. *Yad aho tvadīyagṛhṛm any apareṇa mahāmakareṇa saṁgṛhītam* PHP. 250.20-1). Compare PBK 4.29.12.

47, 4.256.

48. *Evam avadhārya kasmiṁścit pradeśe vidāryāntaḥ praviṣṭaḥ* (PHP) 13.20-1).

49, *Mānuṣāṇāṁ syādbhuktirvai daśsavārṣikī,*

vihangānāṁ tıraścāṁ yāvadeva samāśrayaḥ PK 3.94, PHP 3.86, PBK 3.95).

50. The rule contained in G that *bhūmi* cannot be *usueapio* should not be applied in this case because *bhūmi* is mentioned only in G and according to all other more recent Smṛtis, including Mn, might be acquired by *usucapio.*

(11) Patanjalis' Attitude Towards Kātyāyana

by

Sri M. G. Gaydhani, M.A.—Nasik

पाणिनि's अष्टाध्या॰ is a matchless grammatical work in the field of literature of the whole world. By its perfection, accuracy, and encyclopaedic nature it stands unique among the aphoristic literature. It fulfils all the conditions which an aphoristic work requires[1]. Though पाणिनि discussed his subject entirely some rules were left to be taught; moreover the grammatical forms current in पाणिनि's time changed at the period of कात्यायन who flourished at least after a couple of centuries. These facts gave scope to the latter to compose वार्तिक's which were intended to correct, to modify or supplement the aphorisms[2]. पतञ्जलि's महाभाष्य is a commentary on पाणिनि's अष्टाध्यायी together with कात्यायन's वार्तिक's. In his commentary he carries out his two-fold work:—(1) To defend and refute पाणिनि as well as कात्यायन (2) To give his own additions called इष्टिs.

It is really interesting and useful to the students of grammar to see what पतञ्जलि's attitude was towards पाणिनि and कात्यायन. Yet, here, I have limited my subject and I am going to investigate his mode of dealing with कात्यायन alone. Further, the detailed study of the whole of the महाभाष्य will be too big a work for the small compass of this article. Therefore, I have restricted the field to the first four आह्निकs only. The first आह्निक discusses general topics such as the aims of learning grammar, its definition etc. The second आह्निक deals with the माहेश्वरसूत्रs and the third and the fourth comment on the first ten aphorisms of the अष्टाध्यायी.

To begin with, let us examine critically all the वार्तिकs refuted by the commentator.

(1) The वार्तिककार first raises a problem whether a man gets merit only by the knowledge of correct words or only by their correct use, and comes to the conclusion that the knowledge of correct words and their correct application both together bring prosperity[3]. The commentator does not disprove this view, but suggests that one achieves merit only by the knowledge of correct words. He further remarks that the

employment of correct words is necessary in sacrificial rites only. One who uses correct words in sacrifices attains merit even though he uses incorrect words in everyday affairs. To support his view he cites the example of sages यर्वाण and तर्वाण by name. They, instead of speaking यद्वानस्तद्वानः, used to say यर्वाणस्तर्वाणः in the common language, but during sacrifices they used correct words and they acquired merit[4].

As a matter of fact the knowledge of correct words is the means and not the end itself; so the application of correct words is more important than the knowledge itself. Therefore the argument of the commentator is not acceptable. Moreover this view of the commentator contradicts his own statement. At one place he remarks that though a correct word and an incorrect word denote the object equally, the science of grammar makes the rule that only correct words should be employed, as the use of correct words gives rise to prosperity[5].

(2) The वार्तिककार defines the word व्याकरण as that which denotes both word and aphorism[6]. The commentator rightly disproves this definition and states that the word व्याकरण denotes only the aphorism.

(3) The वार्तिककार states that the letter अ in the माहेश्वरसूत्र as well as in the धातु, प्रातिपदिकs etc. should be understood as विवृत and he gives two purposes for it.

(*a*) आ is विवृत. अ must be homogeneous with आ and so it should be विवृत.

(*b*) अ being संवृत, its long or protracted form will be संवृत. To avoid this अ in the [माहेश्वरसूत्र should be taken as विवृत[7].

The commentator accepts the first purpose but rebuts the second on the ground that अ cannot become संवृत long, or संवृत protracted as संवृत long or protracted अ is not found in the Vedic language or the popular language. Only those forms of letters can be made which do exist[8]. The commentator convincingly sets aside the purpose given by the वार्तिककार].

(4) The वार्तिककार mentions that if constituents of a letter are not treated as separate letters, then the letter ऋ should be read in the following aphorisms. (*a*) तस्मान्नुड्द्विहलः (*b*) कृपोरोलः (*c*) रषाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे[9].

(*a*) The letter ऋ consists of two elements र् and a vowel. If र् in the letter ऋ is not accepted as a separate letter, the root ऋध् contains only one consonant ध्. But the aphorism तस्मान्नुड्द्विहलः required two consonants, so it cannot be applied to the root ऋध् in forming the perfect form आनृधतुः

The commentator does not accept र् in the letter ऋ as a separate letter and yet he refuses to read ऋ in the aphorism तस्मान्नुड्द्विहलः। He asks to drop the word द्विहलः from the aphorism Then the difficulty arises that the roots such as ऋट् get नु augment and the forms like आटनुः would not be formed. The commentator faces this difficulty by the ज्ञापन "अश्नोतेश्च"। If we read the aphorism as तस्मान्नुड् only, the root अश् automatically gets the augment नु and the aphorism अश्नोतेश्च becomes fruitless and it makes the rule that नु augment is to be inserted in the root अश् only, among all the roots which begin with अ and so the roots like अट् have no augment[10].

(*b*) The commentator does not accept the suggestion to read the vowel ऋ in the aphorism कृपोरोलः। He tries to show that पाणिनि has already given ऋ in कृपोरोलः. He dissolves the aphorism as follows. कृप+उ=रः+लः कृप is an implied genetive उ is the genetive of ऋ रः is the genetive of र् and लः is nominative. Thus ऋ and र् both are separately mentioned in the aphorism and there is no necessity of adding ऋ to the aphorism[11].

(*c*) He also sets aside to read the words ऋकाराच्च in the aphorism रषाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे। He presents two ways to show that there is no necessity to add ऋकाराच्च to the above aphorism. In the first place the words नृनमन and तृप्नोति are included in the क्षुभ्नादि गणः। The क्षुभ्नादिगण prohibits णत्व. This forbidding pre-supposes the existence of णत्व caused by ऋ. Thus the णत्व is proved. Secondly he splits up the next aphorism छन्दस्यृदवग्रहात् in the two parts ऋतः and छन्दस्यवग्रहात्. He then repeats the words नो णः from the preceding aphorism रषाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे। Then the aphorism ऋतः ordains to substitute ण् for न् preceded by ऋ. Thus there is no need to add the above words to रषाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे[12].

To speak impartially all the three arguments of the commentator are farfetched and not convincing to the modern readers.

(5) The वार्तिककार again argues that if different components of a letter are not taken as separate letters, the conjunct—consonants consisting of double letters (such as क्क in the word कुक्कुट) cannot be understood as conjunct consonants but single ones[13].

The commentator rightly rebuts it on the principle of syllabic instants (मात्राs). An ordinary consonant requires one half syllabic instant while conjunct consonants have one syllabic instant, and so they cannot be single consonants[14].

(6) The वार्तिककार shows three difficulties in ordaining the letter र् after यव in the माहेश्वरसूत्र 'हयवरट्'।

(*a*) As र is taught after य and व, it is included in the यर् प्रत्याहार. Therefore, the र् in the example स्वर्न्नयति is changed to nasalised र् by यरोऽनुनासिकेऽनुनासिको वा ।

(*b*) Similarly the र् in मद्रहृद is doubled by अचो रहाभ्यां द्वे ।

(*c*) As र् is mentioned in the यय् प्रत्याहार, अनुस्वार preceding र is substituted by the nasal of र by अनुस्वारस्य ययि परसवर्णः । The वार्तिककार, therefore, suggests to make rules for the prohibition of these changes[15].

The commentator successfully removes the first and the third difficulties as र has no nasal form at all. Only those letters are substituted which do exist. As nasalised र is not found, the substitution of nasālised र is not possible. Thus the first and the third difficulties are set aside[16].

He dismisses the second difficulty as follows. The aphorism अचो रहाभ्यां द्व teaches to double optionally a letter of यर् प्रत्याहार, if it comes after र् or ह् which are followed by a vowel. Thus र् is a cause of द्वित्व, so र् itself is not doubled even though it is included in the यर् प्रत्याहार. He corroborates his view by an example from every-day experience[17]. This argument is not satisfactory. Though र् causes द्वित्व to others, why it itself should not be doubled if it fulfils all the conditions in the aphorism,

(7) The वार्तिककार asks to read the अयोगवाहs in the अट् प्रत्याहार for णत्व. The commentator accepts this.

The वार्तिककार also suggests to read the अयोगवाहs in the शर् for जश्भाव and षत्व[18]. The वार्तिककार presumes that the root उब्ज is originally taught as उ≍ज. This उपध्मानीय is changed to ब् by the aphorism झलां जश् झशि. This aphorism requires a letter from झल् प्रत्याहार. The उपध्मानीय is not taught there at all. So this aphorism cannot be applied to it. The वार्तिककार therefore asks to read अयोगवाहs in the शर् प्रत्ययाहार. (उपध्मानीय is included in the अयोगवाहs and शर् is included in the झल् प्रत्याहार).

The commentator argues that the root originally ordained is not उ≍ज, but उद् ज as the form उब्जिजिषति cannot be obtained if the उ≍ज् is accepted. The द् in the उद्ज् root is changed into ब् by the निपातन भुजन्युब्जौ पाण्युपतापयोः ।

The argument of the commentator is more acceptable.

The commentator accepts the purpose for षत्व given by the वार्तिककार.

The वार्तिककार further suggests to read the अयोगवाहs somewhere in the माहेश्वरसूत्र for संयोगसंज्ञा, उपधासंज्ञा अलोन्त्यविधि, द्विर्वचन and स्थानिभावप्रतिषेध[19].

The commentator accepts the three purposes संयोगसंज्ञा, द्विर्वचन and स्थानिवद्भावप्रतिषेध. He refutes the remaining two purposes namely अलोन्त्यविधि and उपधासंज्ञा. The उपधासंज्ञा is required to substitute ष् for विसर्ग in words like दुःकृतम्—दुष्कृतम् by the aphorism इदुदुपधस्य चाप्रत्ययस्य. उ in the above example can be called penultimate only when the विसर्ग is called अल्। Therefore it must be mentioned somewhere in the अल् प्रत्याहार.

The commentator refutes this purpose as follows:—

He rejects the word उपधस्य from the above aphorism, and explains that the विसर्जनीय preceded by short इ or उ is changed into ष। Thus there is no necessity of उपधासंज्ञा and so this purpose mentioned by the वार्तिककार does not stand[20].

The argument of the commentator is preferable as the aphorism then becomes shorter.

The वार्तिककार shows the need of the mention of the अयोगवाह somewhere in the माहेश्वरसूत्र for अलोन्त्यविधि. His argument is as follows. In the examples like वृक्षः तरति, विसर्ग is changed to स If विसर्ग is not अल्, the aphorism अलोन्त्यस्य cannot be applied. Therefore अयोगवाहs must be put somewhere in the अल् प्रत्याहार.

The commentator successfully refutes it on the परिभाषा-निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्ति ।

(8) The वार्तिककार first suggests to employ the संज्ञाधिकारसूत्र before वृद्धिरादैच् to make it clear that it is a संज्ञासूत्र[21]. He further argues that there arises a doubt which is संज्ञा and which is संज्ञिन्. He himself refutes these points[22]. Again he proposes to make some signs to संज्ञा[23]. The commentator rightly refutes it.

(9) The वार्तिककार raises a problem whether इकोगुणवृद्धी is a part of the aphorism अलोन्त्यस्य or it is an exception to it. He shows difficulties in both the explanations[24].

If the first proposal is accepted then the गुण and वृद्धि are made to the final letter only. Then the roots मिद् सिध् etc. cannot have गुण or वृद्धि, as इ or उ is not at the end of those roots, so in all the aphorisms which teach गुण or वृद्धि, the word इक् must be read.

If the second proposal, namely that इको गुणवृद्धी is an exception to the rule अलोन्त्यस्य is accepted, गुण occurs even to the initial or medial इ or उ etc. The वार्तिककार therefore suggests to make a rule to forbid these गुणS. He himself rebuts the second argument[25].

The commentator refutes both the arguments. He explains the aphorism इकोगुणवृद्धी differently. According to him this सूत्र ordains that the word इकः is to be read in all the aphorisms which teach गुण or वृद्धि। This explanation is convincing. He also gives another explanation which contains the splitting of the aphorisms, the dissolution words in strange ways. That way is farfetched. The first way is satisfactory.

(10) The वार्तिककार asks to read the word सह in the aphorism हलोनन्तराः संयोगः, as the संयोगसंज्ञा should denote all the consonants collectively[26].

The commentator refutes it by dissolving the words संयोगादि and संयोगान्त in different aphorisms in such ways that they denote all consonants collectively. Further he corroborates his view—(that सह does not need to be mentioned) by citing the example वृद्धिरादैच् just as without any specific mention like प्रत्येकं, वृद्धि in वृद्धिरादैच् denotes आ, ऐ, औ separately, similarly without any specific mention such as सह the संयोगसंज्ञा denotes all the consonants collectively[27].

(11) The वार्तिककार argues that in the case of conjunct consonants consisting of more than two consonants, if the संयोगसंज्ञा denotes all the consonants collectively then स् of the मस्ज् root would not be dropped in the form मङ्क्ता as it is not initial as required for elision.[28] The वार्तिककार further argues that if संयोगसंज्ञा denotes only two component elements of the conjunct consonants consisting of more than two consonants, again a difficulty arises in द्वित्व. The वार्तिककार himself refutes this second argument.

The commentator holds the view that the संयोग denotes both the meanings and explains all the aphorisms in such ways that no difficulty arises.

Out of these eleven cases of reputation, the commentator convincingly refutes the वार्तिकs in eight cases. There are only three cases in which the point arises whether पतञ्जलि has justly refuted. These three cases are enumerated below.

(1) The commentator suggests that one attains merits only by the knowledge of words. His suggestion is really strange. But it is a different point of view and for the present it is not a very important problem.

(2) He argues that र् following र and ह preceded by a vowel is not doubled as it is the cause of द्वित्व. He illustrates from everyday experience. Yet the argument is not satisfactory to the modern readers.

(3) The commentator has refuted the suggestion to read गवे in the aphorisms तस्मान्नुड्द्विहलः । कृगोरोलः । and रषाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे । by means of योगविभाग ज्ञापक the dissolution of words in strange ways etc. The employment of योगविभाग and others is not convincing. They clearly show that aphorisms in the present condition are lacking and so supplements and modifications are necessary. But one cannot blame very seriously the commentator for using these methods as they were in practice during this time. The वार्तिककार himself takes resorts to योगविभाग, ज्ञापक, निपातन etc[30].

Thus though the योगविभाग and other methods are not satisfactory in eyes of modern readers the commentator does not deserve to be blamed. Further just as he refutes कात्यायन he accepts many वार्तिकs of the latter. Moreover in one case he seems to show favour in excess to कात्यायन। While discussing the definition of the word व्याकरण the वार्तिककार criticizes the view that व्याकरण denotes शब्द. He puts forth the two difficulties *viz.* (1) भवे (2) प्रोक्तादयश्चतद्धिताः which arise in accepting the view. Now तत्रभवः is a तद्धित termination so the वार्तिक "भवे" is naturally included in the वार्तिक 'प्रोक्तादयश्च तद्धिताः' and its separate mention is unnecessary. The commentator cannot find any way to remove the fault. He argues that the वार्तिककार first wrote the वार्तिक "भवे" He afterwards came to know that the other तद्धित terminations must be mentioned so he composed the वार्तिक-प्रोक्तादयश्च तद्धिताः । The aphorism once written is not to be rubbed out[33], therefore the वार्तिककार did not dismiss the first वार्तिक "भवे" । The argument is not satisfactory. Yet it clearly indicates that just as the commentator refutes the वार्तिककार he defends him also.

The popular belief is that the commentator is not in favour of कात्यायन. But the critical study of the first four आह्निकs does not support this view. Out of these eleven cases of refutation, only two are not

satisfactory in eyes of modern readers as the methods employed there, are not acceptable. Yet the commentator cannot be blamed for using them because they were in practice in his time. वार्तिककार himself has used them. Moreover just as he refutes some वार्तिक he has acccpted many others. Just as he defends पाणिनि by using योगविभाग etc. he defends कात्यायन also as mentioned above. Moreover he has refuted some aphorisms of पाणिनि[32]. Thus it is clear that his attitude towards कात्यायन is not unfair. He tries as far as possible to defend both पाणिनि as well as कात्यायन । This fact can be corroborated by the study of the remaining portion of the commentary.

QUOTATIONS-

(1) स्वल्पाक्षरमसंदिग्धं सारवद्विश्वतोमुखम् । अस्तोभमनवद्यं च सूत्रं सूत्रविदो विदुः ॥

(2) उक्तानुक्तदुरुक्तानां चिन्ता यत्र प्रवर्तते । तं ग्रन्थं वार्तिकं प्राहुर्वार्तिकज्ञा विचक्षणाः ॥

(3) शास्त्रपूर्वके प्रयोगेऽभ्युदयस्तत्तुल्यं वेदशब्देन । (वार्तिक)

(4) यदप्युच्यत आचारे नियम इति याज्ञे कर्मणि स नियमः ।.........यर्वाण स्तर्वाणो नामर्षयो.........। ते तत्रभवन्तो यद्वा नस्तद्वा न इति प्रयोक्तव्ये यर्वाणस्तर्वाण इति प्रयुञ्जते याज्ञे पुनः कर्मणि नापभाषन्ते । (भाष्य)

(5) एवमिहापि समानायामर्थगतौ शब्देन चापशब्देन च धर्मनियमः क्रियते शब्देनैवार्थोऽभिधेयो नापशब्देनेत्येवं क्रियमाणमभ्युदयकारि भवतीति । (भाष्य)

(6) लक्ष्यलक्षणे व्याकरणम् । (वार्तिक)

(7) अकारस्य विवृतोपदेश आकारग्रहणार्थः । तस्य विवृतोपदेशादन्यत्रापि विवृतोपदेशः सवर्णग्रहणार्थः । दीर्घप्लुतवचने च संवृतनिवृत्यर्थः । (वार्तिक)

(8) नैव लोके न च वेदे दीर्घप्लुतौ संवृतौ स्तः । कौ तर्हि । विवृतौ । यौ स्तस्तौ भविष्यतः । (भाष्य)

(9) अग्रहणं चेन्नुड्विधिलादेशविनामेष्वृकारग्रहणम् । (वार्तिक)

(10) द्विहल्ग्रहणं न करिष्यते । तस्मान्नुड्भवतीत्येव यदि न क्रियत आटतुः आटुरित्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति । अश्नोति ग्रहणं नियमार्थं भविष्यति । अश्नोतेरेवावर्णोपधस्य नान्यस्यावर्णोपधस्येति । (भाष्य)

(11) तदकारोऽप्यत्र निर्दिश्यते । कथम् । अविभक्तिको निर्देशः । कृप उ : रः लः कृपो रो ल इति ।

(12) आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति भवत्यृकारान्नोणत्वमिति यदयं क्षुभ्नादिषु नृनमन शब्दं पठति।.........तृप्नोति शब्दं पठति ।.... .....अथवोपरिष्टाद्योगविभागः करिष्यते । ऋतो नोणो भवति । ततश्छन्दस्यवग्रहात् । ऋतइत्येव । (भाष्य

(13) तुल्यरूपे संयोगे द्विव्यञ्जनविधिः । (वार्तिक)

(14) मात्राकालोऽत्र गम्यते न च मात्रिकं व्यंजनमस्ति । अनुपदिष्टं सत्कथं शक्यं विज्ञातुम् । (भाष्य)

(15) रेफस्य परोपदेशेऽनुनासिकद्विर्वचनपरसवर्णप्रतिषेधः । (वार्तिक)

(16) रेफोष्मणां सवर्णा न सन्ति । (भाष्य)

(17) निमित्तमिमौ रहौ द्विर्वचनस्य । तद्यथा । ब्राह्मणा भोज्यन्तां माठर कौण्डिन्यौ परिवेविषातामिति नेदानीं तौ भुञ्जाते । (भाष्य)

(18) अयोगवाहानामट्सु णत्वम् । (वार्तिक) शर्षु जशभावषत्वे । (वार्तिक)

(19) अविशेषेण संयोगोपधासंज्ञालोऽन्त्यद्विर्वचनस्थानिवद्भावप्रतिषेधाः। (वार्तिक)

(20) अथवोपधाग्रहणं न करिष्यत इदुद्भ्यां तु परं विसर्जनीयं विशेषयिष्यामः। (भाष्य)

(21), (22), (23) संज्ञाधिकारः संज्ञा प्रत्ययार्थः। संज्ञासंज्ञ्यसंदेहश्च। लिङ्गेन वा। (वार्तिक)

(24) वृद्धिगुणा वलोन्त्यस्येति चेन्मिदिपुगन्तलघूपधर्च्छिदृशिक्षिप्रक्षुद्रेष्विग्रहणम्। ....इग्मात्रस्येति चेज्जुसि सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकह्रस्वाद्योगुणेष्वनन्त्यप्रतिषेधः। (वार्तिक)

(25) पुगन्तलघूपधग्रहणमनन्त्यनियमार्थम्। (वार्तिक)

(26) संयोगसंज्ञायां सहवचनं यथान्यत्र। (वार्तिक)

(27) कथं कृत्वैकैकस्य संयोगसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति। प्रत्येकं वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिर्दृष्टेति। तद्यथा वृद्धिगुणसंज्ञे प्रत्येकं भवतः (भाष्य)..........अथ अत्रान्तरेण प्रत्येकमिति वचनं प्रत्येकं वृद्धिगुणसंज्ञे भवत इहापि नार्थः सहग्रहणेन। (भाष्य)

(28) समुदाये संयोगादिलोपो मस्जेः। (वार्तिक)

(29) द्वयोर्हलोः संयोग इति चेद्द्विर्वचनम्। (वार्तिक)

(30) मृज्यर्थमिति चेद्योगविभागात्सिद्धम्।

ऊकालोऽजिति वा योगस्तत्कालानां यथा भवेत्।

निपातनात्स्यदादिषु।

लकारस्य ङित्त्वादादेशेषु स्थानिवद्भावात्प्रसङ्ग इति चेद्यासुटो ङिद्वचनात्सिद्धम्।

(32) (i) The commentator rejects the विसर्जनीय in the aphorism नुम्विसर्जनीयशर्व्यवायेऽपि

(ii) He sets aside the word उपधस्य in the सूत्र 'इदुदुपधस्य चाप्रत्ययस्य

(iii) न धातुलोप आर्धधातुके etc.

(33) न चेदानीमाचार्याः सूत्राणि कृत्वा निवर्तयन्ति।

(12) The Ullāgharāghava - an Unpublished Sanskrit Play by Someśvara, a Protege of the Minister Vastupāla (13th Century A. D.) of Gujrat.

by

Dr. B. J. Sandesara, M.A., Ph.D.

Someśvara or Someśvaradeva, as he prefers to call himself, was the hereditary priest of the Caulukya kings of Aṇahilvāḍ Pāṭaṇ in North Gujarat, and was a friend and protege of Vastupāla, minister of the Vāghelā feudatories of the Caulukyas ruling at Dhavalakka or Dholkā in the modern Ahmedabad District.

Vastupāla was a shrewd politician and a successful general, and came from a Jaina family belonging to the Prāgvāṭa (Porvāḍ) community which is famous in the history of Gujarat for its valour, statesmenship and business acumen. But it is noteworthy that Vastupāla was also a great patron of learning, a promoter of literature and art, a philanthrophist, a man of religious devotion and a great builder of monuments, such as temples on Mt. Ābu and Mt. Girnār. Moreover, he was a Sanskrit poet of distinct merit, and is known to have composed a Sanskrit Mahākāvya—Naranārāyaṇānanda—and several Stotras or devotional hymns. Consequently a large number of poets and scholars had gathered around him, who made a remarkable contribution to various branches of mediaeval Sanskrit literature. Someśvara was the most noteworthy figure in the literary circle patronised by Vastupāla. Occupying the high position of the Royal priest of the Gujarat sovereign ruling at Aṇahilvāḍ Pāṭaṇ, Someśvara was not merely a protege of Vastupāla, but also his personal friend, who was always by his side throughout his eventful career, as the historical Prabandhas bearing on their life inform us.

Someśvara was a Sanskrit poet of remarkable merit and has attempted various forms of Sanskrit literature like Mahākāvya, Nāṭaka, Stotra, Praśasti, Subhāṣita etc. He wrote two Mahākāvyas, the Kīrtikaumudī ('Moonlight of Fame') deals with the good deeds of Vastupāla, beginning from his ancestry, and the Surathotsava describes the story of a mythical king Suratha, as given in the Devīmāhātmya in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa. Someśvara has composed a play Ullāgharāghava, dramatizing the Rāmāyaṇa-story, with which we shall deal in the present paper. It is interesting to note that the play was written at the request of the poet's son Bhallaśarman, as mentioned in the last verse, and was acted in the famous Vaiṣṇava temple at Dvārakā on the Prabodhinī

Ekādaśī (eleventh day of the bright half of the month of Kārtika).[1]. The reference becomes significant when we know that in mediaeval Gujarat a number of Sanskrit plays were performed on festive occasions[2].

In Stotra, Someśvara composed Rāma-śataka, a hundred-verse hymn, to Rāma in the Sragdharā metre.[3]. In Subhāṣita, he has to his credit the Karṇāmṛtaprapā, an anthology of didactic verses, which is unpublished as yet.

The Ābu Praśasti of Someśvara commemorating the building of the Jaina temples on Mt. Ābu by Vastupāla bears the date of 1287 V. S. (1231 A. D.). Metrical portions in two, out of several Girnar inscriptions of Vastupāla are from the pen of Someśvara. His Vaidyanātha Praśasti, commemorating the reparation of the Vaidyanātha temple at Dabhoi by king Vīsaladeva, son of Vīradhavala, bears the date of V. S. 1311 (1255 A. D.), which shows that Someśvara lived at least 16 years after the death of Vastupāla who died in 1240 A. D. The Vaidyanātha Praśasti seems to be his last composition. One more Praśasti was written by Someśvara. That was the Praśasti of the Vīranārāyaṇa Prāsāda, built by king Vīradhavala at Dholkā, as we know from the Prabandhakośa of Rājaśekharasūri (1349 A. D.)[4]. It contained 108 verses. It can be inferred from the name of the monument that it was a temple of Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu. No remains of this temple nor any other building of the times of Vastupāla have survived at modern Dholkā. From his numerous compositions on various subjects it appears that Someśvara was a man of liberal outlook. Though he was a devout Śaiva and Śākta and an adept in the Vedas, he wrote not only poems and plays praising Rāma, but also Praśastis for the Jaina temples.

Now let us come to the Ullāgharāghava: The Ullāgharāghava (Lit. 'the happy scion of Raghu') is a play in eight acts dramatizing the story of the Rāmāyaṇa. The only available manuscript (copied down in V. S. 1537) of this very rare work which has remained almost unknown to the students of the Sanskrit drama is preserved, in the

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1. तदस्य भगवतः श्रीद्वारिकालंकारनीलमणेः श्रीकृष्णदेवस्य पुरतः श्रीप्रबोधैकादशीपर्वणि सर्वदिगागतानां सामाजिकजनानां जनकसुतापति-चरिताभिनयच्छदानेन कृतार्थयामि संसारकदर्थितमात्मानम् । 1-Prologue.

2. Vide my paper *Gujarātamān Sānskrit Nāṭaka* (Guj,) published in *Itihāsī Keḍī* a collection of research-papers.

3. For a notice of the Rāmaśataka, vide my paper in the Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. I.

4. Prabandhakośa (Singhi Series), p. 59.

Bombay Government collection of manuscripts deposited at the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona (No. 343 of 1884-86), and even in that, eleven folios in all (1-5, 18, 39, 40, 71, 73 and 87) are missing. Thus we miss the historically very important prologue in this manuscript, but I was fortunate enough to get that portion from a copy of the work made by the late Mr. T. M. Tripathi of Bombay, who had taken down the whole of the Poona manuscript, but had supplemented the missing section from some other manuscript, which I was unable to discover from his private collection[5]. The Granthāgra of the play is 2100 ślokas, as is noted in a later hand on the last folio of the Poona manuscript.

Looking to the contents of the play-in act I, after the Nāndī, Satānanda, the Purohita of Janaka, refers to the grief of the king that his daughter Sītā will now be separated from him, that is, the play begins after the marriage of Rāma and Sītā. Daśaratha and his two sons and Sītā take Janaka's leave and start for their capital. After a while the chamberlain Haridatta informs how, on the way, angry Paraśurāma was pacified by Rāma, and Janaka goes to inform the inmates of the harem about this great success of his son-in-law. From a Viṣkambhaka in the beginning of act II containing a dialogue between two servants we know that Daśaratha has decided to install Rāma as the king and has called for his Purohit Vasiṣṭha. Then Rāma and Sītā with the garden-keeper move about the pleasure-garden and the pleasure-pond and enjoy the beauty of the place. Meanwhile Daśaratha calls Rāma and bids him to remain ready to take charge of the onerous duties of state-affairs. It is the time of evening, and the stanzas of the Vaitālikas describing the evening twilight are heard from the background. The chamberlain informs Daśaratha that Queen Kaikeyī requests him to come to her palace. Before going there, the king again tells Rāma to remain ready for the coronation ceremony. In act III from the conversation of two maid-servants it is inferred that Kaikeyī has decided to obtain the two gifts from the king, which the latter had promised her sometime ago and that one was the banishment of Rāma and the other was the coronation of Bharata in his place. Then Rāma drives in state to the Palace, witnessing the festivities in the city, but coming to the residence of Kaikeyī, he and Sumantra find the old king vainly attempting to persuade the queen, so that she may not insist upon her demands. The king faints when he sees Rāma. At this juncture enter Kausalyā Sumitrā and Sītā, and are stunned to know the turn which the events have taken. Angry Lakṣmaṇa enters with drawn bow, asking who is bold enough to banish Rāma. But Rāma pacifies him and bidding farewell to all retires to the forest, and grief prevails in the whole kingdom.

The whole of act IV is utilized for supplying information regarding events that occurred after the banishment of Rāma. The act is devoted

5. For some quotation from the prologue of the Ullāgharāghava supplied by Mr. Tripathi to Mr. C. D. Dalal, first general editor of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, vide the Vasant (Guj.) Vol. XIV, p. 191.

to the aerial travel and conversation of two Gandharvas-Kumudāṁgada and his son Kanakacūḍa. We know that Daśaratha is dead; Bharata follows Rāma to Citrakūṭa, but there he is prevailed upon by Rāma to return to Ayodhyā for the protection of the people: Rāma has killed the demon Virādha; and in the end, he expresses a desire to go to the southern direction. Act V has a Viṣkambhaka in the beginning, in which the audience know from the soliloquy of Mārīca that Rāvaṇa wants to take his help in the abduction of Sītā and that the ears and nose of Śūrpaṇakhā were cut by Lakṣmaṇa and also that the demons residing in the Janasthāna were killed. Then enters Rāvaṇa and forcibly carries away Sītā. Jaṭāyu, king of the vultures, comes to Sītā's help, and fights with Rāvaṇa, but he is not successful, and from the speech of Ghorākṣa, Rāvaṇa's attendant, we know that Jaṭāyu is fatally wounded. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa not finding Sītā in the hut, start for her search, and know the details of her carrying away from Jaṭāyu. Jaṭāyu advises Rāma to go to the Pampāsara in the south, where he will make friends with Sugrīva and other monkey-chiefs, and thus a suggestion is made as to how it will become possible for Rāma to attack Laṁkā. Act VI begins with the dialogues of three demons, *viz.* Mālyavān, Sāraṇa and Śuka, from which the audience know that Vāli was killed by Rāma and Hanumān had burnt Laṁkā; Vibhīṣaṇa advised Rāvaṇa to return Sītā to Rāma, but he was insulted and consequently went over to Rāma's camp. Then Aṁgada comes to Rāvaṇa's court for a peace-mission but his mission fails and there follows an interchange of recriminations. The battle-cries of the monkeys are heard from the background. Rāvaṇa, from the terrace of his palace takes a view of Rāma's army, and the chief warriors are pointed out to him by Śuka. In the same way Rāma and Vibhīṣaṇa see Rāvaṇa's army from the peak of mountain Suvela.

Almost the whole of act VII is a Dialogue between Kāpaṭika, who was a spy of Lavaṇa, the lord of Mathurā and a friend of Rāvaṇa, and a demon named Vṛkamukha. We know that Rāvaṇa has been killed, Sītā has come out pure from the fire and Vibhīṣaṇa is installed on the throne of Laṁkā. Kāpaṭika says that he would try his best still to create difficulties in the way of Rāma, In the end, Vibhīṣaṇa's voice is heard from the background requesting Rāma to sit in the Aerial car Puṣpaka for going to Ayodhyā. Act VIII begins with the aerial journey of Rāma to Ayodhya. Sītā asks him about various places coming on the way and he satisfies her curiosity. Kāpaṭika takes the guise of a young Muni, and hastily goes to Ayodhyā where the news of Rāvaṇa's death have not reached as yet. There he gives false information that Rāvaṇa in his aerial car is coming to attack Ayodhyā having killed both Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. The army is ordered to remain ready and Kausalyā and Sumitrā, struck with grief, prepare for burning themselves alive. At this juncture enters the aerial car. Bharata aims an arrow at Vibhīṣaṇa taking him to be an ally of Rāvaṇa, but Vasiṣṭha who knows everything checks him. and the plot of Kāpaṭika is found out. The concluding portion of the play (folio 87) is missing, but it can be easily surmised that it must have described the re-union of the family,

and in the end there must have been a Bharatavākya in the mouth of Rāma.

We may mention here that in the beginning of each act, except the first, the poet has put one verse in praise of Vastupāla which speaks of his close associations with the patron.

Thus the Ullāgharāghava is a long drawn out play, possibly having as its model the Anargharāghava of Murāri (before the 9th century A. D.), a play in seven acts. There is a series of Rāma-dramas ending with the word Rāghava which seem to have some connection with one another. We are in darkness regarding the Udāttarāghava of Māyurāja, which is known only by reference[6], and we are not able to say anything about its relation with the Anargharāghava of Murāri, who may either have succeeded him or preceded him. Murāri seems to have been imitated by Jayadeva (circa 1200 A. D.), in the Prasannarāghava[7], which is also a Rāma play in seven acts. Murāri's play was very popular in Sanskrit literature at a time, and he has been spoken of very highly in anthologies, and a large number of commentaries were written on his play[8]. The play was zealously read and studied also in mediaeval Gujarat, and Naracandra and his Guru Devaprabha[9], both of them contemporaries of Vastupāla, have composed commentaries on it. A third commentary was written hy Jinaharṣa in the 15th century[10]. And it is no wonder if Someśvara was influenced by it. Just as act IV of the Ullāgharāghava is entirely taken up by the dialogue of two Gandharvas—Kanakacūḍa and Kumudāṁgada, the later part of act VI of the Anargharāghava is similarly devoted to the talks between Ratnacūḍa and Hemāṁgada, who are also Gandharvas. These Dialogues in both the plays serve the same purpose, *viz.* to inform the audience about the events that have already occurred. Dialogues of Mālyavān, Śuka and Sāraṇa are found almost in identical places in act VI in both plays. VIII 29-30 of the Ullāgharāghava are mere imitation of the VII 97-98 of the Anargharāghava, and the whole of the act VIII in the former play seems to have been inspired by act VII of the latter, though here one may be tempted to say that the poet may have also seen the portions describing Rāma's return to Ayodhyā in Canto XIII of the Raghuvaṁśa and act X of the Bālarāmāyaṇa of Rājaśekhara (Circa 900 A. D.).

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6. Keith, Sanskriit drama, pp. 223 ff.

7. Ibid, p. 226. Unmattarāghava of Bhāskara Kavi of unknown date, though a one-act play, seems to have been influenced at least in its nomenclature by the plays like the Anargharāghava.

8. Krisnamachari, Classical Sanskrit literature. pp. 638 f.

9. Catalogue of the Jaina Bhandar at Patan, p. 301; Jinaratnakośa, p. 7.

10. Catalogue of Jaina Bhandar at Patan, intro., p. 52.

The Ullāgharāghava betrays some influence of the Abhijñānaśākuntala. The scenes in which Sītā goes to Ayodhyā and the grief of Janaka at the separation from his dear daughter is expressed, are reminiscent of similar scenes in the fourth act of the great drama of Kālidāsa. When Someśvara wrote:

नवपरिणीता दुहिता गच्छन्ती पतिगृहाय बन्धूनाम् ।
परमार्थवेदिनामपि वैक्लव्यं विरचयत्येव ॥ ((I. 10):

he must have in his mind the following half-verse from the Śakuntalā, put in Kaṇva's month—

वैक्लव्यं मम तावदीदृशमहो स्नेहादरण्यौकसः ।
पीड्यन्ते गृहिणः कथं नु तनयाविश्लेषदुःखैर्नवैः ॥ (IV. 5).

And Śatānanda's instruction to Sītā—

शुश्रूषा श्वशुरे ननान्दृषु नतिः श्वश्रूषु यांजलिः (? बद्धाञ्जलिः ?)
पत्यौ तत्परता सुनर्म च वचस्तन्मित्रवर्गे शुचौ ।
साङ्गत्यं कुलबालिकासु विनयः पूज्ये तनौ संवृतिः
मार्गोयं मुनिपुङ्गवैस्त्वगदशां श्रेयः श्रिये दर्शितः ॥ (I. 21).

appears to have been based on the famous verse in the Śakuntalā spoken by Kaṇva, beginning with the words शुश्रूषस्व गुरून्० (IV, 17). In the second act of the Ullāgharāghava, Rāma protects Sītā from the bee which was attracted by the fragrance of her mouth and addresses him a verse भ्रातश्चक्रे भ्रमर भवता (II. 35), whtch is inspired by a similar scene in the first act of the Śakantalā and the verse चलापाङ्गां दृष्टिं० (I. 20).

The Sanskrit drama was generally under the influence of the court, and though the audience was mixed, its worth was judged by the learend who were intent on discerning poetic beauties or defects. The result was that the poet attempted to introduce as many lyric verses as he could, and consequently the action and dialogues suffered. This process can be seen in full development in Murāri, Rājaśekhara and other later dramatists, in whom we find subordination of action to description, and the degeneration of the description into a mere exercise in style and in the use of alliterations[11]. We find here features also in Someśvara, h

11. Keith, op. cit, p. 244.

being the child of his age. At some places he has made the things lengthy, e. g. whole of the fourth act is devoted to the long and tedious dialogues between two Gandharvas. The second act describes the beauties of the garden, and a part of the last act gives a large number of verses in epic style about several geographical places from Laṁkā to Ayodhyā. This was partly due to the fact that the plays for their reputation depended largely on being read, not witnessed, however important it may have been for the poet to secure the honour of public performance.

But the merit of Someśvara's work lies in the fact that though it exhibits all these characteristics of the later drama, prose as well as verses in it are written in an elegant and effective style, which has always marked his compositions. He has tried to dramatize the whole of the Rāmāyaṇa, but has utilized his long and unwiedy subject-matter in a judicious way, as a result of which his acts generally do not degenerate into something like separate plays, as has happened in the case of the Bālarāmāyaṇa of Rajaśekhara. In the end, a number of lyric verses can be cited as poetic achievements of Someśvara. Rāma being abashed at his praise for his valour before Paraśurama expresses exemplary modesty—

भग्नं जीर्णं त्रिनयनधनु यन्मया दैवयोगात्

यत्संसोढः शिशुरिति रणे वैनतेयेन चाहम् ।

लोकः प्रीत्या तदपि किल मे पौरुषं भाषमाणो

वार्यः, कार्या न खलु महतां गर्हणा निर्निमित्तम् ॥ (II. 9).

Jatukarṇa, a pupil of Vasiṣṭha, describes Daśaratha sitting with Rāma, comparing him with a great Banyan tree—

राजा राजत्यनेनायं सुतेनान्तिकवर्त्तिना ।

प्ररोहणात्मतुल्येन वटवृक्ष इवोन्नतः ।। (II. 44).

And Daśaratha, deeply aggrieved at the idea of Rāma's banishment, expresses his agony—

मातः क्षिते तपनतात विभो नभस्वान्

सर्वं हि वितथ तदिदं वदत प्रसह्य ।

का दुर्दशेयमधुना मम वर्तते य-

न्मूर्च्छा तु गच्छति न गच्छति जीवितव्यम् ॥ (III. 18).

Touching farewell of Rāma to Ayodhyā and its people—

भास्वद्गोत्रचरित्रचित्ररुचिरप्रासाद तुभ्यं नम-
स्त्वां वन्दे सुकृतानुरक्तजनतामेध्यामयोध्यां पुरीम् ।
आपृच्छे पुरवासिनः सविनयं युष्मानिहायुष्मति
क्षमाभारं भरते समुद्धरति च स्वस्त्यस्तु गच्छाम्यहम् ॥ (III. 35).

And a charming description of the moon-rise—

अह्नास्त्रं मन्मथस्य त्रिभुवनवनितामानमीनावकृष्ट्यै
कैवर्तः, कैरवाणां प्रियसुहृदमृतस्रोतसां शैलराजः ।
पान्थस्त्रीणामपथ्यं, रथचरणचमूचक्रपालस्य कालः
शृङ्गारस्योपकारः किरति रतिमसावोषधीनामधीशः ॥ (IV. 53).

Rāma's dejection when he knew that Sītā was carried away—

दृष्टिः स्पष्टं तटगतमपि प्रेक्षते नाश्रुमिश्रा
दूराह्वाने नहि पटुरयं बाष्पकुण्ठश्च कण्ठः ।
पादद्वन्द्वं प्रचलितुमिदं न क्षमं मुह्यतो मे
वद्वैदेहीं क्वचिदचिरयन् वत्स पश्य त्वमेव ॥ (V. 40).

IV—Islamic Culture Section.

(13) Shah Wali Allah on Predestination

by

Prof. Fazal Mahmud Asiri, M.A.

Predestination, an integral part of the faith of a Muslim, has been debated through the ages, without being decided in favour of anything, for or against it. Actually theologians and scholastics were compelled to take it up against the charges of the sceptics and the non-believers and to explain away the apparent contradiction of the "Predestination and the punishment for human actions" given in the scriptures. Predestination, argued the sceptics, makes punishment for actions meaningless, and if it takes place, it would be nothing but sheer injustice. Nearly all eminent scholars and theologians in Islam including Ibn Hazm, Razi, and Ghazzali, have tried to give an answer to this charge. Shah Wali Allah too has explained this controversial point in his Hujjatullahil Balighah in his own peculiar way. But I must admit here that his answer to this question is as complicated and confusing as that of any of his predecessors.

According to Shah Wali Allah, all-things-to be, their nature and time and mode of appearance, were fixed in a regular chain of cause and effect long before the process of emanation started. Divine Will is actually the planner of all these things and the *Will* of man is just like 'a reflection in the mirror' *vis a vis* the former. As for the punishment and reward, they are nothing but the natural outcome or consequences of the actions.

"The deeds of men are primarily determined by their individual *Will*. But as for the *Will* itself it is controlled from without. A man's state in this respect is similar to one who intends to throw a stone. He does not possess a power to make the stone move without supplying force to it. Now the question arises, if the deeds are created by God and also the *Will* of man, then why should man be punished for them?

"Reward and punishment, as a matter of fact, are nothing but application of some divine acts on other acts. At first, God creates one state in a man and then He creates another (of pain or comfort) in him relevant to the first state. This can be put in another way. At first, one state is created in man and then another state follows as an indispensible and unavoidable outcome. It is just as the raising of temperature of water is to make it ready for the process of evaporation.

"In reward and punishment man's choice and acquisition are not conditioned by reality. That is Nafs-i-Natiqa does not receive effects of the deeds which are not supported by it, and God does not punish or reward any one for the deeds which do not effect the Nafs-i-Natiqa. As it is proved so far, it can be easily understood that the choice or ikhtiar which has no permanent entity, can stand as a condition to reward and punishment, and can create a second state". (Hajjat Vol. I, 334).

At another place Shah Wali Allah discusses the same problem in the following words:

"Whether anything will materialise or not is decided by the *Will* or *Intention* in the Highest Heaven or in the place lying between *Mala'i A'la* and *Tajalli" A'zam* (the Sphere between Angels and Divine Illumination). The means to be adopted for the appearance or otherwise of a thing is also fixed there without the possibility of any state of suspense. The Philosophers who believe that doing or not-doing of a thing lies purely in the ikhtiar or will of man, have not realised the nature of this Will of the Highest Heaven.

"Our argument against the belief of the philosophers is that when a man intends to take a pan, to his mind lifting or not-lifting of it is equal. But the superior expediency (Maslihat Faqani) has already decided what shall actually take place............

"It is possible you may think that such a state suggests ignorance of the superior expediency; that is, what has made appearance of the thing necessary? If so, how should it be a point out of the points of Truth? My answer to this is, that there is no such thing as ignorance in this case; but, on the other hand, it suggests cognisance or *Knowledge* as also the fulfilment of the truth. It would be ignorance if it were said that that thing is not necessary. All religions deny this ignorance as they express their faith in the providence or Fate. That is, it is believed by all that 'What has befallen you was inevitable, and what has not befallen you was impossible.'

"When you say doing or not-doing of that thing is right it is a true knowledge and not ignorance. For instance, if you see a person doing a thing, you may think it is done out of compulsion as a stone when thrown may run on and on. But that is not correct. Or if you say that it is done without any cause or force applied from outside, your observation would again be wrong. That is, if you believe that a man's will only carries out the orders of the superior expediency and personally one does not feel an urge for it, it is wrong. The actual position lies between the two-personal *will* and compulsory force from without. That is to say, personal *will* is an effect which does not go against its cause and that with the cause already there the action cannot

be avoided. The position and the state of the personal *will* is that it gets pleased or displeased by its own state. Otherwise, by itself, it has no concern with the higher control.

"If you believe that doing of a thing or not-doing of it was equal for you, you preferred doing it and that *will* of yours is the real cause of it, you will be right in one respect, because the religion has mentioned about this *will* in order to make the commands reasonable." (Vol. 1 50).

"According to the Hadith" says Shah Wali at another place discussing different grades of predetermination, a muslim's faith is not perfect unless he believes in the power of determining *good* and *evil* by Fate". That is, all what has come upon one whether it is good or evil is the work of Fate. Providence, in other words, is only fixing of the causes for the effects, and once the causes are fixed, there is no possibility of avoidance of the effects.

The order of fixation of the causes, says, Shah Wali, lies in five grades:

1. In eternity God decided to create a universe and give it an appropriate form, with the complement of all necessary qualities, aptitudes, and relative attributes. After that God, by his perfect knowledge, designed a particular shape for every species and assigned it a place in the order of things of the universe-to-be, (By universe I mean entire creation).

2. The second grade is of the fixation of values of everything about fifty thousand years before the creation of the universe. God created the ideal forms and then fixed the time of their material appearance. For instance, He fixed the time of the appearance of Muhammad, and everything concerning his life. That is, how Abu Jahal will oppose him and how, on account of that opposition, he will be condemned, all was determined.

3. The third grade is the creation of Adam and the moulds of all of his progeny in the world of similitude (Alam-i-Mithal). By assigning light or darkness to each human form, God also fixed capacity for virtue and sin in all of them. They were given the power of understanding their own self and the Divine Existence.

4. The fourth grade is measuring and judging by angels of children in the womb as the souls enter their forms. The angels come to know by divine illumination of the

future actions of the children and they behave with them according to that.

5. The fifth grade is regulating of the events before they descend upon the earth, from the Haziratul Qudus. At first, an ideal form of each event comes to the world and a news concerning it spreads far and wide. Shah Wali saw himself many times these ideal forms of the events.

The events created in the higher heaven descend to the earth according to the Record prepared in Eternity and preserved in the protected Tablet (Lauh-i-Mahfuz). But, sometimes, events before they change from ideal form into a material one, are cancelled. But this cancellation of events is restricted to the ordinary events, which have no bearing on the system of the universe. The events or the proposed causes of the effect by which the life of the universe is maintained regular are inevitable. They are not at all cancelled. The prayer of a man or a good deed such as giving alms to the poor prevents any evil from materialisation. But that too is written in the Great Record that such an event will be cancelled for such and such reasons.

(14) The Administration of Mu'Awiyah

by

Mohammad Iqbal Ansari, Fazil (Nadwa), M.A., B. Th.
(Alig.)

Few men in the long and chequered history of Islām have been so grossly misunderstood and misrepresented as Mu'āwiyah b. Hbī-Sufyān, the founder of the Umayyad Dynasty, He lived in a time of inflamed passions, and so he has been painted either with the pallets of love or with the scalpet of hatred. Both these extremes are as unilateral and unjust towards the man as towards truth. In this paper my endeavour has been to judge Mu'āwiyah as an administrator and assign him his proper niche among the muslim administrators. I have intensively and critically examined all the available arabic works on the subject and have, so far as possible within the limited space and time at my disposal, done my best to throw light on the administration of this great historical personage, who displayed unique genius in this particular sphere. He divided the country into various provinces, established new officers, organised police force, built up cantonments, developed agriculture, carried out great irrigation schemes, sank wells and built dams, gave new life to the army, founded Arab thalassocrasy and reformed the public treasury.

Religious Works:

The orthodoxy has generally depicted Mu'āwiyah as a secular ruler and he appears to be so when compared to pious Caliphs. But in the light of his services to the religion we may assert that he was religious at heat. He purchased at the high cost of 700[1] dinars or twenty thousand[2] dirhams the sacred shawl of the prophet given to Ka'b b. Zuhair in reward for his famous panegyric about the Prophet which was inherited by all the succeeding Caliphs and they used to wear it on the occasion of the two 'Ids.

His attitude towards the mothers of the Muslims, the wives of the Prophet, was praiseworthy. He always paid them his best respect and regard. Beside the intermitent amounts of five or ten thousands he sometimes presented to 'Āisha, the famous mother of the Muslims, a

1. Alusi V. 3, p. 133.
2. al-Kamil V. 3, p. 105.

sum of one lac outright[3]. Once she gave to Munkadir b.-'Abdullah a sum of ten thousand out of the money received from Syria[4].

As his last request he enjoined to put in his eyes and mouth the relics of the Prophet—a little of his hair and a pairing of his nail, which he had preserved—and leave him alone, with the most Merciful of the Merciful[5].

No separate organisation for the propagation of Islam in his reign is traceable, nevertheless every opportunity was availed of and Islam made gigantic progress. A large number of Barbars from North Africa adopted Islam and to check their mutiny and frequent apostacy he founded the city of Qairawan. A good number of Romans, too, embraced Islam. The vesture of the Holy Ka'ba used to be of an ordinary cloth in the days of first two Caliphs, 'Uthmān, the third Caliph, was the first to cover it with a costly one. Mu'āwiyah decorated it with embroidered cloth and permitted the stripping of the vesture, for before that the new one was thrown over the old[6], and appointed servants for its maintenance[7]. A number of mosques were built during his reign and the old ones were repaired. Ziyad expanded the great mosque of Basra and had it constructed anew with bricks and mortar[8]. After the conquest of Cyprus a number of mosques were constructed along with the Muslim colony[9], and 'Uqbha b. Nafi' constructed a grand mosque for Juma'h Prayers[10]. At Basra 'Abd al-Rahman b. Samurah got a mosque constructed in the Kabul Style[11]. Maslamah b. Mukhallad introduced the addition of minarets to the mosques of Egypt[12].

Beside this expansion in the mosques, he also did his best to see that the commands of Allah and the instructions of the Prophet were rightly observed, on one occasion he is seen teaching people how to perform ablutions[13]. On another occasion he is found differentiating between obligatory (Fard) and the optional (Sunnah) and proclaming on the pulpit, "I have heard the Prophet that the fast of 'Ashurah is not obligatory. I keep fast today, every one amongst you may keep it or break it as he pleases[14]. When he saw the women decorating themselves

3. al-Mustadrak V. 4, p. 13.
4. al-Tabaqat V. 5, p. 18.
5. al-Suyuti p. 135.
6. Isti'ab V. I, p. 262. al-Suyuti p. 135.
7. Ya'kubi V. II, p. 283.
8. al-Baaduri p. 355.
9. Ibid p. 160.
10. Mu'jam V. 7, p. 193-194.
11. al-Baladuri p. 404.
12. Isabab V. 3, p. 855.
13. Abu Daud Ch. on the Ablution of the Prophet.
14. al-Bukhari Ch. or the Fast of 'Ashura.

with the artificial locks of hair, he ascended to the pulpit with the same in his hand and declared, "I have heard the Prophet saying that the Israelites were ruined when their women used this[15]." When Jabalah b. Suhaim, saw rope round his neck and a child leading him and asked what he was doing Mu'awiyah replied "I have heard the Prophet saying, "who has a child let him act towards him as a child." Such was his enthusiasm to follow the example and carry out the commands of the Prophet.

Public Reforms:

Apart from the expansion of the state and the spread of the Islam, Mu'awiyah did a lot for the interest of the public and welfare of the people at large. "He continuously interested himself in agriculture. He paid special attention to the development of the province, least favoured by nature, the Hijaz. His example which was copied by his relations and most influential contemporaries, brought this region a century of prosperity under the Umayyads such as it was never to see again. In the land of Mwsina and Mecca and Taif, Mu'awiyah carried out great irrigation schemes, wells and built dams[17].

Due to these canals there was a huge increase in the productive capacity of the land and the danger of famine was completely removed. Mu'awiyah himself was deeply interested in this project; some of the most important and noteworthy canals built under him are 'Kizamah, Azraq, and Shuhada[18]. Ziyad got reconstructed the Ma'qal[19] canal which was formerly dug in the reign of 'Umar and was damaged[20]. His son, Ubaidullah, the governor of Mesopotamia, constructed a canal through the mountainous region of Bukhara[21]. Beside the canals, dams were built in the valleys to hold back water in the rainy season[22]. The increase in the output due to these canals can be apprehended by the fact that in Medina and its suburbs alone one and a half lac "wasaq" of dates and one lac "Wasaq" of wheat was produced.

Mu'awiyah founded a number of new towns and rehabilitated some of the deserted ones. Mar'ash, an old deserted town of Syria, was reconstructed and rehabilitated. The famous town of Qairawan[23] which afterwards became the central place in North Africa, was founded

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15. al-Bukhari Ch. on Adab.
17. Enc. of Islam V. 3, p. 618.
18. Sahmudi V. 2, p. 117.
19. al-Mustawfi p. 289.
20. Baladuri p. 366.
21. Tabari V. 7, p. 169.
22. Sahmudi V. 2, p. 321.
23. From persian Karawan, whence Eng. caravan, see Hitti p. 191.

by'Uqbah b. Nafi' who used it as a base against the Barbar tribes[24]. A body of persians were transplanted in the year 42 A.H. by Mu'awiyah from Ba'labak, Hims, and Antioch to the Sea coast of the Jordan *i.e.* Tyre Acre and other places; and he transplanted in the same year or one year before or after certain Asawirah (persian armed Cavalry) from Basra and Kufa and certain persians from Ba'labak and Hims to Antioch[25]. In the year 49 or 50 A.H. he also made some of the Zutt and Sayabijah of al-Basra to settle at Antioch[26]. He also settled certain artisans and carpenters along the sea coast to improve industry[27]. But more important than this was establishment of new Muslim colonies at different places, especially on border regions, which ultimately reduced the danger of foreign invasions and the Muslim population increased in newly conquered towns. Such new colonies were founded at Antakiyah (Antioch)[28]. Phodes[29] and Arwad[30] respectively in 43 A. H., 52 A. H, and 54 A. H.

'Umar had fixed a sum of ten dirhams as stipend for the infants of the warriors which varied from time to time. Bu'awiyah retained it with the amendment that it was given after weaning.

To ward off the public against wild beasts and venomous reptiles has always been considered creditable for a ruler in civilised countries. Even in this respect Mu'awiyah does not lag behind and we find him taking a wise step against the scorpions which became a source of permanent trouble to the inhabitants of Nasibin.[31]

Civil Administration:

What distinguishes Mu'awiyah from other Umayyad Caliphs is his extraordinary administrative capacity and his matchless political insight. He was the first Caliph and the founder of the Umayyad state; naturally his reign should have been incomplete but even if cursorily glanced it comes out as a model of civilised state; and none of his successors have achieved so much in the administration of the state as a whole.

The credit of his successful administration goes to his intuition in choosing the ablest administrators and the best leaders as his lieutenants. He had at his disposal the best services of the most noteworthy

24. Mu'jam V. 7, p. 194 Hitti p. 213.
25. ai-Baladuri p 117.
26. Ibid p. 162.
27. Ibid pp. 110, 148.
28. Ibid p. 154.
29. Ibid p. 244.
30. Ibid p. 464.
31. Mu'jam V. 8, p. 293, Baladuri p. 178.

administrators and the counsellors of the time—'Amr b. al-As, Mughirah b. Shu'bah and Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan and took their advices in all important matters. They are considered to be amongst the foremost sagacious of Arabs[32]. To the names already mentioned we may add those of Dhask b. Qais, Abu-al-Aiwar al-Sulami, Muslim, b. 'Uqbah, Busr b. Abi Artat and Habib b. Maslamah[33].

For the administration of a country it has been the practice to divide it into different provinces. Mu'awiyah also followed it and retained the distribution effected by 'Umar; the new conquests in the East were added to Khurasan and those in the West were amalgamated into Egypt. Each province had a governor and a number of 'Amils (Administrators) for different districts and towns. While selecting the candidates, Mu'awiyah gave special attention to their abilities for the posts assigned to them. Ziyad, also, was a great expert in the matter and the qualifications prescribed by him for various administrative services are preserved in the books of history[34] and deserve to be followed.

Police force has always been regarded indispensable to maintain internal peace of the country, Mu'awiyah paid special attention to it and deputed adequate police force in Mesopotamia which had been the scene and centre of internal troubles and Kharijite outbursts. Forty thousand policemen were deputed in the town of Kufa alone and five hundred of them to watch the Mosques[35]. Sufficient arrangements were made to have strict watch over history-sheeters. Mu'awiyah ordered Abu Darda to take down the names of mischief-mongers and scoundrels at Demasous[36]. Ziyad appointed Ja'd b. Qais al-Tamini to keep a vigilent eye over the riotous and seditious people[37]. The result of such measures was all round peace and safety prevailing everywhere. No body could dare to pick from the way a lost thing; women passed nights alone with their doors wide open. Ziyad used to say that even if a piece of rope was lost between kufa and Khurasan he would certainly know the offender. One night he heard the bells ringing in a house and he was told that the people were watching the house. He asked them not to do so and added that he himself would be resposible for their loss, if any[38].

Mu'awiyah was first to use the post (Barid) for the speedy transmission of the news and of ever changing affairs. Philologically "Barid" means twelve miles and as the distance they could manage between two post stages was so many miles so they named the system

32. al-Suyuti p. 138.
33. Encyclopaedia of Islam V. 3, p. 618.
34. Ya'Kubi V. 2, p. 280.
35. Tabari V. 7, pp. 77-89.
36. al-Adab al-Mufrad section on Zann. p. 188.
37. Tabari V. 7, p. 78.
38. Ibid. pp. 77-79.

after it However, the system was that trained horses were put at a number of places. When the carrier of the urgent news arrived at one of these places and his horse was tired, he mounted in its stead a rested horse and so he would do the same at the next place, and the next till he arrived speedily[39].

Another invention of Mu'awiyah's in administration was the 'despatching registry' or the office of the seal (Diwan al-Khatam). 'Abdullah b. 'Aws al-Ghassani was appointed to it and was entrusted with the seal bearing the inscription.

(Every deed has its meed)[40] or

(There is no power but with Allah)[41]. This office was considered one of the most important offices and had a continuous tradition to the middle of the 'Abbasid dynasty—then it was abolished[42]. Its function was that there could be an office with 'Civil' servants in it when an official memorandum came from the Caliph with an instruction, the memorandum was brought to the office, a true copy of it was made, it was then pierced by a thread and sealed with wax as is done nowadays with legal documents. It was finally stamped with the seal of the officer in-charge of this office[43]. The reason of Mu'awiyah's instituting this office was that he commanded one lac dirhams to be given to a man and he opened the document and made it two lacs. When the account was taken to Mu'awiyah he disowned that and said, "I only credited him with one lac." Then he made him refund it and created the registry of the seal from that day, so that memoranda should be despatched under seal, no one knowing their content, and no one being able to alter them.[44]

Mu'awiyah took keen interest in reforming the finances. "He used the business experience of the Sarjunids to organise the financial administration. This fiscal reform gave him the resources required to maintain his armies, carry out desirable public works and pay the subsidies necessary to secure the success of his plans[45]. "He began by revising and reducing the enormous pensions granted by preceding governments without regard to the services rendered to the state. Down to his time the central treasury of the Caliphate had been supplied by intermitent and always unwilling contributions extorted from the provinces.

39. al-Fakhri p. 148.

40. al ti p. 136.

41. al-Tanbih p. 262.

42. al-Fakhri pp. 148-149, al-Su asserts that it continued with the 'Abbasid Caliphs to the *vide* al-Suyuti p. 136.

43. al-Fakhri p. 149.

44. al-Fakhari p. 149.

45. Ibid p. 149, al-Suynti p. 136.

Mu'awiyah, endeavoured to settle the amount to be paid by each province and to regularise its collection. Under him the treasury ceased to be a relief fund which the conquerors claimed to use as they pleased. He turned it into the treasury of State intended to cover general expenses to secure the representation and the defence of the empire[46]."

The Muslim coinage, also, owes its origin to the creative genius of Muīawiyah. Down to his reign the Muslims had no special coinage of their own and chiefly used Byzantine and Persian money, either imported or struck by themselves. On the request of Ziyad he struck first black dirhams which proved defective[47]. He also struck dinars on which was inscribed the effigy of a man girded with a sword[48].

The reign of Mu'awiyah is also remarkable for justice, impartiality and indiscrimination. A number of responsible and important posts were assigned to non-muslims. The Caliph's physician, Ibu Uthal, was a christian whom he afterwards made financial administrator of the province of Hims—an unprecedented appointment for a christian in the Muslim annals[49]. Sarjun Ibn Mansur[50], another christian, was the private secretary to the Caliph. The Umayyad poet laureate, al-Akhtal, belonged to the Taghlib, christian Arabs of al-Hirah[52].

Not only were non-Muslims given posts in the state but their religious and civil rights were also respected. A mosque was constructed near the cathedral of St. John in the Caliphate of 'Umar. Mu'awiyah intended to expand the mosque which would include the church. When the christians expressed their unwillingness to the proposal he dropped the idea completely[53]. 'Uqbah b. Nafri', the governor of Egypt was in need of a plot for his personal requirements. His servant asked him to occupy some tract uncultivated but he rejected the proposal and remarked that it was a condition of the agreement between the clients (Dhimmies) that no piece of land would be taken out of their possession[54].

An efficient judicature forms an inseparable part of a well-organised state. Beside appointing Qazis at different places to decide local cases,

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46. Encyclopaedia of Islam V. 3, p. 618.
47. Encyclopaedia of Islam V. 3, p. 621.
48. Encyclopaedia Britanica V. 5, p. 33.
49. Kitab al-Nuqud p. 32-33.
50. Ya'kubi V. 2, p. 265. Hitti p. 196.
52. Tabari V. 2, p. 283.
53. Hitti p. 196.
54. Baladuri p. 331.

Mu'awiyah himself provided an opportunity for high and low, without any discrimination, to approach him personally every day, in the mosque with his grievances and seek their redress. It has already been mentioned that it formed the part of his daily routine. But it was not the case with the Caliph only, his governors too followed suit. Ziyad, generally depicted as unjust and tyrannical, was also very particular to maintain justice. Because of the heavy work and responsibility of the governorship of the two provinces of Kufa and Basra he seldom had an opportunity of coming in contact with the people at large; so he ordered his subordinates and his personal staff to present before him public grievance.[55]

Military Organisation:

For the maintenance of peace at home and the continuance of conquest abroad and defence against any threat from without, Military force is the most important factor. Umayyads had enjoyed the privilege of commanding the armies for generations. The first Umayyad Caliph displayed his ingenuity in the successful organisation of land and naval forces. He recruited the soldiers, then formed them into a regular army; wonderful troops always ready to play their double part, the Jihad abroad, and the maintenance of peace and the unity of empire at home[56].

His great work was the creation of the Syrian army of troops blindly devoted to their sovereign. It formed the great military reserve of the empire for his successors, and inexhaustible nursery of soldiers and leaders. He was able to keep in training by annual invasions of Byzantine territories, Razzias on a large scale rather than campaigns with a definite plan of conquest. By thus keeping the enemy engaged at home, he managed to defend his own frontiers very efficaciously[57].

If after his ascension to the Caliphate, he rarely left Demascus—henceforth the official capital—to lead his armies in person, he nevertheless was still the 'real organiser of victory.' He looked to the comfort and the equipment of the troops, doubled their pay and saw that they were paid with a regularity hitherto unknown. His rival, 'Ali said that on the call of Mu'awiyah the Syrian army 'would take the field without demanding pay, not two or three times a year only, wherever it pleased its leader to take them[58].

For the first time in the annals of Islam, Mu'awiyah divided the army into two—Safiyah and Shatiyah—to the seasons and climates of different countries. The Shatiyah or the winter army, was to fight in

55. Maqrizi V. 1, p. 208.
56. Ya'Kubi V. 2, pp. 279, 280.
57. Encyclopaedia of Islam V. 3.
58. Ibid p. 618.

the winter season and in cold regions. The Safiyah or the summer army, was to wage war in hot countries. He, also, introduced the use of catapult on a large scale. In the seige of Kabul the rampart was stoned and broken by the catapults[59].

He constructed military fortresses and cantonments at all important and strategic centres. He especially fortified Syria which was in constant threat of Byzantine incursions and reconstructed there the ruined Roman fortress named Jabalah[60].

A fort was erected for Jabalah outside the old Greek one whichwas inhabited by monks and others devoted to religious exercises. Antartus (Tertose) was a fortified town which was captured by 'Ubaidah and was evacuated by its holders. Mu'awiyah built Antartos and fortified it giving the fief to the holders of the fort. The same thing he did with Maraqiyah and Bulunyah[61]. A new fortress at Rhodes was built which remained a military centre for seven years[62]. A fortress named Qasr Khal was built in Madina[63]. The cantonments were built at Cyprus and Arwad and the cities of Qairawan and Mara'sh were founded chiefly for military purposes[64].

Arab thalasocracy also dates from the glorious reign of Mu'awiyah. He organised the Arab navy while his lieutenants utilised it for the conquests of Cyprus and Rhodes and on two occasions his son Yazid, besieged Constantinople. He was so fond of maritime adventures that he succeeded at last in obtaining the permission of 'Uthman and invaded Cyprus with 500 battleships. On resuming the Caliphate he did his best to improve the navy which in a few days surpassed the Byzantine navy. He installed shipyards to manufacture battleships on all important coast[65]—towns; the first of its kind was built in Egypt in 54 A.H[66]. other shipyards were at Urdun and 'Akkah[67].

In the days of 'Uthman the navy and the land forces were under one supreme command. But the improvement he made in the navy necessitated a separate command for it and Mu'awiyah was the first to introduce the office of the admiral as the supreme commander of the naval forces. 'Abdullah b. Qais al-Harithi was one of the admirals

59. Encyclopaedia of Islam V. 3, p. 618.
60. al-Kamil V. 3, p. 174.
61. al-Baladuri p. 140.
62. Ibid p. 140,
63 Ibid p. 344
64. Ibid p. 160, 6 and 7. Ibid p. 124.
65. Hush al-Muhazrah V. 2, p. 199.
66. al-Baladuri p. 144.
67. Usudulghabah V. I, p. 297.

who led fifty sea invasions wherein not a single muslim was lost. Janadah b. Abi Umayyah was another famous admiral who continued his activities even in the reign of Yazid[68].

These tremendous reforms in all the realms of the empire, made him the first sovereign of Islam, the first ruler to enjoy a definite and independent authority. When writers, jurists, encyclopaedists and compilers of anthology have to quote a trait or saying illustrating kingship or the conduct of the state, they rarely hesitate to credit it to Mu'awiyah[69]. He was not only the first but also the most perfect type of Arab King; and not only the father of a dynasty but the second founder of the Caliphate after 'Ummar[70]. To his Umyyad successors he bequeathed a precedence of clemency, energy, astuteness and statesmenship. He was a good father and a devoted husband; we find him conscientiously performing his religious duties and dying a good Muslim[71].

68. Encyclopaedia of Islam V. 3, p. 621.
69. Hitti p. 194.
70. Encyclopaedia of Islam V. 3, p. 679.

(15) A Paper on "Shaykh 'Iraqi's Stay in India"

by

Dr. Yog Dhyan Ahuja, M.A. Ph.D.,

It is believed that Shaykh̲ Fakh̲ru 'd-Dīn Irāqī left Iran in the company of Qalandars and came down to India. Finally he was at Multan in the monastery of Shaykh̲u' l Islām Shaykh̲ Bahāu'd Dīn Zakariyyā. The Shaykh̲ recognised Irāqī's qualities and conferred upon him his special *khirqa*[1], and specified a cell for his *chilla*, or the quadragesimal secluded devotion[2].

Closing his door upon the visitors, 'Irāqī spent ten days[3] of solitary retirement in the cell. On the eleventh day he fell into a trance, and in that state he composed[4] the following ghazal[5] which, with eyes full of tears, he was heard singing in loud tones:

نخستین باده کاندر جام کردند زچشم مست خوبان وام کردند

Now Shaykh̲ Bahā-u'd-Dīn Zakariyyā was a follower of Shaykh̲-u' sh-Shuyūkh Shihāb-u' d-Dīn Suhrawardi and, according to the institutes laid down by him, it was incumbent upon the disciples to keep

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1. (i) T. H. L. Fol 180b; (ii) T. F. N. p. 405; (iii) K. G. L. p. 691.

2. (i) D. A. O. p. 10; (ii) M. A. S., p.32; (iii) N. J. N., p. 392. (iv) M. S. B., p. 46; (v) T. H. L., Fol. 180b; (vi) Ḥ. R. K., Fol. 187a; (vii) L. N. B., Fol. 592a/1188.

3. (i) N. J. N., p.392 gives یکدو ماه a month or two for یکدهه apparently a misprint. (ii) T. H. L., Fol. 180b, says 'in the first chilla' in place of ten days. The following give ten days:—(iii) D. A. O., p.10; (iv) M. A. S., p.32; (v) M. S. B., p. 46 (vi) H. R. K., Fol. 187a; (vii) L. N. B., Fol. 592a/1188.

4. (i) T. S. B., p.216, says that on a certain night when Shaykh Bahā-ud-Dīn Zakariyyā happened to pass by the door of 'Irāqī's closet, he heard that 'Irāqī was humming the tune of this poem. This account is more or less followed by:—(ii) M. S. K., p. 121; (iii) T. F. N. p. 405; (iv) M. S. L., under 'Irāqī (v) Q. A. L., Fol. 126.

5. The full ghazal is given in the following:—(i) K. S. L., Fol. 33b; (ii) G. M. K., Fol. 129b-130a; (iii) D. R. J., Fol. 45a-b; (iv) D. R. B., Fol. 44b-45a; (v) L. B. C., p.125-126.

strictly occupied in sacred recitations and divine meditation, and not to indulge in diversions. When some of 'Irāqī's fellow-disciples heard this poem they disapproved of it and protested[6] to the Shaykh. The Shaykh, however, is said to have silenced them with the remark, "For you these things are forbidden but not for him."

A few days elapsed when, on a certain day, Shaykh 'Imād-u' d-Dīn,[7] while passing through the market place heard that some merry-makers were singing these verses of 'Iraqī to the accompaniment of musical bells and instruments[1]. Going ahead, when he passed by the side of the tavern, he heard the same song being sung there too. On his return to Shaykh Bahā-u'd-Din Zakariyyā, he explained the whole situation to him, leaving it to the discretion of the Shaykh to look into the matter.

"Would you repeat what you have heard"? said the Shaykh[2].

"I heard up to this verse," replied 'Imādu' d-Dīn[3] and he read out the last line of 'Irāqī's poem:—

چو خود کردند راز خویشتن فاش　　عراقی را چرا بدنام کردند

"He has attained his goal!" exclaimed the Shaykh on hearing the closing verse.

He stood up and personally went forth to the door of 'Irāqī's closet.

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6. (i) M. A. S. p. 32; (ii) D. A. O., p. 10; (iii) L. N. B., Fol. 592b/1189.

7. As given in D. A. O., p. 10 and (ii) M. A. S., p. 32. The following works simply say, 'one of the companions':—(iii) N. J. N., p.393; (iv) L. N. B., Fol. 592a/1188 (v) M. S. B., p.46; (vi) H. R. K., Fol. 187a.

1. According to D. A. O., p.10 and M. A. S., p.32-33. The following works tell of the performance in the tavern but do not mention the 'market place':—

(iii) N. J. N., p.393; (iv) M. S. B., p.46; (v) H. R. K., Fol. 187a.

2. According to D. A. O., p.10 and M. A. S., p.33; (iii) L. N. B. Fol. 592b/1189 says that on receipt of the report, the Shaykh got up and proceeded to the cell of 'Iraqi. There he heard from him the last verse and remarked," You have attained your goal."

3. (i) D. A. O.,p. 10; (ii) M. A. S., p. 33.

"Why, these prayers in the tavern, 'Irāqī! Now come out." said the Shaykh to him[4].

'Irāqī came out and placing his head on the feet[5] of Sbaykh Zakariyyā, he began sobbing[6] till the Shaykh, with his own pious hands, lifted him up from the dust. It is said that thence-forth he did not allow 'Irāqī to remain in retirement[7]. Shaykh 'Irāqī is stated to have composed the following ghazal at that occasion[8]:—

در كوي خرابات كسى را كه نياز است

هشيارى و مستيش همه عين نماز است

The Shaykh forthwith took the cloak off his august person and clothed[1] 'Irāqī in it. It was on the same night[2], or immediately after, that the Shaykh performed the marriage of his daughter, the 'very Rābi'a' in point of virtue and modesty[3], with 'Irāqī and from this daughter of Shaykh Zakariyyā, 'Irāqī got a son who was named Kabīr-u'd-Dīn[4].

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4 (i) D. A. O., p. 11; (ii) M. A. S., p. 33; (iii) L. N. B., Fol. 592b/1189.

5. (i) D. A. O., p. 11; (ii) M. A. S., p. 33; (iii) N. J. N., p. 393; (iv) M. S. B., p. 46; (v) H. R. K., Fol. 187a; (vi) L. N. B., Fol. 592b/1189.

6. (i) D. A. O., p. 11 and (ii) M. A. S., p. 33.

7. (i) D. A. O., p. 11 (ii) M. A. S., p. 33; (iii) N. J. N., p. 393; (iv) H. R. K., Fo. 187a (v) L. N. B.. Fol. 592b/1189.

T. S. B., p.216, states that 'Irāqī in a period of four years, completed the course of fourteen *chillas*. It is followed by M. S. L.

8. (i) D. A. O. p.11 and (ii) M. A. S.,p. 33.

The full poem is given in the following:—

(i) K. S. L., Fol. p. 85a; (ii) G. M. K., Fol. 124b; (iii) K. N. K. and K. N. L., p. 80; (v) K. I. L., p. 74; (vi) D. R. J., Fol. 82a. (vii) D. R. B., Fol. 72a.

1. (i) D. A. O., p. 11; (ii) M. A. S., p. 33; (iii) N. J. N., p. 393; (iv) M. S. B., p. 46; (v) L. N. B., Fol. 592b/1189.

2. According to:—(i) D. A. O., p. 11 and (ii) M. A. S., p. 33.

'Later on' is the version of the following:—(iii) N. J. N. p.393; (iv) H. R. K., Fol. 187a; (v) Q. A. L., Fol. 126. (vi) L. N. B., Fol. 592b/1189; (vii) R. W. S. under .

3. T. F. N., p. 405.

4. Q. A. L., Fol. 126, gives the name as Kabīr 'ud Dīn Ismā'īl.

In India, the name of Shaykh Fakhru'd-Dīn 'Irāqī seems to have been confused by some writers with that of Sālār-i-'Iraqī. As discussed at length by the author of the Qaṣr-i-'Ārifān[5], some of the historians and biographers of mystics, while writing about Shāh Sharaf of Pānīpat, have expressed the erroneous belief that he was the son of Shaykh Fakhru'd-Dīn 'Irāqī, the Ṣūfī, whereas his father's name, actually, was Sālār Fakhru'd-Dīn 'Irāqī, the Qalandar.

Briefly speaking, Sālār Fakhru'd-Dīn 'Irāqī came from the suburbs of Kirmān and was one of the followers of Shāh Mohammad Kirmānī, an ancestor of Shāh Ni'mat-u'llah Wali of Kirmān. Bībī Hafiz Jamāl, the sister of Shāh-i-Kirmānī, was the wife of Sālār Fakhru'd-Dīn 'Irāqī. She gave birth to two sons, Shāh Nizāmu'd-Dīn 'Irāqī and Shāh Sharaf Panīpatī. Sālār 'Irāqī came to India and ultimately settled down at Pānīpat. It was here that Shāh Sharaf was born and here too, later on, Sālār 'Irāqi and his wife were buried after their death. The birth of Shāh Sharaf, according to Qaṣr-i-'Ārifān, took place in 602 A. H., that is, four years before the birth of Shaykh Fakhru 'd-Dīn 'Irāqi, the Ṣūfī (in A. H. 606[1].)

Our Ṣūfī poet, Shaykh Fakhru'd-Dīn 'Irāqī spent a considerably long period of his life in India. Prof. E. G. Browne[2] truly remarks that there is little or no reference to 'Irāqī's personal adventures in his verses. But it is otherwise about the part of his life in India. Comparatively speaking, 'Irāqī's biographers have given some details about the rest of his life but as regards his stay at Multan, they do not go beyond a few brief allusions. Some of 'Irāqi's verses, on the other hand, throw light on some of the events connected with his stay here.

Evidently, throughout his stay at Multan Shaykh 'Irāqī was occupied with his endeavours at spiritual perfection under the care of Shaykh-'ush-Shuyūkh Shaykh Bahā-'ud-Dīn Zakariyyā. Daulat Shāh[3] would have us believe that 'Irāqī underwent fourteen quadragesimal fasts (*chillas*) in a period of four years' stay at Multan. This view is however, refuted by the statement of those authorities who say that it was only once that Shaykh Zakakiyyā commanded 'Irāqı to retire to a cell for *chilla* and it was on the eleventh day of this *chilla* that, as already described, 'Iraqī composed the ghazal:—

نخستین باده کاندر جام کردند   ز چشم مست خوبان وام کردند

5. Q. A. L., Fol. 125.

1. (1) Q. A. L., Fol. 129. (ii) C. I. H., Vol. II, Column 1069.

2. L. B. C., Vol. III, p. 124.

3. T. S. B., p. 216, This has been followed by M. S. L. under عراقی

Shaykh̲ Zakariyyā seems to have admired and encouraged the young Ṣūfī in every way. In the mystic path 'Iraqī made great progress[4]. The spiritual training he received under the affectionate patronage of Shaykh̲ Zakariyyā was the guiding star of 'Irāqī's life. Jāmālī, in his Siyar-u'l- 'Ārifīn goes to the extent of remarking that although it was while 'Irāqī was a disciple of Ṣhaykh̲ Ṣadru'd-Dīn at Iconium, that he wrote the Lama·āt, but, as a matter of fact, it was just a 'drop from the cloud of Shaykh̲ Zakariyyā's bounties.'

We are told that his attainments in the domain of spiritualism were beyond description[2], and that he had attracted a fairly large number of devoted followers in India[3].

Needless to say that all this he acquired at the feet of the great saint, Shaykh̲ Bahā-u'd-Dın Zakariyāy. It was here that the foundations of his later spiritual career were laid. 'Irāqī, like a true and sincere disciple, is never tired of singing the praises of his teacher. In his verses he has given expression to the supreme sense of his great love for and faith in the learned saint. They are the true and spontaneous homage of a devoted disciple.

In a qaṣīda, describing his own state of mind and the praises of his teacher, he speaks:—

روشنان آینهٔ دل چو مصفا بینند   روی دلدار در آن آئینه پیدا بینند
هر صفا قے که عقول بشري در یا بد   ذات او زان همه اوصاف مبرا بینند
خوش‌دلان از رخش امروز بهشتے دارند   نه بهشتے که دگر طائفه فردا بینند

Here are some lines from one of his famous panegyrics. They are so full of genuine emotion[5].

می بیاور ساقیا تا خویشتن راکم زنیم   کارخود چو زلف خوبان درهم و برهم زنیم
پای چون روح‌القدس بر ذروهٔ سدره نهیم   دست در فتراک صاحب همت اعظم زنیم
شیخ ربانی بها ءالحق والدین آنکه ما   بوسه برخاک‌درش چون قدسیان هردم زنیم

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4. R. W. S., under letter ع.
1. S. D. J., Fol. 15b;
2. (i) T. S. B., p. 215; (ii) M. S. L., under 'Iraqi; (iii) T. F. N., p.405.
3. T. S. B., p.215-216.
4. K. S. L., Fol. 20, contains a part of this qaṣīda.

The qaṣīda is given in the following:—(ii) D. R. B., Fol. 23b-25a (iii) K. N. K., p. 17-19; (iv) K. N. L., p. 17-19; (v) K. I. L., 16-18.

5. (i) K. S. L., Fol. 20a-20b: (ii) D. R. B., Fol. 25a-25b; (iii) G. M. K., Fol. 144a; (iv) K. N. K., p.19-20; (v) K. N. L., p.19-20; (vi) K. I. L., p.18-19.

At another place he continues his earnest eulogy in the same strain.

When Shaykh Zakariyyā's time drew near he called 'Irāqi to his presence and assigning all the affairs to his charge[1] appointed him as his successor[2]. This done, the Shaykh breathed his last in the year 666 A. H.

The death of his godfather was a heavy blow to 'Irāqī. How deeply shocked he felt can well be imagined from the pathetic verses in which he laments the sad loss. He pours out the sorrows of his grief-stricken heart in a long elegy of about eighty verses. Some opening verses of the first stanza run as follows[3] :—

کارم از دست رفت و دست از کار　　دیده بے نور ماند و دل بے یار
دل‌نگارم چرا نه گریم خون　　درد مندم چرا نه نالم زار
خاک بر فرق سر چرا نکنم　　چون نشویم بخون دل رخسار

During the course of his stay at Multan 'Irāqī's circle of intimacy appears to have remained confined to his spiritual guide, Shaykh Bahā-u'd-Dīn Zakariyyā. The particulars of his relations with a few other persons also are preserved in his verses. His friendship with Shaykh 'Imād-u'd-Dīn, one of the companions of Shaykh Bahā-u'd-Dīn Zakariyyā is manifest in one of his poems which seems to have been written by 'Irāqī to congratulate the latter on his recovery from a sickness. The poem begings as follows[4] :—

راحت جان من عماد الدین　　چونی امروز بهترک هستی
ور کنی محنتی چو دی امروز　　یا نه از دست رنج وا رستی

6. (i) D. R. P., Fol. 22b-23b; (ii) K. S. L., Fol. 19a-b, the last lines are dropped; (iii) and (iv) K. N. K. and K. N. L., p. 16-17, both give the title wrongly as مدح شیخ شهاب‌الدین زکریا ملتانی in place of مدح شیخ بهاءالدین زکریا ملتانی (v) K. I. L., p.15-16, also repeats the mistake in the above (iii) and (iv).

1. (i) D. A. O., p. 11; (ii) M. A. S., p. 33.

2. (i) N. J. N., p. 393; (ii) H. R. K., Fol. 187a; (iii) D. A. O. p. 11; (iv) M. S. K., p. 121; (v) M. A. S., p. 33; (vi) Q. A. L.. Fol. 126; (vii) L. N. B., Fol. 592b/1189; (viii) L. B. C., Vol. III, p. 127; (ix) C. O. B.. p. 126; (x) C. O. S., p. 440; (xi) C. B. A., p. 32.

3. The qaṣīda is given in the following :—

(i) K. S. L., Fol. 20b-23a; (ii) D. R. B., Fol. 94b-96b; (iii) K. N. K., p. 54 to 58: (iv) K. N. L., p. 54 to 58 (v) K. I. L., p. 50 to 54.

4. (i) K. N. K., p. 31; (ii) K. N. L.. p. 31; (iii) K. I. L., p. 29; (iv) K. S. L., Fo. 28a.

There is a long qaṣīda in praise of Shaykh Ṣadr-u'd-Dīn, the eldest son of Shayhh Bahā-u'd-Dīn Zakariyyā. In the poem, 'Irāqī refers to three verses which had been sent to him by Shakh Ṣadr-u'd-Dīn. It begins with the line[1] :—

دل ترا دوست تر ز ما دارد　　جان زبهر تو درمیان دارد

For long long years 'Irāqī had been away from his homeland. He was about 17 (about the year 623 A. H.) that he had left Hamadān. He stayed on in India until after the death of his spiritual guide Shaykh Bahā-u'd-Dīn Zakariyyā in the year 666 A. H. He spent practically 43 years in foreign lands. 'Irāqī talks of thirty six years of separation in one of his poems which he wrote in response to a letter written to him by his brother[2] Shamsu'd-Dīn from Kūmjān. 'Irāqī says[3] :—

شکر گفتم که پس ازمدت سی و شش سال　　یادش از یادگئی بے سرو سامان آمد

Except for the company of his spiritual guide, Shaykh Zakariyyā, the stay of 'Irāqī in India does not seem to have been a very happy part of his life. His verses reminiscent of this period of his life express the ardent yearning of a home-sick heart. A poem describing his state of mind begins with the verse :—

منم بعشق سر از عرش برتر آورده　　بزیر پای سرنه فلک درآورده

and speaks of his divine experiences at length but in the end the poem is concluded with the verses[4] :

زمرغزار عراق آمده بوادئی هند　　ازان ریاض نسیمی برابر آورده
بهند طوطئی طبعم طبرزد افشاند　　ببوستان سخنے همچو شکر آورده

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1. The qaṣīda is given in the following :—

(i) K. N. K., p. 21-32; (ii) K. N. L., p. 21-23; (iii) K. I. L., p. 20-21; (iv) K. S. L., Fol. 23b-24b; (v) G. M. K., Fol. 131a-131b; (vi) D. R. B., Fol. 26b-27b.

2. K. S. L., Fol. 25b, gives the title of the poem as فی جواب کتاب اخیه

3. (i) D. R. B., Fol. 29a; (ii) K. S. L., Fol. 26 a; (iii) K. N. K. and (iv) K. N. L., both at p. 25, give آید for آمد.; (v) K. I. L., p. 23, follows the reading of (iii) and (iv).

4. The qaṣīda is given in the following :—

(i) K. S. L., Fol. 26b-27a; (ii) G. M. K., Fol. 153b-154a; (iii) D. R. B., Fol. 30a-30b; (iv) K. N. K., p 26-27; (v) K. N. L. p. 26-27; (vi) K. I. L., p. 24-25.

Fancied or real, the poet sets down his conversation with a friend. He ends his poem as under[1] :—

گرفتم این همه طامات و زرق و تلبیس است   مرا نه بس که بهند اوفتاده ام زعراق

In a qasīda written in praise of al-Wā'iz Hamīd u'd Dīh Ahmed whom he addresses as his 'sincere friend' he thus expresses his longing to see his native place, Kūmjān[2] :—

می کند خاطرم بپا کئی عزم   که کند یک نظاره کمجان را

دیده امیدوار می باشد   تابه بیند جمال اخوان را

There is another poem beginning with the verse[3] :—

که برد از من بے دل برجانان خبرے   یا که آرد ز نسیم سر کویش اثرے

In this poem the poet expresses his earnest desire to see one Karīm-ud-Din and asks him to undertake a journey to Multan.

'Irāqī's reply to his brother Shams-u'd-Dīn, referred to above, expresses his home-sickness in words full of feeling. The verses display his joy at the sight of his brother's letter after such a long separation, and also reveal what painful memories it brought to 'Irāqī's mind

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1. (i) K. S. L., Fol. 28a; (ii) K. N. K., p. 31; (iii) K. N. L., p. 31; (iv) K. I. L., p. 29.

2. A. (i) K. S. L., Fol. 24b-25a; (ii) D. R. B., Fol. 27b-28b; (iii) K. N. K., p. 23-24; (iv) K. N. L., p. 23-24; (v) K. I. L., p. 21-23.

B. (vi) G. M. K., Fol. 122b-123a, gives the verses without those in reference to Hamīd-u'd-Dīn or Kūmjān.

3. (i) K. S. L., Fol.26b; (ii) D. R. B., Fol. 29b-30a, gives it without a title.

(iii) K. N. K., p. 25 and (iv) K. N. L., p. 25, give its title as وله فی مدح شیخ حمید الدین, and insert his name in place of کریم الدین.

(v) K. I. L., follows the reading of K. N. K. and K. N. L., at p. 24.

and how impatient he grew to see his home-land[4]:—

أخر این بخت من از خواب در آید سحرے
روزے آخر نظرم بر رخ جانان آید

یافتم صحبت اوتاد مگر روزے چند
این همه سنگ محن برسر من زان آید

بلبل آسا همه شب تابسحر نعره زنم
بو که بوئے بمشامم زگلستان اید

که نخواهد که همي با وطن آید لیکن
تا خوداز درگه تقدیر چه فرمان أید

بعراق ار نر سد باز عراقي چه عجب
که نه هر خار و خسي لایق بستان آید

'Irāqī[1] occupied a very warm corner in the heart of Shaykh Zakariyyā who looked to all his comforts[2]. Shaykh Zakariyyā appears to have encouraged his disciple in all respects. He used to enjoy the spiritual relish of 'Irāqī's verses[3].

'Irāqī's nomination as his successor by Shaykh Zakariyyā was an eye-sore[4] to the other disciples of the Shaykh. Now that 'Irāqī's

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4. The poem is given in:—

(i) K. S. L., Fol. 25b-26a; (ii) D. R. B., Fol. 28b-29a, gives the poem without its title. (iii) K. N. K., p. 24-25, and (iv) K. N. L., p. 24-25 as also (v) K. I. L., p. 23-24, give the poem without title.

1. There is a story given in S. D. J., Fol. 16a, and (ii) T. F. N. p. 406. The latter says:—

وگویند ابراهیم عراقي در آن ایام که در خدمت شیخ بهاءالدین زکریا بسرمی بود و زوجه اش که دختر شیخ بود فوت شد و شیخ خواست که دختر دیگر که کهتر از و بود بحباله ابراهیم عراقي در آورد بنابرآن یک پسر بزرگ خود شیخ صدرالدین عارف مشورت نمود او گفت که روزی ابراهیم عراقي رابرسا باط خانقاه دیدم که ایستاده و پیرهن بر دشته کسب هوا میکرد چنین کس پیوند را نشاید۔

(iii) Q. A. L., Fol. 126, simply remarks that Ṣadr-ud-Dīn intervened and the marriage did not take place.

2. T. S. B., p. 216.

3. (i) T. F. N., p. 405; (ii) T. S. B., p. 216.

4. (i) N. J. N., p. 393; (ii) L. N. B., Fol. 592b/1189.

benefactor had passed away, it was high time for them to give vent to their avarice[5] against 'Irāqī. They carried their complaints[6] to the ruler of the town saying that 'Irāqī did not act up to the doctrines of Shaykh Zakariyyā, that his time was mostly occupied with poetry[7] and that he always kept with the fair-faced[8]. They remarked that he was, therefore, not a fit person to continue as a successor in the seat of the Shaykh[9].

In this way people attempted to poison the ears of the authorities against Shaykh 'Irāqī and thus made the rest of his stay miserable at Multan. Times grew hard with him. Some biographers will have us believe that the Sultan had already had some malice towards 'Irāqī and his group[10]. And now he tried to express his malice in action. He is said to have sent for Irāqī and his party.

'Irāqī came to know of the trouble that was brewing up. His patron had expired. His fellow disciples had turned against him. There was nothing now to keep him in India, except, of course, his son, Kabīr-u.d-Dīn, whom probably he bade farewell with a heavy heart in the following verses[1] :—

فرزند عزیز قرة العین کبیر   بادات خدا در همه احوال نصیر
بپذیر بیادگار این نسخهٔ من   مي کن نظرے در و ولے باز بگیر
میخواست پدر که باتو باشد همه عمر   اماچه توان کرد چنین بد تقدیر

However, 'Irāqī said good-bye to the place where he had spent a long period of his youth. Even before the Sultan's orders could be carried out and his men could reach 'Irāqī, he had, along with some of his friends, left Multan.

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5. (i) N. J. N., p. 393; (ii) H. R. K., Fol. 187a; (iii) M. S. K., p. 121; (iv) K. G. L., p. 701; (v) L. N. B., Fol. 592b/1189; (vi) D. A. O., p. 11.

6. (i) Q. A. L., Fol. 126; (ii) H. R. K., Fol. 187a; (iii) M. A. S., p. 33 adds (secretly).

7. (i) N. J. N., p. 393; (ii) D. A. O., p. 11: (iii) M. S. K., p. 121; (iv) M. A. S., p. 34; (v) L. N. B., Fol. 592b/1189; (vi) K. G. L., p. 702.

8. (i) N. J. N., p. 393; (ii) Q. A. L., Fol. 126; (iii) K. G. L., p. 702; (iv) L. N. B., Fol. 592b/1189; (v) M. A. S., p. 34 says امردان; (vi) D. A. O., p. 11 also says امردان; (ii) M. S. K. p. 121, says باجوانی قلندر صاحب جمالی.

9. (i) N. J. N., p. 393; (ii) M. S. K., p. 121; (iii) L. N. B., Fol. 592b/1189.

10. (i) M. A. S., p. 34; (ii) D. A. O., p. 11.

1. (i) K. N. K., p. 31; (ii) K. N. L., p. 31; (iii) K. I. L., p. 29.

ABBREVIATIONS.

C. B. A. Descriptive Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Urdu Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Bombay, by Shaykh 'Abdu'l Qādir.

C. I. H. Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office: by the late Hermann Ethe, M.A., P.H.D., Revised and completed by Edward Edwards: 1937.

C. O. B. Catalogue of the Persian and Arabic Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library, Bānkipōre.

C. O. S. A Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Hindustani Manuscripts of the Libraries of the Kings of Oudh by A. Sprenger, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1854.

D. A. O. Deebācheh, in the Song of Lovers, Ushshāq Nāmeh' or the Dah Faṣl of 'Irāqī edited and translated by Dr. A. J. Arberry, published by the Oxford University Press, for the Islamic Research Association, Bombay.

D. R. B. Dīwān-i-'Irāqī, Manuscript No. 523, Royal Asiatic Society, of Bengal, Calcutta, dated 1153 A. H.

D. R. J. Dīwān-i-'Irāqī, Manuscript No. 522, Royal Asiatic Society, of Bengal, Calcutta; copied by Jaswant Rai, in 1076 A. H.

G. M. K. Ghazliyāt-i-'Irāqī in Manuscript No. 189, Mixed Contents, a collection of the poems of eight Persian Poets, Kapurthala State Library, Foll. 178a-242b. Dated 849 A. H., 1445 A. D.

H. R. K. Haft Iqlīm by Amīn Ahmed Rāzī, Manuscript Kapurthala State Library, written in 1002 A. H., 1594 A. D.

K. G. L. Khazīnat-u'l-Aṣfiyā' by Ghulām Sarwar, prinetd at the Hūt Press, Lahore. Beginning of Composition in 1280, completion in 1281.

K. I. B. Kitāb-i-Tawārīkh u'l Auliyā' (Urdu), Vol. II, by Saiyid Imām-u'd-Dīn, printed at Bombay.

K. I. L. Kulliyāt-i-'Irāqī, printed at Lahore, published by Shaykh Ilāhī Bakhsh Mohd. Jalāl-u'd-Dīn.

K. N. K. Kulliyāt-i-'Irāqī, printed at the Nawalkishore Press, Kānpur in 1909 A. D.

K. N. L. Kulliyāt-i-'Irāqī, printed at the Nawalkishore Press, Lucknow, in A. D. 1891, A. H. 1309.

K. S. L. Kulliyāt-i-'Irāqī; Manuscript Prof. Shairānī Collection, Panjab University, Lahore, written in first half of the VIII Century A. H.

L. B. C. Literary History of Persia Vol. III, the Tartar Dominion, by Prof. Edward G. Browne, Cambridge University Press, 1928.

L. N. B. Laṭā'if-i-Ashrafī by Nizām Hājī Gharīb Yamanī, in 60 Chapters (Laṭīfas), Manuscript, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. Transcribed in the middle of the XII century A. H.

M. A. S. Maykhāneh by Mullā Abd-u'n-Nabī Fakhr-u'z-Zamānī Qazwīnī, edited by Principal Mohd. Shafī published by Messers Attar Chand Kapur & Sons, Lahore, 1926.

M. S. B. Mir'āt-ul-Khayāl by Shīr Khān Lōdhi, printed in Bombay.

M. S. K. Majālis-ul-'Ushshāq, by Sultān Husayn ibn Sultān Manṣūr ibn Bāyqarā, Nawalkishore Press, Kanpur, 1897.

M. S. L. Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib by Sandelvī, Manuscript, Panjab University Library, Lahore.

N. J. N. Nafaḥāt-u'l-Uns by Jāmī, composed in the year 883 A. H. printed at the Nawalkishore Press, Kanpur, 1874 A. D.

Q. A. L. Qaṣr i 'Ārifān by Ahmed 'Ali, the Ist Chapter composed in 1176. Copied in 1291 by Hāfiz Mohd. Jamāl-u'd-Dīn. First copy from the original writing of the author: Manuscript, Panjab University, Library, Lahore.

R. W. S. Riyāḍ u'sh Shu'arā by 'Alī Qulī Khān Wāleh Dāghistānī, Manuscript, Shairānī Collections, Panjab University Library, Lahore.

S. D. J. Siyar-u'l-'Ārifīn by Dervīsh Jamālī: Manuscript, Panjab University Library, Lahore.

T. F. N. Tārikh-i-Firishteh by Mohd. Qāsim Fiāishteh, published by the Nawalkishore Press, 1281 A. H., 1865 A. D.

T. H. L. Tazkira-i-Husaynī by Mir Husayn Dost Sambhalī, Manuscript, Panjab University Library, Lahore.

T. S. B. Tazkirat-u'sh-Shu'arā by Daulat Shāh Samarqandī, edited by Prof. E. G. Browne. Composed in 892 A. H. (A. D. 1487). edited in 1901.

V—Arabic and Persian Section.

(16) Persian Translations of *Yoga-Vasishta* and *Gita*.

by

Dr. Bikrama Jit Hasrat, M.A., Ph.D.

Of the vast amount of Indo-Persian literature produced during the Muhammadan rule in India, the translation of Sanskrit works on Indian sciences and religions received an unprecedented official patronage during Akbar's reign[1]. The spirit of enquiry initiated by Akbar led to the gradual evolution of Indo-Muslim thought in the next few centuries. The interest of Muslim scholars in Indian literature, however, was semi-academic, semi-philosophical, but it created a comparative outlook, which brought about slowly and imperceptibly a process of new cultural synthesis.

The *Yoga-Vasishta* is a very rare and valuable didactical work in Sanskrit on Hindu Gnosticism. According to V. Mitra[2], in Sanskrit it is the earliest work on *Yoga* or speculative and abstruse philosophy delivered by the venerable sage Vasishta to his royal pupil Rama. It embodies the *loci communes* or common-place relating to the sciences of ontology—the knowledge of *sat*, real entity; the *asat*, the unreal non-entity, the principles of psychology or doctrines of passions and feelings upon other cognitious, volitious and other faculties of mind and the tenets of ethics and practical morality all dereived from Platonic dialogues between the sages and tending to the main enquiry concerning the true felicity, final beatitude or *summum bonum* of all true philosophy.

The *Yoga* philosophy had already been made accessible to the Muhammadan world, when in the beginning of the eleventh century,

1. For a detailed account of the translations of Sanskrit works into Persian during Akbar's reign, their origin and history, *vide* the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, pp. 104 *ff.*; the *Journal Asiatique*, 1895, Tome VII and the present writer's: *Muslims and Indian Sciences* in the *V.sva-Bharati Quarterly*, Santiniketan, Vol. IX, 2, 1943, pp. 148-158 and Vol. XII, 4, 1947, pp. 298-314.

2. *Yoga-Vasishta Mahārāmayaṅa of Vālmīkī* (Preface), Calcutta, 1891.

3. *Indian Literature*, p. 239.

Alberūnī translated into Arabic Pātañjali's and Kapila's treatises on the *Yoga* and theistic philosophy-the *Yoga-Sūtra* and the *Sankhya-Sūtra.* The copies of the above translations are very rare and according to Weber[3], the contents of these works do not harmonize with the originals[4].

Many Persian translations of the *Yoga-Vasishta* made at different times are still extant. One is by Pandit Anandan (called Bandhan by Ethe)[5] which has also been noticed in the Bodleian Catalogue. (No. 1328) and also by Rieu[6]. A translation was made by the order of Akbar in the year A.D. 1598. This manuscript has been noticed by Dr. Ethe[7]. Another translation is probably that of Ṣūfī Sharīf Quṭbjahānī entitled *Tuḥfa'i Majlis* or *Aṭwār dar ḥall-i-Asrār* based on the *Yogavāsishthasāras* (Weber: *Berlin Catalogue*, p. 186), divided into ten chapters each called a *Tūr*. Both Rieu and W. Pertsch have noticed at length this manuscript[8].

But by far the most original translation of the *Yoga-Vasishta* is that made at the instance of Dārā Shikūh and under his personal supervision in the year A. H. 1066 (A. D. 1656). The copies of this work are not rare in India. In Europe copies of this translation are preserved in the Bodleian Library[9], the India Office[10] and the Bibliotheca Sprengeriana[11]. Pandit Sheo Narain gives a detailed account of this translation in the *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society* (Vol. II, I, pp. 31-32). The work was lithographed at Lucknow in 1887 but copies of this edition are now very rare.

Dārā Shikūh's translations from Sanskrit include that of the Upanishads, entitled the *Sirr-i-Akbar*[12] (wr. 1067 A. H.), the *Bhāgwat-*

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4. For details of Alberuni's translations, *vide* Sachau's *Alberūnī's India* (London), 1914, p. 246, and V. Mitra's preface, *Yoga-Vasishta* etc. (Calcutta).

5. *Vide Catalogue of Persian MSS. in India Office*, Vol. I, No. 1971.

6. *Vide Catalogue of Persian MSS. in British Museum*, Vol. I, p. 61a.

7. Ibid *supra.*

8. *Vide* Rieu: Vol. III, *p.* 1034b, No. x and *Berlin Catalogue*, p. 1022, No. 4.

9. *Ethe and Schaus Catalogue*, No. 1328.

10. *Cat. of Persian MSS. in India Office*, 1971.

11. *Dr. Fober's Catalogue*, No. 16661.

12. The entire work has been edited by the present writer. For details *vide* my article entitled: *Sirr-i-Akbar J. R A. S. B.* (Letters). Vol. XV, No. 1, 1949 where a full summary of contents is given.

Gīta (wr. between 1065-67 A. H.) and a translation of the *Yoga-Vasishta* made at his instance. His other works on Hinduism are the *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain*, a comparative study of Hinduism and Islam, the *Mukālama*[13] or Seven Dialogues on comparative mythology with a Hindu saint named Lāl Dās. The *Risāla'i Ḥaq Numā* though a treatise on Ṣūfic practices, shows distinct signs of the influence of Indian Yoga philosophy. Dārā Shikūh claims that he had read a Persian translation of the *Yoga-Vasishta* by one Shaikh Ṣūfī (probably Ṣūfī Sharīf Quṭbjahānī, *supra.*) prior to A. H. 1066, when he ordered a retranslation of the work. Some of the physical exercises detailed in the *Risāla* *e.g* the *ḥabs-i-dam*, the *āwurd-burd*, the astral healing, the centres of mediation in the heart and brain, bear a close resemblence to Hindu *Tāntric* meditations. The *sālik's* journey through the four worlds of *Nāsūt*, *Jabarūt Malakūt* and *Lāhūt*, for instance, is compared by him to the Indian *Avasthātman* or the four world of *Jāgrat*, *Swapna*, *Saśupatī* and *Turīya*. The *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain*, written in 1066 A. H. prior to the translation of the *Upanishads*, shows clearly that by that time Dārā Shikūh had acquired considerable knowledge of Yogic and Vedantic philosophy, together with Sanskrit technical vacabulary of Indian mythology and cosmology etc., which would enable him to make a comparative study of the same with their equivalents from Islamic thought.

The translation, as in the original Sanskrit, is divided into the following six *Prakarnas:*

1. بیراگ پرکرن (*Vairāgya-prakarṇam*) Vanities of Life.
2. ممچھہ پرکرن (*Mumukshuvyavohāra-prakarṇam*) Renunciation.
3. اُتپت پرکرن (*Utpatti-prakarṇam*) Creation.
4. استھت پرکرن (*Sthiti-prakarṇam*) Preservation.
5. اُپشم پرکرن (*Upasama-prakarṇam*) Dissolution.
6. نربان پرکرن (*Nirāvna-prakarṇam*) Beatitude.

The Preface, gives an account of the circumstances which led to the translation of the *Yoga-Vasishta* into Persian. The translator writes: "Gratitude, adoration and submission are offered to the One, the Sun of whose glory shines in every atom of the cosmos and where grandeur is manifested in the Universe, although, He is hidden from all

13. For details, *vide* the present writer's article: *Mukālama Bābā Lāl wa Dārā Shikūh* in the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, Santiniketan, Vol. IX, April 1944, pp. 326-339.

eye and is behind the Veil; boundless benedictions in all sincerity and faith free from error, omission or sanctimoniousness to that choicest product of His creation, to the personification of all that is best *i.e.* Muḥammad, the Prophet, and the same to 'Alī, the object of his love.'

"Let it be known to the noble soul that the scholars, who before this translated the *Yoga-Vasishta* into Persian and omitted some of the Sanskrit terms, have not been able to convey the subtilities and full sense of the text. It was for this reason that in one of the months of the year A. H. 1066 (A. D. 1656). the crown of the kings, the refuge of the world, the descendent of the glorious kings, God's best creature, the initiate in divine mysteries, the embodiment of what is grand and noble, the God-knowing king, Dārā S̲h̲ikūh, son of S̲h̲āh Jahān ordered as follows: 'Since the translations of this sacred book which are extant, have not proved of much use to the seekers of truth, it is my desire that retranslation should be undertaken in conference with learned men of all sects who are conversant with the text. My chief reason for this noble command is that although I had profited by perusing a translation of it ascribed to Shaikh̲ Ṣūfī[14], yet once two saintly persons appeared in my dream; one was tall. whose hair was grey, the other short and without any hair. The former was Vasisht and the latter Ram Chandra, and as I had read the translation already alluded to, I was naturally attracted towards them and paid my respects. Vasisht was very kind to me and patted me on the back and addressing Ram Chandra told him that I was brother to him because both he and I were seekers after the Truth. He asked Ram Chandra to embrace me which he did in exuberance of love. Thereupon Vasisht gave some sweets to Ram Chandra which I took and ate. After this vision a desire to cause a retranslation of the book intensified me."

THE PERSIAN translation of the *Bhāgwatgīta*, in 18 *adhyāyas* was made by Dārā S̲h̲ikūh, probably with the help of some pandits, between the years A. H. 1065—67. It is described as an attempt to present "the highest and the best tenets of Hinduism in the most attractive garb." Although a number of other versions of the same work exist in India, I have not come across any good manuscript of Dārā S̲h̲ikūh's translation, with the exception of one (that, too, of doubtful character) in the private collection of Syed Ramaḍān 'Alī Shāh Gardezī of Multan. Other Persian versions of this most important Indian Scripture, "the Song of the Most High"—comprising the discourses between Sri Krishna on Divine matter, which was interpolated as an episode in the sixth *Parva* of the *Mahabhārata* are as follows:

Gīta Sunbodhanī, translated from the Sanskrit commentary—*Sunbodhanī*, date not known[15]; a versified Persian translation by

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14. This translation, as its title: ترجمه منتخب جوگ باششت indicates is not complete. *Vide* Ethe, Vol. I, No. 1972.

15. (*Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the Bodleian Library, 1391.*)

Akbar's poet-laureate Faiḍī; another Persian translation from Sanskrit ascribed by Ethe[16] and Rieu[17] to Abul Faḍl; another version entitled as the *Mir'āt-ul-Ḥaqā'iq* with comparative comments in Islamic terminology on its philosophical import by 'Abdur Raḥmān Chishtī in 1065 A. H.[18] Three other Persian translations are mentioned: one by Ethe by an anonymous author, the other by J. Aumer in the *Munich Catalogue* (p. 140); and one is said to be in Library of King's College, Cambridge.

According to Ethe (*Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the India Office*, No. 1949), a copy of Dārā Shikūh's translation is wrongly ascribed to Abu'l Faḍl, as it indicated by a note on *fol. 13* of the manuscript copy. In view of this categorical statement, it is essential that differentiation may clearly be made between the two translations of Abul Faḍl and Dārā Shikūh. Apart from an abridged version of the *Gīta*, included in the *Razmnāma*, a Persian translation of the *Mahabhārta* made by four scholars at the instance of Akbar[19], wherein the whole discourse between Sri Krishna and Arjuna is condensed into a few pages, it does not seem likely that Abu'l Faḍl also made a translation of the *Gīta* in 18 *adhyayas* in a separate form. Abu'l Faḍl himself does not mention it among the translations made for Akbar[20], nor does Badāūnī include it among the various Sanskrit works which were translated during the period[21]

16. *Catalogue*, Vol. I No. 1950.

17. *Catalogue*, Vol. I, 7676; Add 6607; Vol. III p. 1034b.

18. Ethe: *Op. Cit.*

19. For details *vide*. Dr. Bikrama Jit Hasrat: *Muslims and Indian Scienee* (III) in the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, Santiniketan April 1947, pp. 305-308.

20. See the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* (Blochmann, p. 104).

21. The *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh* Vol. II, pp. 401 *ff*.

(17) Quatrains of Dawwānī.

by

Professor Bhagwat Dayal Verma, m.a., Munshi, Fazil, Adib Fāzil, Sāhitya-Ratna.

Jalāl-u'd-Dīn Muḥammad, son of Sa'd-u'd-Dīn As'ad al-Dawwānī, is known to the scholars of Persian literature through his admirable work on moral ethics, named the "*Akhlāq i-Jalālī*". He was born in 828 A. H. and prosecuted his studies in Shīrāz by sitting at the feet of Mullā Muhy-u'd-Dīn Anṣārī and Khwāja Hasan Shāh. He learnt the science of tradition from Shaikh Ṣafi-u'd-Dīn, and in course of time became proficient in the sciences prevalent in those days.

He was of the opinion that a man must amass wealth also, so that his learning may be valued by the people. He wrote :—

مرا به تجربه روشن شد این در آخر حال

که قدر مرد به علم ست و قدر علم به مال

Accordingly he entered the judicial service and rose to the high post of the قاضي القضاة in the reign of the kings of the Āq Quyūnlū dynasty. At the end of his life he busied himself in writing books, and produced great works. He died on the 9th Rabī'-al-Thānī, 908 A. H.

The memoir writers have not made any mention of the "*Rubā'iyāt*" under notice. Some of them have said that his pen-name was Fānī, but in these quatrains, he has written Dawwānī in some places. The writer possesses a manuscript which contains the following works of Dawwānī :—

(۱) رساله زوراء للمحقق جلال الدين الدواني—(بعربي)

(۲) شرح علي الزوراء—من محمد بن فخرالدين اللاري—(بعربي)

(۳) رساله كرم غني شجاع حسيني در علم تصوف—(بفارسي)

(۴) شرح رباعيات ملا جلال الدين دواني—(بفارسي)

All these manuscripts are in the hand-writing of one writer and there is a remark:—

این همه از خط مولوی مرتضی صاحب مرحوم

The manuscript is 9½″×5″, with about 15 lines on each page, and a total number of 96 pages. The style of writing is *Nasta'līq*. The subject matter of every *rubā'ī* is given in Arabic in red ink at the beginning and then follows full explanation. Only 50 quatrains are given.

In the introduction Dawwānī says:—"I had written some quatrains in my youth, and my friend, asked me to put them together in book-form. Once upon a time when I went to جلال الحق والسلطنة والدنیا والدین سلطان ایلدرم با یزید to pay my homage I presented this book to him.

The language of the commentary is like that of the *Akhlāq-i-Jalālī*. In the colophan is written:—

تمام شد شرح رباعیات ملا جلال الدین دوانی-بروز شنبه یازدهم رمضان ۱۲۰۷
در هنگامی که قشلاق بر بیدر صورت بسته بود

Some of the quatrains are given below, so that the readers may be able to form some idea of the style and themes of the book.

The beginning of the book is as follows:—

حمداً لاله عم الخلق الاه—لا معبود سواه بل لیس سواه، ذرات دوکون را ز آسیب عدم-غیر از حرم رحمت او نیست پناه

حمد سزاوار سرادق کبریا تقدس و تعالی از غیر آنحضرت اعلی صدور نتواند یافت و شکر مکافیء نعماء آلاء آن ساحت والا از مفلسان کوی عدم و فنا در وجود نتواند آمد

In praise of God, he writes:—

من وصف کمال تو نیارم گفتن   این در گرانمایه ندارم سفتن
هم خود تو بگو مدح کمال تو که نا   گفتن ز تو باشد و ز تو اشنفتن

God is concealed as well as manifest:—

آن شوخ که نور چشم تاریک من است
هجران و وصال او بد و نیک من است
در چشم من ست و غایب ست از نظرم
من دورم از و ز بس که نزدیک من است

Man is nothing without the light of God which permeates his being :—

غایب مشو از من اے دل و جان تنم
وي دانش و بینش و سخن در دهنم
از خود چو بخود مي نگرم هیچ نیم
چون از تو بخود مي نگرم جمله منم

The commentary on this quatrain is as follows :—

ممکن در حد ذات خود هیچ نیست چه از خود هیچ وجود ندارد بلکه هیچ ذات ندارد-پس همه چیز از و مسلوب باشد حتی خودي خود ' و نظر بر حقیقت ظاهرة درو همه چیز است چه حق سبحانه و تعالی چنانچه مکرر مذکور شد با همه صفات کمال اجمالاً در هر ذره از ذرات موجودات متجلي است

Man's wisdon cannot perceive the greatness of God :—

چندانکه دلم عرصهٔ هستي پیمود
معلوم نشد حقیقت بود و نبود
در بادیهٔ طلب دل از غم فرسود
وز کعبهٔ مقصود نشانی نشنود

The phenomenal world is the reflection of god :—

در جام جهان عکس رخ یار ببین
در آئینهٔ دل رخ دلدار ببین
یک نور چو در روزن بسیار افتد
ظاهر شده در صورت انوار ببین

The comprehensiveness of the heart of man :—

دل برزخ بحرین حدوث و قدم است
آئینهٔ اسکندری و جام جم است
از منزل دل اگر نشان مي طلبي
بالا تر از اقلیم وجود و عدم است

The world is a mirage :—

در دیدهٔ تحقیق سرابي ست جهان
بر سیل فنا نقش حبابي ست جهان
رو چشم خیال و خواب بر بند و ببین
کز روي یقین خیال و خوابي ست جهان

A *sālik* should not fix his heart on the hopes and fears of this transitory world :—

تا چند روي از پس امید و هراس
بگذر ز خیال غیر ' خودرا بشناس
دل برکن ازین منزل ویران ' کانرا
بر قاعدهٔ فنا نهادند اساس - - -

The attributes of man are the reflection of those of God :—

اي خال لبت سواد بینائي من
ز آئینهٔ رخسار تو گویائي من
من دور ز تو صد هزاران فرسنگ
وانگه تو درون دل سودائي من

None knows the real Truth :—

در خانقه و مدرسه گشتیم بسي
انصاف که در هر دو ندیدیم کسي
دیدیم ' بلي فسانه گوئي چندي
قانع شده از دور ببانگ جرسي

The *sālik* should busy himself with the knowledge of his soul, and should not waste his time and energy in dealings with ordinary persons :—

بالا تري اي دواني از حد قیاس
نشناخت ترا کسی تو خود را بشناس
زین دون صفتان خصال انسان مطلب
کایشان نشناسند أناس از نسناس

Commentary :—

کمال نفس در معرفت خود است چنانچه مضمون من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربه بآن مشعراست و در کتب منزلۀ قدیمه بود اعرف نفسک یا انسان تعرف ربک و کمال توجه بمعرفت نفس بي قطع طمع از خلق میسر نمیگردد ' چه اشتغال به غیر مانع توجه بخود است و در مبادئي حال که سالک بحقیقت توحید متحقق نشد توجه به غیر قاطع کلي است ' تا زماني که بمرتبۀ وحدت حقیقی رسد-آن زمان در نظر شهود او غیر نماند وملا بسۀ کثرت اورا مانع شهود وحدت نشود

Some quatrains are in praise of Hadrat 'Alī, a fact which proves that Dawwānī believed in the Shī'a creed :—

در ملک حقیقت ست آن شاه مدار
دست طلب از دامن آن شاه مدار
او باب مدینۀ علوم ست در آي
زان در که رسي زود به منزلگه یار

خورشید کمال ست نبي ماه ولي
اسلام محمد است ایمان علي
گر بینۀ بوین سخن مي طلبي
بنگر که ز بینات اسما است جلي

(18) The Gulzār-i-Ibrāhim and the Khwān-i-Khalil.

by

Dr. Nazir Ahmad—Lucknow University.

The Sih Nat͟hr (or the three prose pieces) of Zūhūrī, which by the common consent of the critics, is the best example of ornate prose and consequently one of the most celebrated Persian prose books, has a most disputed historical back-ground. A group of scholars holds that these pieces are three separate prose treatises bearing their own titles. The opinions of some of them are given below :—

1. K͟hān Ārzū in the Majma-'un-Nafā'is remarks[1] :—

ملا ظهوری رسالهٔ دارد در مدح بادشاه مذکور (ابراهیم عادل‌شاه) مسمي به نورس

2. Sark͟hus͟h in the Kalimāt observes[2] :—

در نثر رسالهٔ نورس و خوان خلیل گلزار ابراهیم بنام عادل شاه بسیار خوب نوشته

3. Zubairī in the Basātīn[3] states :—

انچه در مدح طرازي....اشهب بیان را در میدان فصاحت دوانیده ازخوان و گلزار ابراهیم و دیباچهٔ نورس ظاهراست

4. Ṣahbā'ī in the S͟harḥ-i-Sīh Nat͟hr says[4] :—

شرح گلزار ابراهیم نیز از خامهٔ خام رقم صهبائي به اتمام انجا مید خواهش آلست خا مه از دست افگنم و در گوشه عزلت تن زنم اما معاني طالبان آسوده نه مي گذارند تا خوان خلیل گستر ده نشود گرسنه چشمان از شکوهٔ بخل طبیعت اب نه خواهند بست

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1. Fol. 496a.
2. p. 198.
3. Fol. 125.
4. p. 207; also *vide* pp. 120 and 208 etc.

5. Shams in the Bahār-i-'Azīm points out[5] :—

اگر ظهوري اين بهار عظيم بهند-الفت گلزار ابراهيم از دل بر كنده ثمر نورس
را ميوهٔ كهنه انگاشته دست از مائدهٔ خان خليل شسته الخ

The headings of the 2nd and the 3rd pieces at least in the printed copy of the Sih Nathr run as follows :—

" ديباچه دوم.... مسمي گلزار ابراهيم " " ديباچه سوم....كه بخوان خليل
شهرت دارد "

In addition to these, a large No. of Mss. of the book suggest that it is nothing but a collection of three prose treatises.

There are again some[6] who contend that the Sih Nathr is a collection of three prefaces written to the Kitāb-i-Nauras of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil II (d. A. H. 1037), Amongst them Professor 'Abdul Ghanī holds a fantastic view in so much as on the one hand he calls the Sih Nathr, three prefaces to the said Kitāb-i-Nauras, and on the other, assigns a particular title to each of them. Some[7] Mss. of the Sih Nathr, likewise, bear headings like this, which suggest as above :—

خطبهٔ نورس مسمي به خوان خليل

Yet the last group of biographers though few in number, unequivocally claim that it is a collection of three prefaces, the first to the Kitāb-i-Nauras, the 2nd to the Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm and the 3rd to the Khwān-i-Khalīl, the last two being anthologies prepared by Malik and Zuhūrī alone. Ibrāhīm Khalīl's following[8] statement is very accurate :—

از جمله منثوراتش سه ديباچه است كه بر نورس و گلزار ابراهيم و خوان
خليل نوشته

Ghulām 'Alī Āzād did not fail to arrive at a correct conclusion[9] :—

(ملک و ظهوری) تالیفها به مشارکت دارند چنانچه ظهوری در دیباچهٔ خوان
خلیل می نوازد الخ

5. Fol. 14a.

6. They are mostly later writers and their views are not to be taken very seriously, *vide* Dr. Muhy-ud-Dīn, Zor's Urdu Shāh Pāre Vol. 1. p. 35 and History of Urdu Lit. (Trans.) pp. 74-75.

7. R. A. S. B. collections, Majmū'a, No. 359.

8. Ṣuḥuf-i-Ibrāhīm, 581a.

9. Sarw-i-Āzād, p. 33.

Undoubtedly these prose pieces mentioned by such terms as نثر و رساله و دیباچه و خطبه etc. were collected and compiled under the title of the Sih Nat͟hr and are three prefaces to the above mentioned three books written after long intervals. The controversy has mainly been caused by the single fact that the three main books were consigned to oblivion and so the prefaces were, somehow, detached and collected together under the present[1] title which does not go beyond the date of its publication[2].

It is thus obvious that a description of the Kitāb-i-Nauras, the Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm and the K͟hwān-i-K͟halīl would adequately remove the wrong notions centred round the historical aspect of the Sih Nat͟hr. Since we have various valuable Mss. of the Kitāb-i- Nauras it is deemed undesirable for the present to enter into its detailed description. But as the last two books are quite unknown and apparently no copies are available, it would be very fruitful to introduce them so as to have a correct notion of the historical back-ground of the Sih Nat͟hr.

The Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm was a kind of anthology in verse containing nine thousand lines of all verse-forms, and was completed jointly by Zuhūrī and Malik at the instance of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil to whom it was dedicated. The following clear statement occurring in Malik's preface to the same book reveals its correct nature:—

از پرده نفاذ این نغمه بدر داد و از نخل امر این رطاب برداد .. ....که دوران نزدیکی و نزدیکان دوری، شاهدان غیبی و غائبان حضوری، ملک و ظهوری چهره پوشیدگان معنوی و روے کشادگان صوری .... در صفت هرچه پیرایهٔ جمال سلطنت است و آویزهٔ گردن مملکت نه هزار بیت فکر گزین... از قسم مثنوی منبع الانهار و نوع قصائد... و غزل....و ترکیب بند... و ترجیع بند... و قطعه و رباعی چون جواهر آبدار از کنوز خفا به سلک اظهار در آورده الخ [کلیات ملک، ورق ۱۲۰ (دیباچهٔ گلزار ابراهیم)]

The title of the book appears in this line:—

شگفت این نظم و مرغان تهنیت خوان—که شد گلزار ابراهیم نامش—(ایضاً)

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1. The following points are significant:—

1. This title is not traceable in any Ms. copy. 2. The chronological order of the printed copy is not kept in most of the Mss. 3. A fairly large No. of Mss. contain only two or even one piece.

2. Dr. Rieu fixes A. D. 1846 as the date of its first publication, but the printed copy lodged with (?) was published in A. H. 1259 corresponding to A. D. 1843. Hence the date of its publication was earlier than A. D. 1846 or even 1843.

The author of the Ma'āthir agrees with the above in these words :—

(ج ۳ ص ۳۹۷) نه هزار بیت در اقسام سخن به مدح عادل شاه گفته مسمی به گلزار ابراهیم ساختند

Exactly the same is found[3] under Malik, but in the Bānkīpūr Ms. some additions are made as follows :—

آن دو فصاحت شعار... آن کتاب را بغایت نیکو نوشته اند و هر یک چهار هزار و پانصد نظم و نثر گفته و نوشته و دیباچه بران نوشته و یک جلد کرده گلزار ابراهیم ساخته و این اختراع این دو بزرگوار است که به شرکت کتاب تمام نموده اند۔
[ورق ۸۹۰]

This remark differs from that of Malik in respect of these :—

1. According to Malik the book was prepared at the instance of the prince while nothing as such is mentioned in the Ma'āthir.

2. In the Ma'āthir both of them are stated to have composed one half, but Malik does not state as such.

3. In the Ma'āthir the anthology is stated to have contained prose portions also while Malik is silent on this point.

Ibrāhīm[4] Khalīl endorses the views expressed in th Ma'āthir; but Iskander Munshī while agreeing in details wrongly gives its title 'Kitāb-i-Nauras' and though[5] earlier the correct number of its lines *i. e.*, as nine thousand, yet later on he gives only nine hundred[1] (in words). Professor Moḥd. Shafī, however, mentions[2] no difference though he quotes both the pages of the 'Ālam Arā-i- 'Abbāsī and so do Āzād[3] and 'Ishq[4]. The title of the Kitāb-i-Nauras as quoted by Iskander Munshī has led Professor Moḥd. Shafī to deem it as identical with Malik's Manba'-ul- Anhār for the simple reason that in the Maykhānah[5] its title is given as Nauras Nāma. Consequently he makes an attempt to

3. Vol. 3 pp. 447-48.
4. Ṣuḥuf-i-Ibrāhīm Fol. 581, also *vide* خلاصة الكلام fol. 22.
5. Vol. 1, p. 132 (تاریخ عالم آرای عباسی)
1. Vol. 3 p. 752.
2. Maykhāna p. 268 (foot notes).
3. Kh zāna-i-'Āmira p. 411.
4. Nishtar p. 1669.
5. p. 268; but on p. 259-60 its title is not given.

find out 4500 lines (*i. e.*, Malik's portions in the joint anthology) in the Manba'ul-Anhār, but failing that he remarks[6] :—

نورس نامه ظاهرا همین مثنوی بنام منبع الانهار در کتاب خانهٔ دیوان هند
موجود است و تعداد ابیاتش از چهار هزار و پانصد کم است

Zuhūrī's own remarks found in his prefaces to the Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm and the Kh̲wān-i-Kh̲alīl, explicitly indicate that he was Malik's partner in preparing the Gulzār and the Kh̲wān; *e. g.*,[7]

قبل ازین پیرایش گلزار ابراهیم واکنون در گستردن خوان خلیل سهیم و عدیل
ملک الکلامی است

It is strange that some writers have misunderstood دیباچهٔ گلزار ابراهیم and دیباچهٔ خوان خلیل for the two main books, though it is clear as crystal that the دیباچه in which Zuhūrī speaks about himself in the first person and about Malik (who was called ملک الکلام) in the third person, can in no case be a work of Malik. The گلزار ابراهیم and the خوان خلیل referred to in the above remark, are without slightest doubt, different from the prefaces of Zuhūrī. It was due to this misunderstanding that scholars of fair renown have assigned proper names to these prefaces about which we have spoken earlier. Fortunately Āzād of Bilgrām gives a correct idea about the prefaces as well as the anthologies in this[8] sentence :—

(ملک و ظهوری) به مشارکت یک دگر سخنها در سلک تحریر کشیده اند
چنانچه ظهوری در دیباچهٔ خوان نوشته الخ

According to this remark the گلزار ابراهیم and the خوان خلیل were not identical with their prefaces. The author correctly thinks that the latter were written by Zuhūrī alone, while the former were the joint productions of Zuhūrī and Malik both.

The author of the Futūḥāt-i-'Ādil Sh̲āhī gives many original and even conflicting things as under :—

"Malik and Zuhūrī were the joint writers of two books, *viz.*, گلستان خلیل and باغ ابراهیم both of which contained 9000 lines; besides prose writings. It is said that in a gathering of scholars, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Sh̲āh while discussing the anecdote of Firdausī and Sulṭan

6. Maykh̲āna p. 268 (foot notes)

7. Kullīyyāt-i-Zuhūrī p. 827.

8. Sarw-i-Āzād, p. 33.

Maḥmūd, ordered for the payment of one 'Hūn' for each line to the joint writers of the above composition. The total payment amounted to 9000 mohars which were carried away on several camels. But on re-counting the lines, it was found that they were nine thousand and five hundred, and accordingly the whole payment was made to them. Later on five hundred lines were found to be purely repetition and so a number of courtiers lodged a complaint wishing that the excess money be returned. But the king remarked that the money once paid was paid for ever." (pp. 372-73).

It differs from other statements in respect of the following :—

1. It assigns different titles to both the anthologies; apparently the Bāgh-i-Ibrāhīm is a wrong substitution for the Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm and the Gulistān-i-Khalīl for the Khwān-i-Khalīl.

2. Contrary to all statements it shows that both of them contained only nine thousand lines, though only the Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm comprised so money.

3. It shows that both contained some prose portions as well, though in the Ms. copy of the Ma'āthir the Gulzār is stated to have contained some prose; Yet neither of them is supported by any other authority.

However in view of Zuhūri and Malik's own remarks which are also confirmed by the eminent scholars, regarding the title of the book which alone contained nine thousand lines, it would be wholly incorrect to accept the view expressed in the above remark. However, the phrase 'یک جلد کرده' occuring in the Ma'āthir suggests that both of them wrote separately and that each of the separate portions, contained about 4500 lines, besides the prefaces. Possibly the title of the Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm was given when they were contained together and the apparent copy of which (its contents will be discussed leter), contains the two sections separately. The prose portions in the book consisted of the prefaces which were not to their separate sections, but to the joint composition. But Dr. Rieu in the following[1] note on the authority of the same Ms. copy of the Futūḥāt has stated a single book and a different name :—

"Both stood in high favour with Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh who rewarded them, according to the Futūḥāt-i-'Ādil Shāhī, for the Gulshan-i-Khalīl, their joint production, with a present of 9000 gold pieces."

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1. Rieu Cat. of Persian Mss. in British Museum (under Diwān-i-Zuhūri).

About the anecdote quoted in the Futūḥāt we find no reference in any book except a similar account though differing in its details in the Manba'-ul-Anhār[2], some lines of which are quoted below:—

در راست مسلکی عادل خداوند ابراهیم، بے شبه و مانند و حسد حسن میمندی که در قیمت شاه نامه طلا را نقره ساخت و عاقبت محمودی شاه دکن که سیم سخن را طلا نواخت -

ثبت چنین رفت که استاد طوس   داد به شهنامه جمال عروس
دفتر شه نامه چو آمد به بن   خاتمه را گشت پذیر سخن
از حسن آن زشتی میمندیان   سست رگی بخش تنو بندیان
گشت چنین شهره که در کار شعر   تنگدلی برد نه بازار شعر
گوهر شصت الف به قیمت رسید   قیمت یک الف نیامد پدید
کرد شه غزنوی از نقض عهد   عهد سخن گشت براهیم عهد
او به طلا سیم بر آمد ز گاز   سیم طلا ساخت زهی شهنواز

However, since the Mathnawī was included in the Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm, this particular incident can neither refer to the reward on the composition of the former, nor to that of the latter.

The author of the Natā'ij-ul-Afkār[3] ascribes the Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm and the Khwān-i-Khalīl to Zuhūrī alone who was, in reality, Malik's partner in preparing them. Saxena[4] enumerate's two books bearing the same titles among Zuhūri's works (other than the Sih Nathr). Similarly, the author of the Qāmūs[5]-ul-Mashāhir mentions the Sih Nathr and three other works, *viz.*, رسالهٔ نورس, گلزار ابراهیم and خوان خلیل among Zuhūri's compositions. Apparently these have been borrowed from the Kalimāt-ush-Shu'arā and the Basātin-us-Salāṭīn in which the last three works have been ascribed to Zuhūri. But these three were identical with the three pieces which are collectively termed as the Sih Nathr. Though this is too incorrect, yet one cannot measure the depth of the folly of those authors who claim the three works along with the Sih Nathr, to have been written by Zuhūrī[6],

Just contrary to these is the account of Sprenger who attributes the Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm to Malik only. He further commits a mistake by stating that according to Āzād the name of the book is Nauras for

2. Kulliyyāt-i-Malik (R. A. S. B. Ms.) Fol. 75b.
3. p. 117.
4. History of Urdu Literature (Transtation) pp. 74-75.
5. Vol. 2 p. 49.
6. Oudh Catalogue p. 481.

the obvious reason that the latter has[1] quoted only Iskander Munshī's view which has nothing to do with his own.

Fortunately Ms. No. 1500[2] in the India Office Collection which is stated to be the Kullīyyāt of Zuhūrī's works, is, in all probability, identical with the Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm. The said Ms. has two separate sections, one containing Malik's works and the other, those of Zuhūrī. This is fully in consonance with the statement of the Ma'āthir which clearly shows that both the poets wrote their portions separately. The cataloguer was, however, puzzled while dealing with its separate portions and as the Ms. is claimed to be a Kullīyyāt of Zuhūrī's works, he has attempted to ascribe all its contents to the same poet, but wherever he has failed to find any clue he has passed over it, *e.g.*, with regard to Malik's preface to the Gulzār-i-Ibrahīm he does not mention its author but passes on with the remark[3] that—

It is "of the same character as Zuhūrī's well-known prefaces....but different from these three and all other treatises hitherto known as composed by the same author, inspite of the frequent mention of گلزار ابراهیم........This treatise in ornate prose seems, like three mentioned above, written in homage of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II".

With regard to the Manba'-ul-Anhār he mentions that in the Oudh Catalogue (p. 482), it is included in Malik's Kullīyyāt; but on the authority of its lines quoted in the Khulāṣat-ul-Kalām[4] under Zuhūrī, he claims that it should be ascribed to him.

As regards the series of *tarkīb, tarjī'bands, qaṣīdas etc.* though he does not mention the name of the author, yet he holds them all to belong to Zuhūrī.

Since the contents of the India Office Ms. are jnst the same as stated by Malik himself and since about half of the said copy has been composed by Zuhūrī and it is perfectly in keeping with the statements of 'Abdul Bāqī and Iskander Munshī and lastly since the Ms. concerned has separate sections of each as has been claimed by 'Abdul Bāqī etc., it is almost proved that it is nothing but the oft-mentioned Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm. A detailed description of the Ms. would further prove the same:—

1. A prose treatise of the same character as Zuhūrī's three well known prefaces but different from these. Though the title is not given

1. خزانۂ عامرہ p. 411.
2. Ethe's Catalogue Vol. 1 pp. 820-22.
3. pp. 820-21.
4. A biography of mathnawī-writers by Ibrāhīm Khalīl.

in this copy, it is undoubtedly identical with Malik's preface to the Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm[5] in view of the following:—

(*a*) Its beginning[6] as quoted by Dr. Ethe is quite-similar to that of the MSS. of Malik's Kulliyyat preserved in R. A. S. Bengal and Rāmpūr collections.

[7](*b*) Of the examples quoted in the India Office Catalogue all, except one, are traceable in Malik's Kullīyyāt.

(*c*) Dr. Ethe has neither given its closing line, nor has quoted the concluding qīt'a, which contains even the poet's pen-name; but since the last distich[8] is traceable in the above Catalogue, undoubtedly, not only the whole qit'a therein, but its conclusion is also just the same as in other copies.

(*d*) in the closing qiṭ'a the following line contains the pen-name of the poet:—

ملک شد تاجدار ملک معنی فلک نوبت زند بر طرف با مش

Similarly the following line, occuring both in Malik's Kullīyyāt as well as in the India Office Ms., gives his pen-name:—

درو یشی را جائزهٔ شعر ملک شاهی صلهٔ نغمه به عادلشه داد

But despite all this, it is strange that Dr. Ethe did not mention its author.

2. The Manba'-ul-Anhār; Its beginning[1] as quoted by Dr. Ethe is just the same as in Malik's Mat͟hnawī having the same title and found in both the Mss. of his Kullīyyāt. This point has been accepted by the Cataloguer himself but he rejects it on the ground that its 294 lines

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5. The Cataloguer of the Cuzon collections (R. A. S. B.) has very innocently remarked as follows (p. 194):—

"It seems to be undoubtedly from Malik's pen (c.f. 30 his تخلص و ملک شد تاجدار ملک معني ء, at the end of this work) and there is (on the back) nothing improbable that Malik might have written it for Zuhūrī who was his relative."

6. اے نورس گلزار براهیم از تو وے آتش نمرود تف بیم از تو

7. گلزار ابراهیم نام نهادم

8. شگفت این نظم و مرغان تهنیت خوان که شد گلزار ابراهیم نامش

1. Its 1st distich is this:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم اهدنا الصراط المستقیم

have been quoted in the Khulāṣat-ul-Kalām under Zuhūrī, but no line contains either the pen-name of Malik or that of Zuhūrī. All the lines quoted there are taken from the above poem in which Malik's pen-name appears many times. As for example:—

fol. 69	خیزو ملک را صله درپیش کن	پس به ازین فکر دل خویش کن
,, 72	بر ملک نکته گذا آفرین	بر ملک العدل هزار آفرین
,, 73a	خواست ملک تا در مخزن زند	نقب شود بر دل معدن زند
,, 73b	با ملک از شعله به خسرو به تیغ	دست من و آستی او دریغ
,, 76b	هست ملک قصهٔ این رفتگان	منشاء بیداری دل خفتگان

3. The *tarkīb*[2], *tarjī*-bands and qāṣīdās intermixed with *qit'as ghazals* and concluded by various strings of *rubā'īs* beginning:—

فتح است کلید بر کشا دیم　　　بر نه در چرخ در کشا دیم

This initial tarkīb-band had the following heading:—

به فتح در نه کلید کشایش از قلعه کشائی فکر گرفتن و ذیل مدحت عادل
خدیو بر کمر ترکیب بند کرده از خامه گرفتن -

Though Dr. Ethe has not mentioned the author, yet he means to ascribe them to Zuhūri only. The fact, however, is that all the poems have been composed by Malik in which his pen-name appears many times and that they are included in the poet's Kullīyyāt as well. The first *ṭarkīb-band* in praise of Ibrāhīm, contains 9 bands and covers foll. 185a to 187a in the R. A. S. B. Ms. of his Kulliyyāt.

The next section belongs to Zuhūrī:—

1. Preface to the Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm, beginning and end as in the second preface in the Sih Nathr-i-Zuhūrī. (p. 821.)

2. Series of *tarkīb*, *tarjībands*, and qaṣīdas, beginnings.

ای که شده از تو زبان همه　　　جنس غمت زیب دکان همه (p. 821.)

All the poems are from the pen of Zuhūrī. However, the usual initial qaṣida, as found in the Bode. Catalogue. and in the Berlin Catalogue No. 931 and in the Rampur Ms., beginning—

—ای تشخص ده فنا و بقا　　　بر بقایت فنائی جمله گوا,

is missing here. The long tarji'bands in imitation of Sa'dī and Waḥshī are also not traceable. The first tarkīb in praise of God and the prince (Ibrāhīm 'Ādil) pp. 179 to 181 in the Rampur Ms.

2. p. 821

3. The ghazals[3] beginning—

برداشتی نقاب ز دیدن بر آمدم   در گفتن آمدی ز شنیدن بر آمدم

The initial ghazal beginning

آنکه خواهد داشت فردا رحمتش ایمان ما
گشته وصفش آفتاب مطلع دیوان ما

4. A large collection of rubā'īs divided into 22 sections, beginning—

بر مهر زعارض تو تقدیم خوش است   پیش تو زمه سجدهٔ تعظیم خوش است

This section does not contain qīṭ'a and mathnawī as against the 1st.

Fortunately the first four chapters of No. 679 of Zuhūrī's Kullīyyāt in the Bānkīpūr collections, are identical with the second section of the Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm. The following details of the said Ms. would reveal that it agrees completely with the above.

1. The preface to the Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm by Zuhūrī, beginning and ending as usual (foll. 1—8).

2. The qaṣīdas, tarkīb and tarjī'bands intermixed, beginning as in the India Office Ms. (foll. 8-69). This section contains 21 qaṣīdas, five tarkīb and two tarjī'-bands of which all being properly headed, are in praise of the prince of Bījāpūr. Like the India Office Ms. it does not include the long tarjī'bands in imitation of Sa'dī and Waḥshi, though Malik had two parallel poems exactly of the same nature.

3. The ghazals beginning as above (foll. 69-78).

4. The rubā'is divided into 22 sections all of which being properly headed, deal with various merits of Ibrāhim 'Ādil Shāh. The 1st heading quoted here and its 96 rubā'is are missing in all other Mss. of his Kulliyyāt including that of Rāmpūr. Similarly the 14th and the 19th headings are excluded from the Rāmpūr Ms. (foll. 78-121.)

The total number of lines is as follows:—

1. Qaṣidas, tarkīb and tarjī'bands amounting to 2220 lines.
2. Ghazals amounting to 370 lines.
4. Rubā'īs amounting to 1952 lines.

That gives a total of 4542 lines.

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3. p. 822.

The above shows that no Mat͟hnawī of Zuhūrī's is contained in the Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm. Apparently his Mat͟hnawi similar to the Manba'-ul-Anhār, written in imitation of the Mākhzan-ul-Asrār was not completed till then. However, Zuhūrī's one[1] Mat͟hnawi, having no particular title, was composed a short time after the completion of the said anthology. The Cataloguer of Bodleian Library gives A. H.[2] 1009 as the date of its completion on the ground that its closing line contains the following chronogram:—

شد به اتمام بس که زود انباز   گشت تاریخ انتها 'آغاز'

But the word "آغاز" does not give the date of the poem but of the building[3] constructed by S͟hāh Nāwāz K͟hān for the obvious reason that the line occurs among those which are in praise of the same building under a separate head. Thus the poem must have been eomposed some time later than A. H. 1009 and so could have not been included in the above Gūlzār-i-Ibrāhīm.

The actual date when it was completed is not known. However, this much is certain that Ibrāhīm 'Ādil S͟hah was then running in his third 'ash͟rah[4] which was to be completed in A. H. 1009. Thus it may be said with certainty that the anthology was finished before this date. It contains the Manba'-ul-Anhār in which we find a reference[1] to Nauraspūr, a newly projected city whose construction, according to contemporary[2] sources, was not taken up until A. H. 1008. Similarly, the Nauras Mahal is also[3] mentioned in the poem, but it was finally finished only ln A. H. 1010. Thus it is supposed that the Manba'-ul-Anhār had been finished before the completion of both the Nawras

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1. Beginning:

اے بناها همه نهادۂ تو   هر کرا هرچه هست دادۂ تو

It is included in the Rampur Ms. of the Kulliyyāt (pp. 778-799).

2. Catal. of Per. Mss. in Bodleian Lib. (Sachau and Ethe) p. 673.

3. e. g. vide two lines:—

مفلسان دیده را دهند جلا   در هوا کس نه دیده کان طلا

صرف شد بیدریغ مالے چند   شد به هر ماه کار سالے چند

and also Firishtah Vol. 2, pp. 80-81.

4. Kulliyyāt p. 816 (دیباچۂ گلزار ابراهیم)

1. Fol. 71a.

2. Fol. 67a.

3. The Tadhkirat-ul-Mulūk p, 348 and Futūhāt p. 158.

Maḥal as well as Nawraspūr. Hence it is quite correct to fix a date between A. H. 1008 and A. H. 1009 which the Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm was finally completed.

On the presentation of the book the prince of Bijāpūr rewarded the poets heavily. According to the Ma'āthir[4], Ibrāhim 'Ādil honourred them by awarding ninety thousand "lārīs" which was equal to forty thousand rupees. The same amount with its equivalent sum has been mentioned in the Khulāṣat-ul-Kalām[5] and the Ṣuḥuf-i-Ibrāhim[6]. In the Futūḥāt[7], the reward paid at the rate of one 'hūn' or gold mohur per line, amounted to nine thousand hūns, But this coin was somehow or other concerned with the 'lāri' coin as is evident from these words occuring in the Futuḥāt itself.

بیتے را یک هون بدهند ' نه هزار هون را که زر لاری بود بر شتران بارکرده به منزل یاران بردند

In the 'Ālam Ārāi'-'Abbāsi[8] both the amount of reward and the coins in which they were paid, agree completely with those stated above; but here the amount to be carried on several camels' back is not mentioned. The later biographers like 'Ishq and Āzād have chosen to adopt the version of the Ālam Ārā in which it is further stated that each of the two authors composed its half. This is similar to one found only in the Ms. copy of the Ma'āthir. But the distribution of the reward equally *i.e.* in proportion to their share, seems to have been Iskander Munshī's own creation found nowhere[10] else.

The amount of reward in gold, according to Malık's own statement, was equal in weight to the load of four camels:—

چون گلزار ابراهیم به لب چش قبول رسید چهار شتر زر در حجرهٔ ظهوری و ملک زانو زدند

This is fully supported by the Futūḥāt where the number of camels is not mentioned. But one need not be alarmed for Malik received

4. pp. 397 and 448.

5. Fol. 22.

6. Fol. 581.

7. p. 373.

8. pp. 132 and 752.

9. Even in the 'Ālam Ārā on p. 752 such distribution is not mentioned.

10. Kulliyyāt pp. 12-13.

reward in gold equal to one camel load by the same prince on the occasion of the Manba'-ul-Anhār. Thereupon Dhinī was so annoyed that he composed a Rubāi attacking Malik[11]:—

در مدح و ثنایت اے شهنشاه دکن　　معذورم دار اگر نه گفتم مخزن

حیف است که بهر یک شتر زر گیرم　　خون دوهزار بیت بدبرگردن

It is known that the liberal prince rewarded Dhinī[12] equally. Once[13] again the prince was so much pleased by the poet's repartees that he ordered for the payment of gold in the manner of *abjad* system of reckoning. It is further reported that the same poet got one thousand gold mohurs for composing a caricature of the Sultān to which Malik and Zuhūri refer[14] as follows:—

شاه که دشنام به رغبت خرد　　نقد دعارا به چه قیمت خرد

کالاے دشنامش را به نرخ می خرند　　و زرهائے سره خرچ کنند تا ناسره برند

The Khwān-i-Khalīl; Zuhūri and Malik prepared another work on the same model as the foregoing one probably at the instance of the Sultān which bore the title of Khwān-i-Khalīl. But unfortunately, so, far, no writer has, exclusively, given its true nature. However, Āzād in his statement to the effect that both these poets composed jointly, has referred to this anthology for the obvious reason that he has quoted a sentence from Zuhūri's preface to this work. Similarly the views of Gulshan and Saxena, though not very significant, prove the existence of the Khwān-i-Khalīl beyond any doubt. We have also examined Zuhūri's own views about the same which, read with other statements, categorically prove that the preface was different from the anthology *i.e.* the Khwān-i-Khalīl, in so much as the former was in prose and was written by Zuhūrī alone, while the latter was in verse and was a joint production of Zuhūrī and Malik both. The exact nature of the book has been given by the latter in the following statement which clearly proves that it was jointly written by them so as to supplement the

11. *e.g., vide* Maikhāna pp. 960-61.

12. Ibid.

13. The Futuhāt p. 375.

14. Kulliyāt Malik fol 76a and Kulliyyāt-i-Zuhūri p. 826.

Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm and to offer their sincere thanks to the prince of Bījāpur who honoured[1] them with heavy rewards:—

شکر این عطیه بر ذمه لازم شمردیم و کان و دریا را که کودک واز گوشان گرفته به شاگردی دل و دست استاد نورس آوردیم که به تعلیم زرفشانی و گوهر پاشی فائض آیند-اکنون به آرایش خوان خلیل مائدهٔ سخن در آئین بندی‌ست و بهار خاطر در شگفتگی چمن

بی بساط الوان خوش آیند نیست .... گلزار ابراهیم را از خوان خلیل گریزنیست

In the following lines[2] the poet refers to the same book:—

چو ابراهیم گشت از گشت گلزار	به شادابی چوحسن خویش سرشار
ضیافت خانهٔ ترتیب دادم	به نورس هائے ایوان زیب دادم
شدم بر نعمت ایوان دلیلش	ضیافت کردم از خوان خلیلش

The first line clearly refers to the presentation of the Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm on which the prince was highly pleased.

The following line at the end of Zuhūrī's preface reveals the title of the book:—

تادرین بستان‌سرا خوان‌خلیل آید به یاد میزبان خلق ابراهیم عادل شاه باد

His preface begins with a rubā'ī the second line of which runs as under:—

نطق از تو به مهمانی ارباب خرد   انداخته خوان‌سخن از خوان‌خلیل

This has been annotated in the margin thus:—

نطق به استعانت تو برائے ضیافت ارباب خرد' خوان سخن ازین خطبه که موسوم به خوان خلیل است' گسترده -

Maulānā[3] Ṣahbā'ī, though he thinks the preface to be identical with the خوان خلیل objects to the above annotation:—

اما از خوان خلیل (این جا) همین رساله اراده کردن رکاکتے دارد که جز اهل مذاق بآن پی نبرد -

Though apparently he is not in favour of assigning a proper name to the preface, yet, since he claims that Zuhūrī's treatises bore their own titles,

1. Kullīyyāt-i-Malik (Rāmpūr Ms.) pp. 12-13.
2. Ibid.
3. The Sharḥ-i-Sih Nathr p. 209.

one may reasonably conclude that his object is literary and critical and not historical.

Whatever the case may be both Ṣah͟bā'ī as well as the footnote writer are incorrect in assigning a proper name to Zuhūri's preface. The only flaw in the annotation of the above line lies in the wrong substitution of the preface for the actual book itself.

The anthology contained five forms of the verse, *viz.*, qaṣidas, g͟hazals, qiṭ'as, math͟nawī and rubā'īs as is proved by Malik's following[4] remark:—

گوش و زبان از گفت و شنود محو (شده) چشم و چراغ در زنگ و بو خفته و ذایقه بے چاشنی و کلام از لذت خالی مانده –

سالار خلعت پسندیده چند رنگ نعمت منزل بعدد تنزلات حضرات خمس ' قصیده و غزل و قطعه و رباعی و مثنوی

But nothing is known about the numbers of lines it contained and the reward the authors obtained for it. However, Zuhūrī has stated in its preface that he was[5] in his 70th year and since he was born some time in A. H. 943-44, the preface and the book were written some time before A. H. 1014. Just as both Zuhūrī and Malik wrote prefaces to the Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm, so they did to the K͟hwān-i-Khalīl, the former's being the last in the Sih Nat͟hr, while Malik's single available copy being included in the Rāmpūr Ms. of his Kullīyyāt. It seems they must have adopted the same course in compiling the anthology as they had done earlier. But in the absence of historical data nothing can be said with preciseness.

4. Kullīyyāt p. 13.
5. Kullīyyāt p. 827 (preface to the K͟hwān-i-K͟halīl.)

(19) "Contribution of Hindu Poets and Writers of Hyderabad-Deccan to Persian literature."

by

Q. S, Kalimullah Husaini.

For centuries India and Persia have been neighbours and have had close cultural relations with each other. Their cultures, though distinct to-day, bear close relationship to each other. The same is true of their languages, Sanskrit and Persian, which belong to the Aryan family and are cognate. Besides, hundreds of Persian families residing in Khurasan had been forced by the atrocities of the Persian king Afrasiyab to seek refuge in India. They fled to the Punjab and sought shelter in the district round about Lahore, Multan and Delhi. This is the first instance of the direct historical connection of Persia with India, which sowed the seeds of Persian culture in Indian soil.

During the reign of Sultan Maḥmūd and his successors the Persian language progressed to a great extent and Muslims and non-Muslims both adopted it as both a court and a literary language. The Hīndus took keen interest in the study of Persian. As a result of this the Hindu nobility, of the Punjab who were the first recipients of honours from the Ghaznavid kings were holding important positions in the State. They also cultivated a poetic and literary taste. This was due to the continued immigration of cultured Persian families into the Punjab.

Persian language and literature also flourished during the reigns of the Ghūrī and Slave kings. The Ghūrīs were from the beginning devoted to Persian poetry and were subject to Persian influence. The Hindu literati also developed a taste for Persian and spoke and wrote in that language.

During the reign of the Moghul Emperors and their nobility, Persian literature reached its zenith. Especially the courts of Akbar, Jahāngir, Bairām Khān and 'Abdur Raḥīm Khān Khānān were cradles of līarning and literature. Poets and writeres flocked to these courts for fame, honour and reward.

The Quṭb Shāhī monarchs of Golcūnda did not lag behind these courts. Many of the monarchs were poets themselves and composed verses both in Persian and Dakhni languages; and their Dīwāns are still extant. They were great lovers and patrons of arts and learning. Although it is not within our purview to enter into the details about this dynasty, yet we cannot pass on further without mentioning the names of a few noted Hindu poets and writers of this period. They

were:—Girdharilal, the author of the Ta'rīkh-i-Zafar-arā-i-Deccan; Munshi Subhan . ai the author of Khulāṣatut Twārīkh. The poets of this period were Birhaman, Hunar, Gian Rai and others.

During the reign of the Āsafjāhī Dynasty the land of the Deccan produced innumerable poets and writers. The Muslims and Hindus of this State played a prominent part in this field and contributed a good deal to Persian literature.

It is a vast subject, and I have, therefore, confined myself only to those poets and writers who enjoyed great reputation and popularity among their compatriots. I have also quoted specimens from their poetry to show its merits.

The following are a few selected poets and writers with whom I would like, for the present, to deal briefly:—

Dabīr, Mauzoon, Dhahīn, Shafīq, Shādān, Shād.

DABĪR, Dula Rai was born in Burhanpur. He was a nephew of Lala Khushhalchand, Farhat. He was a good poet, an excellent prose-writer and the author of the famous Ta'rīkh-i-Āṣafī. He died in Burhanpur in 1225 A. H,

The following are a few verses from his poetry:—

نہ ہر انسان ہنر دارد نہ دارد   نہ ہر دریا گہر دارد نہ دارد
میانش را نشانے نیست پیدا   کہ می گوید کمر دارد نہ دارد

وقت جولان جنون است بیابان مددے
نہ فلک تنگ بود وسعت میدان مددے

می تپد زخمی تیر نگہش بر سر خاک
تیغ ابرو مددے خنجر مژگان مددے

. 2. *Mauzoon*, Raja Madan Singh was appointed Accountant-General in the reign of Āṣaf Jāh. For his meritorious services Nāṣir Jung Shaheed awarded him a *manṣab* of rupees 2,000, colours, drums and the title of Raja. Muṣṭafānagar Fort was under his protection. Once, it is said that the English attacked the Fort in the year 1199 A. H. and the Raja defended it to his last breath, and, succumbed to the wounds he received in the battle. He was an able man, highly competent both in prose and poetry, and left a dīwān. He was also noted for his wit and humour.

Ghulām 'Ali Āzād trained and patronised him.

A few verses from his poems are quoted below :—

بیجا کنند غمزدگان شکوهٔ فلک
موزون چه فتنهاست که در چشم یار نیست

لب او گر درین محفل تبسم آشنا گردد
دل از ما ، بو زگل، مستی زمی، آب از گهر گردد

حسن او بے نقاب می بینم   رو کش آفتاب می بینم

ز سر کوے تو رفت آینه ترسان ترسان
چید گل از چمن حسن تو دامان دامان

ز ذات والا صفات ناصر بود جهان را بهار خوبی
بعز و اقبال و فتح‌ودولت چو خضر سازد خدا پیمبر

3. *Shafiq*, Lachhminarayan. His grandfather Bhawanidas came from Lahore to the Deccan with the army of 'Ālamgīr and settled down in Aurangabad. His father Hansaram wrote a book entitled 'Darbār-i-Āsaf Jāhī, which contains laudatory poems on the reign of Āsaf Jāh.

Shafiq was born in Aurangabad on the 2nd Ṣafar 1158 A. H. From his early youth he was educated and patronized by Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgrami. Ṣamṣāmud Dawla awarded him a manṣab and the title of Dulichand. He had an excellent taste for poetry. In the beginning he composed verses under the pen-name of Saḥāb; but when Āzād came to know about it he changed it to Shafīq.

Shafīq composed verses both in Persian and Urdu, and was considered one of the best of the pupils of Āzād. He held a high position among his contemporaries in poetry, historiography and authorship. His verses are characterised by simplicity of diction, gracefulness and high poetical excellence. His poetical works comprise two voluminous dīwāns, in Persian and Urdu; but, unfortunately, they have not been published as yet. His famous work entitled Gul-i-Ra'nā "Lives of Poets" is also unpublished. In this excellent work he imitated Ghulām 'Ali Āzād, his tutor, in scrutiny of facts, carefulness, accuracy and research. He has clear ideas about the subject the chooses to write on. He died in Aurangabad.

Shafiq produced several other works such as:

مآثر آصفی، مآثر حیدری، تذکرۂ شام غریبان، بساط الغنایم، مرآت الهند، نخلستان،
چمنستان شعراء، حقیقتهای هندوستان، خلاصة الهند وغیره

Here are reproduced a few of his Persian verses which he composed in praise of his venerable teacher Āzād Bilgrami :—

لا مکان است مقام آزاد — فوق عرش است خرام آزاد
خرمن هستی اعدا سوزد — برق رخشان حسام آزاد
جد او ساقی کوثر باشد — آب خضر است بجام آزاد
اے خدا وند جهان بار مدام — ساغر عیش بکام آزاد
صاحب هردو جهان است شفیق — هر که گردید غلام آزاد

A few of his other verses are as follows:

بر دل ما التفاتے هست چشم یار را — الفتی بسیار با مینا بود میخوار را
چشم او برما نگاهے گر ندارد عیب نیست — می شود پرهیز لازم مردم بیمار را

تعالی الله چه دولت شد میسر ناگهان امشب
که آمد برسر بالین من آن جان جان امشب

هم آغوشم بجانان طالع بیدار را نازم
مگر درخواب نوشین است چشم آسمان امشب

خدا گواه که مے را بلب نیا لودم
برائے مستی من چشم یار شد باعث

4. *Shādān*, Maharajah Chandulal writes in his autobiography عشرتکدۂ آفاق that his ancestors belonged to the Khatri sect and were natives of Muhrah near Lahore. They held important posts during the reign of the Moghul kings of Delhi. When Todermull became the Prime Minister of Emperor Akbar, he appointed his relatives and brethren in caste to high posts, among them being Shādān's family. They enjoyed royal favours till the reign of Muḥammad Shāh.

At the time when Nizāmul-Mulk Āsaf Jāh left for the Deccan, Shādān's ancestor Moolchand applied to Nizāmul Mulk for permission to accompany him. Thus he arrived in the Deccan.

In course of time Chandulal was appointed as the Collector of the Customs Department, and rising from one high post to another he was ultimately raised to the Prime Ministership of Hyderabad, and was awarded the highest title of Maharajah.

Maharajah Shādān was a great patron of learning. Being himself a poet and an author of high rank, he held 'ulamās, poets and all sorts of learned men in great respect. During the period of his prime-ministership poets and learned men flocked to his court from Persia, Hind, Sind, and other places. They were paid good salaries, the minimum being one hundred rupees and the maximum one thousand. He used to hold poetic assemblies and literary discussions after 12 o'clock at night. He composed verses in Persian and Urdu, and has dīwāns in both the languages, which have been published. His poetry was characterised by sublimity of thought and simplicity of diction. While he revealed literary taste in the gathering of learned men he discussed with mystics problems of the unity of God, path of truth and other doctrines of mysticism. Sometimes he eagerly listened to people recounting the miracles of the saints and at other times he argued with poets about the beauties of proverbs, metaphors and similes of the ancient poets. At times he attended meetings where devotional and mystical poems were sung. In the company of the historians he listened to anecdotes of chivalry and generosity of the great men of the past and felt edified, while he trembled at their cruelties and brutal deeds. With astrologers he talked of probabilities, of good fortune and misfortune.

In short he used to have talks with different people on different topics till 2 or 3 o'clock at night. Inspite of his going to bed so late, he was an early riser, and soon after that he was occupied with his daily routine work. His greatest fame and popularity were derived chiefly from his charity and munificence.

A few verses from his Dīwan are reproduced below:—

بسکه در ناز و نعم جان و دلم پرورد است

تاب هر رنگ ندارد که بود شیشهٔ ما

شکر شادان بچه عنوان بقلم نظم کند

دائم از لطف تو مملو است رگ و ریشهٔ ما

شبے زلطف هم آغوشم ار شود دلبر
شب‌برات نمایم تمام صحرا را

زلطف دولت جاوید عمر اے شادان
کجا خیال که نا مے برم مسیحا را

مکان لا مکانے را بجز دل جا کجا آرم
ندا از غیب می آید که اینجا لنگر اندازم

6. *Shād*, Maharajah Kishen Pershad, was Peshkar, Minister and Prime Minister of Hyderabad, Deccan. His father's name was Raja Hari Kishen. Maharaja Shād was born in Hyderabad in 1281 A. H.; and was brought up and educated here. His maternal grandfather, Chandulal had no son, therefore, Kishen Pershad was taken care of as his own son. He learnt Arabic and Persian from six scholars of these languages. He accuired great skill in calligraphy. From the early part of his youth he began composing verses and got them corrected by Bijjhulal, Tamkīn. Day by day his poetry progressed well. It is interesting to note that he also became a pupil of the late Nizām, Mahboob 'Alī Khān, with the pen-name "Āṣaf" in poetry. Being a great mystic and pantheist the greater part of his poetry deals with the topics of mysticism, pantheism and unity of God. This was greatly appreciated by the mystics. He was a staunch believer in equality in merit of all religions, therefore, he treated Ṣūfis, Pandits and Christian missionaries with great respect. High and low were all alike to him. In politeness he was unrivalled. His bounty knew no bounds. He was a great scholar of Persian and Urdu. He composed verses in these languages and his dīwāns have been published. One printed dīwān, Khumkada-i-Rāḥat especially contains eulogies on the Prophet Muḥammad. In this he has given expression to his deepest feelings of love and reverence for the Prophet, and the strong desire, which he cherished, for visiting the Prophet's country and his tomb. He was a gentleman with all round accomplishments. In short he possessed such sterling qualities as are not to be found in any man in this age of materialism.

He passed away in 1359 A. H. in Hyderabad, Deccan.

He was a versatile writer and produced about 40 books on different subjects; among his books are:—

بزم خیال (۳ جلدین) ' مطلع خورشید ' ارمغان ' وزارت ' مخزن‌القوافی '
مثنوی آئینۂ وجود ' ایمان شاد ' نغمۂ شاد ' وغیرہ—

The few verses quoted below will hardly do justice to his simplicity of style, sublimity of thought, critical insight and poetic excellence:—

مست تو ام از باده و جام آزادم

صید توام از دانه و دام آزادم

مقصود من از کعبه و بتخانه توئی

ورنه من ازین هر دو مقام آزادم

بجز آن خواجه هند الولی شاه

کسے دیگر مرا مشکل کشا نیست

نیست واعظ غیر عشقش در دلم درد دگر

منزل یار است اینجا منزل بیگا نه نیست

دلے که بود رفیقم رقیب شد آخر

گمان نبود که من مار آستین دارم

یک نفس غیر از وصال دوست نتوان زیستن

در طریق عشق دشوار است آسان زیستن

توبه کردی از گناه و غرق عصیا نی هنوز

واے برتو منفعل مردن پشیمان زیستن

Besides those persons who have been described above, there are other Hindu poets, authors and learned men whose names at least, must be mentioned here. For instance:—

Raghuender Rao, Jadhb, the composer of quatrains, Raja Girdhari Pershad, Bāqī, Raja Narsingraj 'Ālī, the poets, Raja Rajeshwar Rao Asghar (the compiler of the modern Persian Farhang, whose great Dictionary of Modern Persian words is yet to be published), Raja

Makhan Lal. Girdharilal and Bala Pershad (the authors of the Tā'rīkh Yādgār-i-Makhanlal, Tā'rīkh-i-Zafar Ārā-i- Deccan and Gulzār-i-Mu'āṣirīn) Basāvan Shādān, (the author of Amīr Nāma.), Āzād, Saran Bali Gaur, the relative of Raja Shivaraj Bahadur, and the other poets, Tamkīn, Rai Bhijulal; Ḥāqīr'. Mahasingh, Dāgh, Lala Nihalkaran, Fāḍil, Rai Jawala Pershad, Raja Madansingh, Mahtāb, Mohanlal, Nafees, Rai Bhawani Pershad, Hunar, Gian Rai; Waqār, Mudabbir-ud-Dowla, Munshi'ul Mulk, Raja Jawala Pershad, Muḥkam Jang and many others.

VII—Prākṛta and Jainism

(20) On the Text of the Dhūrtākhyāna

by

Professor Dr. A. N. Upadhye,
Kolhapur.

The Text of the Dhūrtākhyāna, a unique satire in Indian literature, has been edited by Sri Jinavijaya Muni[1] from three Mss., two of which, namely A and B, look quite old and may be assigned to the 16th century A. D. There is not the least doubt that it is the work of Haribhadra who flourished in the middle of the 8th century A. D.[2] Contrasted with the antiquity of the author, it has to be admitted that the Mss. of the Dhūrtākhyāna are of a very late period. To reach an ideally critical text, it is necessary that older Mss. of the Dhūrtākhyāna must be secured and collated. In the meanwhile I am presenting here a couple of passages quoted in the Sanskrit commentary of Abhayadeva[3] (of the second half of the 11th century A. D.) on the Praśnavyākaraṇāṅga. Abhayadeva does not mention his source, but the gāthās quoted have close agreement with the text of the Dhūrtākhyāna.

The Dhūrtākhyāna II. 28-30 run thus:

पुव्विं आसि जगमिणं पंचमहाभूअवज्जिअं गहिरं ।

एगण्णवं जलेणं महप्पमाणं तहिं अंडं ॥

वीईपरंपरेणं घोलंतं अच्छिउं सुचिरकालं ।

फुट्टं दुभागजायं अद्धं भूमीइ संवुत्तं ॥

तत्थ सुरासुरणायरमणुअचउप्पयमयं जयं सव्वं ।

जइ मायं ता गामो कह णु ण माइज्ज वालुंके ॥

With these may be compared the following lines quoted by Abhayadeva[4].

तत्राण्डकप्रसूतभुवनवादिनां मतमित्थमाचक्षते ।

पुव्वं आसि जगमिणं पंचमहब्भूयवज्जिय गभीरं ।

एगण्णवं जलेणं महप्पमाणं तहिं अंडं ॥ १ ॥

बीईपरेण घोलंत अच्छिउं सुइरकालओ फुट्टं ।

फुट्टं दुभागजायं अद्धं भूमी य संवुत्तं ॥ २ ॥

तत्थ सुरासुरनारगसमणुयसचउप्पयं जगं सव्वं ।

उप्पण्णं भणियमिणं बंभंड-पुराण-सत्थम्मि ॥ ३ ॥

The first five lines have much in common, if not practically identical. The last line shows that Abhayadeva is not *directly* quoting from the Dhūrtākhyāna. He specifies the source of Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa. It is quite reasonable to presume, therefore, that it must be an earlier passage which, by adding a relevant last line to suit the contextual argument, Haribhadra has employed in his Dhūrtākhyāna. By keeping the first five lines nearly identical, he has presented his facts in an authentic manner, based on an earlier source.

The Dhūrtākhyāna II. 32-37 stand thus:

सो किल जुगंतसमए ढदण्णोगण्णवीकए लोए ।

वीईपरंपरेण घोलितो उदयमज्झम्मि ॥

पिच्छइ गयतसथावरपणट्ठसुरणार तिरिक्खज्जोणी अं ।

एगण्णवं जगमिणं पंचमहाभूअपब्भट्ठं ॥

एवंविहे जगम्मि पिच्छइ णग्गोहपायवं अह सो ।

मंदरगिरिं व्व तुंगं महासमुद्दं व विच्छिण्णं ॥

खंधम्मि तस्स सयणं अच्छइ तहिं बालओ मणभिरामो ।

संपुण्णसरीरुदओ मिउमद्दवकुंचिअसुदेसो ॥

हत्थो पसारिओ से रिसिणा एहेहि वच्छ भणिओ अ ।

खंधे ममं विलग्गसु मा मरिहिसि उदयवाहीए ॥

तेण य घित्तुं हत्थो ओइलिओ सो रिसी तओतस्स ।

पिच्छइ उअरम्मि जयं ससेलवणकाणणं सव्वं ॥

With these may be compared the following lines quoted by Abhayadeva:

तथा—

सो किल जलयसमुत्थेणुदएणेगन्नवंमि लोगम्मि ।

वीती परंपरेणं घोलंतो उदयमज्झम्मि ॥ १ ॥

स किल मार्कण्डर्षिः ।

पेच्छइ सो तसथावरपणट्ठसुरनरतिरिक्खजोणीयं ।

एगन्नवं जगमिणं महभूयविवज्जियं गुहिरं ॥ २ ॥

एवंविहे जगम्मी पेच्छई नग्गोहपायवं सहसा ।

मंदरगिरिं व तुंगं महासमुद्दं व विच्छिन्नं[5] ॥ ३ ॥

खंधम्मि तस्स सयणं अच्छइ तहि बालओ मणमिरायो । [विष्णुरित्यर्थः]

संविद्धो सुद्धहिअओ मिउकोमलकुंचियसुकेसो ॥ ४ ॥

हत्थो पसारिओ से महरिसिणो एह तत्थ भणिओ य ।

खंधं इम विलग्गसु मा मरिहिसि उदयबुड्ढीए ॥ ५ ॥

तेण य घेत्तुं हत्थे उ मीलिओ सो रिसी तओ तस्स ।

पेच्छइ उदरम्मि जयं ससेलवणकाणणं सव्वं ॥ ६ ॥

ति, पुनः सृष्टिकाले विष्णुना सृष्टं कुदर्शनता चास्य प्रतीतिवाधितत्वात् ।

The agreement between these two passages is substantial, and the apparent differences are merely verbal. Here too Abhayadeva does not mention either Haribhadra or the Dhūrtākhyāna. As in the case of the above passage, there is no positive clue to the source. It is possible to argue both ways: either Abhayadeva has taken this passage from the Dhūrtākhyāna, or both Haribhadra and Abhayadeva are using an earlier source for their respective purposes.

Though the Dhūrtākhyāna is studied in details[6], there is still much scope to study its antecedents and sources in Indian literature[7]. The first passage possibly indicates that Haribhadra had before him some Prākṛta sources. A story like the one narrated by him is said to be found in the Niśīthacūrṇi[8]. I request other scholars to shed more light on the sources of the Dhūrtākhyāna.

FOOT-NOTES:

1. Singhī Jain Series, No. 19, Bombay 1944.

2. See the concluding gāthās and especially the symbolic term *viraha.*

3. Śrī-Praśnavyākaraṇāṅgam, Āgamodyasamiti Ed., Bombay 1919, pp. 33 f.

4. I have reproduced these passages almost as they are in the Āgamodayasamiti edition.

5. Better read *vitthinnaṁ.*

6. See my essay 'Dhūrtākhyāna: A Critical Study' included in the ed. of this work by Śrī Jinavijaya Muni noted above.

7. It is strange, if not audacious, on the part of Mr. H. R. Kapadia (Anekānta-jaya-patākaā, Vol. ii, Baroda 1947, Intro p. 125) to say specifically that I have not noted the common verse in the Prabhāvakacarita and its mention of Kitava-kathānaka-pañcaka. He has appropriated not only the contents but also expressions from my Critical Study. He should have read the whole Essay with open eyes and balanced mind, especially the foot-note No. 1 on p. 47.

8. My friend Dr. J. C. Jain informs me that the story is found in the Pīṭhikā, Vol. I, p. 92. This book has not been accessible to me as yet.

(21) FORGOTTEN LAND OF JAIN HERITAGE, PĀTALIPUTRA—THE ANCIENT THIRUPADARIPULIYUR IN DRAVID DESH]

by

SRI D. G. MAHAJAN.

Jain Ācārya Samantabhadra's name has been associated with the *Pāṭaliputra* and it has been a belief of the scholars till late, that Ācārya Samantabhadra has visited this Pāṭaliputra-named Patna at present. This belief has a basis in the following rhyme in Sanskrit in the inscription:—

पुर्वं पाटलीपुत्रमध्यें भेरी मया ताडिता ।
पश्चात् मालव सींधु ठक्क विषयें कांचीपुरें वैदिशें ॥
प्राप्तोहं करहाटकं बहुकटं विद्यात्कटं संकटं ।
वादार्थी विचराम्यहं नरपते शार्दुल विक्रीडीतं ॥[1]

It is an inscription found at Sravanabelgola, a most famous Tirtha-kṣetra-holy place of the Jain religion, since before the Christian Era, in Mysore State, South India. This being the only one of its kind, naturally much importance is given to it. My learned friend Pandit Jugalkishor Muktiyar[2] and others, on the strength of this inscription are led to believe that Ācarya Samantabhadra visited Pāṭaliputra-Patna during the travel he made in the country of the then Bhāratavarṣa, as referred to in the above inscription.

2. While on tour of South India, on the occasion of the Indian History Congress sessions held at Madras and Annamalai Universities in the years 1945 and 1946 respectively, for the research of the Jain culture in the ages before, I came across a town called Cuddalore, which was then known as Pāṭaliputra and hence a doubt arose in my mind as to whether the reference to Pāṭaliputra in the above inscription as the

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1. Sravanabelgola inscription No. 54 old and 67 new. It is also called "Mallisenapraśasti" which was written in Śaka Samvat 1050 *i.e.* A. D. 1100.

2. "Ātmamīmāṃsā" p. 4 referred to in 'Swami Samantbhadra' by Pt. Jugalkishor Muktiyar.

place which Ācārya Samantabhadra visited is to this Pāṭaliputra, a new find or to the other, which is now known as Patna in Bihar-North India.

3. For this one has to test the question from the following points of view :—

(*a*) Why should Ācārya Samantabhadra have gone to Pāṭaliputra in North India and whether it was a seat of learning and centre of religious activities then-in his times? Whether at all the town was in a flourishing condition as it was a capital of the Magadha—in that period? No doubt that Pāṭaliputra was a flourishing city in the times of Chandragupta Maurya, as the capital of Magadha. It lost its importance after the overthrow of the imperial throne of the Mauryan Dynasty, sometime in 184 B. C., when Puṣyamitra and his son Agnimitra—the founder of the Śuṅga Dynasty, occupied it, invading Magadha and tremendous destruction has been suffered by the capital-Pāṭaliputra, and Agnimitra took his capital to Vidiśā in Malva the modern Besanagar near Bhilsa in Gwalior State. The other capital was Avanti-Ujjain being at the other end of the Magadha Empire[3].

Again Pāṭaliputra was invaded by king Kharavela of Kalinga Desha, and of Hatigumpha fame and complete destruction was made in the 1st century B. C. of the city of Pāṭaliputra, due to the severe blow at the hands of King Kharvela when he invaded Magadha and made Agnimitra his vassal[4]. Thus evidently it will be proved that Pāṭaliputra was under complete destruction and never regained its lost importance and magnificence, glory and grandeur for ever. All these events took place before the Christian Era and since then there is nothing to the credit of Pāṭaliputra to show that it had regained the same past days, upto the times of Ācārya Samantabhadra, which means a very long and most considerable gap of time of nearly five hundred years or so. (*b*) Whether it was a seat of learning at the time of the visit of Ācārya Samantabhadra? Samantabhadra's time is so far fixed or supposed as Śaka Samvat 60, *i.e.* 138 A. D.[4-b]. From the above discussion it is clear that as Pāṭaliputra was under complete destruction, it cannot be a seat of learning and of importance in religious activities. Secondly why should Ācārya Samantabhadra go to Pāṭaliputra at such length from a place in Tamilnadu, when there were other most important

3. Ancient India' Vol. No. 4, page 113 and 114, by Dr. T. L. Shah.

4. (*a*) Ancient India' Vol. No. 4, page 113 and 114, by Dr. T. L. Shah.

(*b*) Mr. Lewis Rice in his "Inscriptions at Sravanabelgola" and preface to "Karnatakshabdanusasan" "Pattavali" published in Bhandarkar Oriental Report 1883-84, page 320 and "Swami Samanbtbadra" page 196 a Hindi book by Pandit Jugalkishor Muktiyar.

places of learning, namely Kanchipuram, Madura, etc., so near from the place from which Ācārya came in Tamil land the ancient Thondaimandalam. In the time of Ācārya, Urayur, Kanchi Madura and others were big centres of learning and all were in South India, full of Jain Mathas-monasteries, temples-Bastis and Pallis, schools etc. of the Jain religion[5]. It is also presumed that Ācārya might have taken Dīkṣā and become Muni at Kanchipuram or near about it as it appears from the later part of the said inscription[6] (c) Was Ācārya in a position to undertake such a long and hazardous travel, when he was suffering from a deadly disease "Bhasmakavyādhi" and hence can not be said to have undertaken such a risky travel at the cost of life, a good for nothing. From the sequence of the text of the inscription it appears probable that Ācārya might have visited Pāṭaliputra of Southern India-Tamilnadu, which was very near to his birth place and dīkṣāsthānam etc.[7] This will be clear from the following posibilities.

4. Pāṭaliputra in Tamilnadu is made out as follows :—

(a) In South India Kanchipuram or Kanchanapuram-the present Canjeeveram, Madura, Urayur, Bhaddalpur, Patalipur, Uragapur, etc., were the great centres of learning, and religion, activities and debates used to take place amongst Jains, Buddhists, Śivaites and Vaishnavsites on religious subjects. "Bhaddalpur" referred to in other inscriptions and manuscripts was no other than Pāṭaliputra or Patalipur, the ancient name in Tamil was 'THIRUPADARIYUR', the corrupt form of which is 'Thiruppapuliyur'-the present CUDDALORE TOWN, the head-quarter of the South Arcot District of the Madras Presidency[8].

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5. "Swami Samantabhadra" page No. 12 a Hindi book by Pandit Jugalkishore Muktiyar.

6. Sravanabelgola inscription No. 54 old and 67 new, as thus

कांच्यां नग्नाटकोह मलमलिनतनुर्लाम्बुशे पांडुपिंडः ।

पुण्डोड्रे शाक्यभिक्षुर्दशपुरनगरे मृष्टभोजी परिव्राट् ॥

वाराणस्यामभूवं शशिधरधवलः पांडुरांगस्तपस्वी ।

राजन् यस्यास्ति शक्तिः स वदतु पुरतो जैननिर्ग्रंथवादी ॥ १ ॥

7. Studies in South Indian Jainism page No. 30.

Prof. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle-Indian Antiquity Vol. XXI.

There father Pattavalies of the Digambars pages 60 and 61.

8. Prof. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle-Reports on the Archaeological Survey of India Vol. No. 1906-0-7.

In my tour in January 46, I visited the town of Cuddalore and made survey of the most ancient sites of the old city of Pāṭaliputra. The 'PETTAI' is the very ancient suburb of the town, nearly 2 miles away. There is a very old Jain Idol nearly 4½ ft. high in Padmāsana posture placed in the premises of a private person of Mandam village who celebrate the function supposing it the idol of Viṣṇu. The idol is placed on a raised platform under a big tree. It is coated with dark coating, due to applying oil by the villagers at the time of worship. No animal sacrifice is made before the said idol, the identity of the idol being not known to them. From here a straight road goes to 'THRIAHINDRAPURAM' a very ancient site, at the foot of a hill 100 ft. in height, on the bank of the river 'Gadilam'. There are several ruins and relics of the ancient times, spread all over the area of 12-15 miles, of the old city of 'Pāṭaliputra. There are ancient caves, palaces and temples, shrines, Mathas-monasteries, etc., in ruins fully buried under earth and debris, showing their existence in the past by old pillars and stones out of the said ruins. The main temple of Viṣṇu is also ancient and main shrine dates to the Pallava Period and fine specimen of ancient architecture is seen. The river Gadilam that flows on the North of Thiruppapuliyur at present, used to run by the south of it in olden days, along the Eastern Ghat Valley and even today we can notice the old bed of the river, which is very fertile land under cultivation at present. Visit to this place will quite convince a person that river was flowing on the south of the town in olden days. Some years before there was one Jain idol in the premises of the temple, but it is not found now. This idol was brought from the ruins in the part of the place[9].

The environment of Thiruvendipuram, the most ancient spot of Pāṭaliputra, can be verified fully and satisfactorily on the strength of the Tamil works[10], which deal with information regarding the existance of ancient Pāṭaliputra, in the heart of the Tamilnadu, from the very beginning of the Christian Era to the period of King Mahendravarman 1, who was converted from Jainism to Saiva sect at the instance of Saint Appar, who was himself a convert from Jain religion. The Viṣṇu temple in Thiruvendipuram has a very lofty Gopuram and large Sabhāmaṇḍapam, Garbhagṛham etc., about which it is said that Muni Vyāghrapāda worshiped Śiva under the tree of Padari or Patali or Padali and since then it got this name.

From Cuddalore Panruti town is nearly 15 miles away, which can be conveniently visited by railway train. A straight road goes to Tiruvadikai nearly 1½ miles from the town of Panruti. This is a small village nowadays having a most ancient temple which originally

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9. Epigraphica Indica Vol. No. 6 and Vol. 331.

10. Tamil "Periyapurāṇam", "Sthalpurāṇam", and "Thevaram" Rhimes etc.

belonged to Jain religion. The temple is famous by the name "Guṇadhareccharam'' which might have been worshiped by a great Jain Acharya Gunadhara or Gunabhadra; or the idol in the temple might have been installed by him. Besides it can not give a sound interpretation by calling so. The temple is in utter ruins. In the Mūlagṛham there is Śiva Lingam of a very large size, made of black granite with shining polish and Shalunka-the Yonipitham below it is very beautifully and artistically carved. There is also a Viṣṇu image in Sabhāmaṇḍapam. The original Jain Tīrthankar idol which was in the temple on the main Vedisthānam, has been thrown away and placed just outside the temple, under a Neem Tree by the side of the main street. The image is nearly 3½ ft. in height in Padmāsanà posture. Its original pedestal and upper portion of the head and face has been damaged badly. There is no inscription and Lānchanam on the pedestal of the image, but from the architecture it can be assigned to the Pallava time[11].

At a distance of few furlongs there is a big temple named "Virāṭeśvaram". It has a very lofty Gopuram in the rampart walls, inside there is a little tank and further there is Main Temple of Śri Virāṭeśvara. In the compound premises there is one Jain Image in Padmāsana posture, without any Lānchanam and inscription on the pedestal, nearly as large as the Jain image of the "Guṇadhar Viccharam" temple and of the same type, but not mutilated or damaged or obliterated, but in good condition, from all points of view. This is the same temple where famous saint Appar was converted from his original religion to Saiva Sect.[12] In fact this Appar who was Jain by birth became Jain Muni and was named "Dharmasen'', but he was very badly displeased due to difference of opinion amongst the Jain Sangha, whom he was leading as a head of it while he was on the way to visit Jain Tīrthakṣetra-holy place named *"Thirunarunkunram"* or *"Thirunarangondai"* on the banks of the river Gadilam, only 40 miles from Pāṭaliputra from where he was started. He returned to this Virāṭeśvaram temple and got converted himself and accepted the new sect Śaivism. Afterwards he converted the said Virāṭeśvaram temple, which was originally Śri Mahāvira Temple. This Jain Mahāvīr Temple was in the western part of the city of Pāṭaliputra the then *"Thirupadaripuliyur"* or Thiruppapuliyur, which is nowadays 15 miles away from the present town of Cuddalore in the above mentioned small old village Tiruvadikai or Thirivadi, on the Gadilam.

In support of the above investigation of the old sites of ancient Pāṭaliputra, let us examine some of the ancient Tamil and other works.

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11. South Arcot District Gazetteer of the Madras Presidency.

12. Tamil "Periyapurāṇam."

Tamil "Tevaram Rhimes" sung by Tamil Saints from time to time.

They throw light on the existence of Pāṭaliputra in Tamilnadu in the days of Ācārya Samantabhadra. It is well known fact that the city of Kanchipuram was the capital of Pallava Kings who rulled over the country of Thondaimandalam and the Telugu country upto the river Krishna. The country between two Pinaras was called Thondayamandal or Thondainadu. The present North Arcot Dist. of the Madras Presidency was called the Southern Pinar and the parts of the Nellore District and the Eastern Ghats were called the Southern Pinar. This country was divided into so many Nadus and each Nadu into many Kottams. This was the land which produced many great men and personalities, such as Pandits, Scholars, Munis, Yatis, Logicians, Philosophers, administrators, Naiyayiks, Vedantis various religions and sects that existed in the country[13]. Almost the whole Tamil literature is full of work of merit in literary field and civic life of the country Thondaimandalam and thus Kanchipuram was one of the big centres of learning in north of the country, with Pāṭaliputra in the centre and Madura in the southern part of the Tamilnadu[14].

It is quite clear from the Tamil works[15] that Pāṭaliputra was a very large and flourishing city, equally famous as the Pāṭaliputra-the capital of Magadha, in the time of Chandragupta Maurya. The city was spread far and wide, nearly 15 miles. This ancient Pāṭaliputra is mostly described in almost all the Tamil works and literature as the city of "Thirupadaripuliyur"-Thiruppapuliyur[16]. Now let us see how far Thiruppapuliyur means a city of Pāṭaliputra. The city was called after a tree Padari in Tamil, while Puliyur means a tiger village (*i.e.* Puli-a tiger and Ur or Oor-a place) Puliyur is the suffix given to those places-villages, towns, cities, etc. where Muni Vyāghrapād (Muni having a tiger like legs with lower body and above a human body) worshiped Siva Lingam under the tree Padari. The peculiarity of this tree Padari is said to be that it bears only flowers and no fruits, the leaves and flowers have got the value of disinfecting and hence it is used in Homas of the Saivaits, as combination of Vibhuties *i.e.* sacred ashes. The tree Padari is also called Padali or Patali in Sanskrit and the place Patalipur or Padalipur or Pāṭaliputra, and the forest round about the place is called "Patalivana" or as given in Sanskrit. Such type of description has been found in almost all the Tamil works and literature[17].

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13. Rao Bahadur Pro. A. Chakravarti M.A. Madras-his Historical Preface to "Kural" translated in English.

14. South Arcot Dist. Gazetteer of Madras Presidency.

15. Tamil "Patalipur Purānam" manuscript No. 1136/5.

16. Tamil "Puliyur Puranam" in Sanskrit.

17. A Tamil "Parijatakachal Mahatma" Mass. No. 11303.

Also we learn from Purāṇa[17b] and other works very fine description of this Pāṭaliputra, written at different times by different writers. While giving account of Patalivanam which was round about the city of Pāṭaliputra in those days through which the river Gadilam was flowing near the city it is said Patalivanam was abode of Munis and Rishis for centuries. We get even today a great number of Samadhisthānams or Nishadis of the ancient times with the prehistorical burial grounds spread throughout the Patalivana area[18].

The existence of the city of Pāṭaliputra is also supported by the Archaeological finds such as inscriptions and other material found in excavations made by Government-amongst which inscriptions are found from the ruined ancient temples at Pāṭaliputra. Out of which one was in the Garbhagṛham of the said temple. This inscription gives two stanzas about the description of the temple, which begin with "Talaitya Thirupadaripuliyur........" and states that the temple in the town of Patali of thick foliage has been founded for the deity named "Kadainyalom Mahadev" etc.[19]. Thus it is quite clear that "Thiru" in Tamil means "Sri" in Sanskrit, "Puli" in Tamil means a form of tiger and Ur in Tamil means a "Pura" in Sanskrit. In short it gives complete reference to the existence of the ancient Pāṭaliputra.

Even the Government records give us the information that throw sufficient light over the existance of the ancient Pāṭaliputra in South India, as described up till now in the above paras. It says thus "In Cuddalore which is the old Thirupadaripuliyur, there is the big temple honoured by the songs of Saiva Saints. There is the Chola inscription in the temple. It appears that during the times of Appar, the Jain Temple in this place was demolished and a Temple of Siva called "Gunapatiswaram" was built by Mahendravarman[20] at Thiruvadihai on the river Gadilam." Further we get reference in the publication that Pāṭaliputra was being called also as "Palibotra"[21]

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17. *b* Tamil "Kanchi Puranam" all manuscripts from the Maharaj Sarfoji Saraswati Mahal Library at Tanjore city, South India.

18. Tamil "Periyapuranam part II page 52 under the heading "Tirupuliyur and Titupuriyuratam" or 'Tiruviuttam' (Both Mass in the Tanjore Library.)

19. Tamil work "Thirupadaripuliyur-Kalambakam" a work veried structive directory by Mr. Tvkapiat Tewar.

20. "District History of South Arcot" by Mr. P. V. Jagadisha Ayya of the Archeaological Survey of India, page 35.

21. Mr. Apte's Dictionary page 1046 and "Classical Account of India" and

(*b*) The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medaeval India by Mr. Nundalal Day, M.A., B.L.

which was destroyed by the river that was flowing by the town in the middle of the 8th century A. D. Besides the destruction made by nature-rivers etc. of the old city of Pāṭaliputra, it was more and more the scene of dreadful and tremendous destruction made by Mahendravarman I of Madura and Saint Appar the new convert to Saiva Sect, and they jointly began to give such a crushing blow to Jain religion that it was absolutely rooted out from the land of Tamil, by converting the Jains and their possessions and associations and ultimately destroying Jain temples-Bastis and Pallis, Mathas-monasteries, Chaityas, caves, caverns, holy places, Jain idols and images carved on the Jain pillars, Mahamandapams, etc. It is said that thousands of Jains had to sacrifice to save their most valuable religion with possessions and associations, from the hands of these converts.

In the vicinity of this ancient Pāṭaliputra there are good many ancient Jain places still in existence, such as Thirunarankundram, Thirukkoilur, Devanur, Tondur, Perumdur etc. In some of the villages round about them, there are many ancient Jain Samadhisthānams-Nishadhis and as such the tradition is that nearly 6000 Munis Samādhisthānams are at Thiruvannamalai and Thirukkollur, in South Arcot Dist, No doubt there are prehistorical burial grounds spread all over the part in great number as compared to any other place in Tamilnadu. There are also ancient natural caverns and cars still in dilapidated condition at Kalarayan Hills. This district specially was a great centre of the Jains and their religion was quite at its zenith from the very beginning of the Christian Era, upto the times of Mahendravarman I. (6th century A. D.)[22].

From the above discussion the following facts are clear:—(1) Pāṭaliputra—the present Patna was not at its zenith and important place in the 2nd century A. D. when Ācārya Samantabhadra is said to have lived. (2) Ācārya Samantabhadra might have visited the Pāṭaliputra in Tamil land the ancient Thondaimandalam-South India, which is associated with other cities when Jain religion and culture had attained the hightest degree of importance.

Thus I have made an attempt to show this in my humble way. I have nothing to say about other scholars who also must have based their ideas about Pāṭaliputra-Patna, on some records or other. I have given this only with a view that the scholars may again try to find the truth in the light of observations made by me on the subject matter.

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22 (*a*) Gazetteer of the South Arcot Dist. and archaeological reports of the sourthern circle, Survey office Madras.

(*b*) Rao Bahadur Prof. A. Chakravarti M.A.—preface to "Kural" English translation.

(22) PUṢPADANTA'S RĀMĀYAṆA AND ITS COMPARISON WITH VĀLMIKI'S RĀMĀYAṆA.

by

SRI V. M. KULKARNI M.A.

Puṣpadanta gives the Rāmāyaṇa version in Sandhis (or Pariccchedas) 69-79 (both inclusive) of his Mahāpurāṇa, composed in the Apabhraṃśa language. These 11 Sandhis are of varied length, each Sandhi being divided into Kaḍavakas, unequal in number; thus Sandhi 69 has the largest number of Kaḍavakas, *viz*, 35 while Sandhi 76 has the fewest number of them, *viz*, 10. The titles of the various Sandhis are eloquent of the subject matter dealt with. These titles give an idea of the contents of the poem and serve as a table of contents.

69 रामलक्खणभरहसत्त हणुप्पजीणामजाजणिवारणंणाम

70 सीयाविवाहकल्लाणं

71 णारव-आगमणं रावणमणखोहणं

72 सीयाहरणं

73 सुग्गीवहणुवंतकुमारागमणं सीयादंसणं

74 हणुमंतदूयगमणं

75 वालिणिहणणं रामलक्खणविज्जासाहणं

76 णंदणवणमोडणं लंकाडाहं

77 राहवरावणबलसंणहणं

78 रावणणिहणणं विहीसणपट्टबंधो

79 रामलक्खणाहं गुणकित्तणं

With these preliminary remarks, we turn to Rāma's story as found in this ornate poem. Divested of all rhetorical embellishments, poetical descriptions of nature etc, and digressions that are not essential to the understanding of the story, we get the following outline of the Rāmāyaṇa as presented by Puṣpadanta :—

King Śreṇika Bimbisāra of Magadha requests Indrabhūti Gautama, the principal pupil of Mahāvīra, to instruct him correctly regarding

the life of Rāma, in accordance with Mahāvīra's own instructions, as the Rāma story told by Vālmīki contains many absurdities and lies regarding Rāma, Rāvaṇa, etc. Indrabhūti, thereupon, narrates the life history of Rāma as follows:—

In the city of Ratanapura in the Malaya country there was a King Prajāpati. His wife Kāntā gave birth to a son called Candracūla (the soul of Lakṣmaṇa). Vijaya (the soul of Rāma), the son of the King's minister, was a friend of Candracūla. In their youth they carried off by force Kuberdattā, the wife of a merchant called Śrīdatta. The King, when informed of this incident, ordered his minister to take them to the forest and kill them. The minister took them to the forest and showed them to a Jain monk, Mahābala, by name. He told the minister that the two youths were destined to be Baladeva and Vāsudeva in their third birth. They then turned monks, practised austerities. Candracūla once saw Suprabha Baladeva and Puruṣottama Vāsudeva on their way, and entertained a Nidāna that he should enjoy a similar fortune in his future birth. The two monks, after their death, were born as Gods Maṇicūla and Suvarṇacūla. In their subsequent birth they were born as sons to King Daśaratha by his wives Subalā and Kaikeyī; Suvarṇacūla was born of Subalā (birth day: Phālguna Kṛṣṇa Trayodaśī, Māgha Nakṣatra) and named Rāma; while Maṇicūla of Kaikeyī (birth day Māgha Śukla Pratipad Viśākhā Nakṣatra) and named Lakṣmaṇa. Rāma was of fair complexion while Lakṣmaṇa of a dark one. Besides these two, Daśaratha had two more sons called Bharata and Śatrughna. He was ruling over Vārāṇasī but subsequently, after the end of the Sagara family, he migrated to Ayodhyā.

Now there was a King Janaka, by name, who ruled over Mithilā. He was a follower of the sacrifice cult. He expressed his willingness to offer his (adopted) daughter, Sītā in marriage to him, who would protect the sacrifice. On his minister's advice, Janaka sent an envoy to Daśaratha to seek Rāma's aid. Daśaratha consulted his Purohita, who told him that the two boys should be sent to Mithilā for they were destined to be the 8th Baladeva and Vāsudeva and that they would destroy Rāvaṇa, the tormentor of the whole world. Daśaratha asked him about the rise and prosperity of Rāvaṇa. He narrated the history of the past life of Rāvaṇa:—

There was, in the city of Nāgapura, a King called Naradeva. He renounced the world and practised penance. On seeing a Vidyādhara, he entertained a Nidāna that he should have a similar fortune in a future birth. He was, after his death, born as a God. Now there was a King called Sahasragrīva of the Vidyādharas, who ruled over Meghaśikhara on the Vaitadhya mountain. He quarrelled with his kinsmen and shifted to Trikūṭagiri. There he built the city called Laṅkā. In that family of the Vidyādharas, the soul of Naradeva was born as son to Pulasti and his wife Meghalakṣmī, and named Da'sagrīva (Rāvaṇa). Maya gave his daughter, Mandodarī, by name, in marriage to him.

Once Rāvana was moving in his car called Puṣpaka. He came across Maṇivatī, the daughter of the King of Alakā. Maṇmatī was absorbed in her meditation. But the presence of Rāvaṇa disturbed her and she entertained a Nidāna that he should be her father in her next birth, carry her off in the forest and die on her account. She, after her death, was born as daughter to Rāvaṇa and Mandodarī and named as Sītā. As it was predicted that she would bring disaster on her father, she was put into a box and left buried in a field near Mithilā. She was discovered by a farmer while ploughing his field, brought to Janaka, who adopted her as his daughter. The *Purohita* advised Daśaratha to send Rāma to Jạnaka so that Rāma and Sītā would be married. Daśaratha did accordingly. Janaka gave his daughter in marriage to Rāma. Later Daśaratha got Rāma married to seven other girls and Lakṣmaṇa to sixteen girls. On Rāma's suggestion he and Lakṣmaṇa, with their families were sent to Vārāṇasī.

Nārada, notorious for his nature of provoking quarrels between others, went to Rāvaṇa and told him of Sītā's ravishing beauty. He suggested to Rāvaṇa to abduct Sītā, who was really fit for him. Rāvaṇa's mind was filled with a longing for Sītā. On the advice of Mārīca, Rāvaṇa sent Candra-nakhā (better known as Śūrpaṇakhā) to Vārāṇasī to know the mind of Sītā. She went to the park where Rāma and Sītā and other couples were enjoying various sports. She assumed the form of an old lady (Kañcukinī) and approached Sītā. She found that Sītā was a chaste lady and would never surrender her honour to Rāvaṇa or any other person. She returned home and reported to Rāvaṇa the outcome of her mission. Rāvaṇa then thought of abducting Sītā. Disregarding the opposition of Candra-nakhā, Rāvaṇa accompanied by Mārīca, set out for Vārāṇasī in his Puṣpaka car. They arrived at Vārāṇasī and found Rāma and Sītā in the park. Rāvaṇa forced Mārīca to assume the form of a golden deer and tempt Sītā. Rāma pursued the deer and got exhausted. The deer came back to Rāvaṇa, leaving Rāma at a far off distance. Rāvaṇa then assumed the form of Rāma and carried off Sītā to Laṅkā. She was kept in the Nandana-Vana park. Sītā then realized her misfortune. As he was afraid of losing his supernatural power by dallying with an unwilling woman, Rāvaṇa did not rape Sītā. He asked the Vidyādharīs to persuade Sīta to making love to him. The Vidyādharīs recommended Sītā to respond to Rāvaṇa's love but she paid no attention to their talk. She resolved that she would take food only on getting the news of her Rāma. If she failed to get any news of him, she would meet her death by resorting to Sallekhanā fast. About that time Rāvaṇa obtained the Cakra indicating his status of an Ardhacakrin.

In the park Rāma did not find Sītā. He made anxious enquiries about her but he could not get any information about her. He was overpowered with grief. Servants were sent in all directions in search of her. They found only the upper garment worn by Sītā. Rāma inferred that Sītā must have been carried off by some Vidyādharas. At that time, Daśaratha's messenger arrived. His letter read that it

was Rāvaṇa, the Lord of Laṅkā, that had abducted Sītā. Bharata, Satrughna, and tributory princes arrived there on hearing of Sītā's rape.

There arrived then two Vidyādharas; Sugrīva and Hanumān. Sugrīva narrated his story. His elder brother, Vālin, by name, had driven him away from the city called Kilakila. His companion was Hanumān, son of the Vidyādhara Pavana and his wife Añjanā. They had gone there to seek Rāma's aid in winning the kingdom of Vālin, on the good advice of Nārada. Now Hanumān volunteered to bring news about Sītā. Rāma offered him his ring and letter as tokens to convince Sītā that he was really Rāma's envoy. Hanumān crossed the ocean and arrived in Laṅkā. Assuming the form of a bee he entered Rāvaṇa's palace and made a close search for Sītā. At last he found her in the park. At night Rāvaṇa went to Sītā and tried to seduce her by requests, flattering words and even threats. Sītā made no reply. It was Mandodarī, who rebuked him. He, feeling ashamed of himself, went away. Mandodarī approached Sītā, closely observed her and found her to be her own daughter. She was grieved to find that the father should have fallen in love with his own daughter. Mandodarī told Sītā of her parentage, and asked her to take courage. Hanumān was glad to witness the whole scene. He sent all the Vidyādhara ladies to sleep, assumed the form of a Vānara and appeared before Sītā; he explained to her who he was and told her some secrets between her and Rāma thus convincing her of his being a true envoy of Rāma. She received with joy the ring and the letter. He asked her to take food with a view to keeping body and soul together. Next morning he returned to where Rāma was; and conveyed the news of Sītā to Rāma.

Rāma, greatly pleased, embraced Hanumān. On Sugrīva's advice he sent Hanumān as an ambassador to Rāvaṇa. He went first to Vibhīṣaṇa, who expressed profound sympathy with Rāma's just cause and took Hanumān to Rāvaṇa. Rāvaṇa however insulted him; and he returned with the angry reply to the proposals of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. Hanumān told Rāma that Rāvaṇa was not willing to make peace. At that time Vāli's envoy approached Rāma. Vālin was willing to form alliance with Rāma and help him in regaining Sītā, on condition that he drove away Sugrīva and Hanumān. Rāma sent a counter-proposal that Vālin should march with Rāma to Laṅkā and offer him his elephant-jewel Mahā-Megha so as to persuade him to drive the two allies away from him. Vālin did not agree to this. On the contrary, he gave a challenge to fight. They marched at Kilakila and Lakṣmaṇa killed Vālin and the kingdom was bestowed on Sugrīva. Later on they went to Kiṣkindhā, spent the rainy season there; the heroes secured supernatural powers by propitiating the Jina images.

They traversed the huge distance and reached the ocean. The spies reported to Rāvaṇa of the encamping of the enemies on the sea shore. At the news of the approaching army of Rāma, Vibhīṣana advised Rāvaṇa to return Sītā. Rāvaṇa was enraged at this. He

accused him of envy, and ill-will and cowardice. Vibhīṣana, greatly offended, with a view to retaining the independence of Laṅkā, allied himself with Rāma, who solemnly promised to install him as King in Laṅkā after Rāvaṇa's death.

Hanumān and other Vidyādharas assuming the form of monkeys invaded Laṅkā, destroyed the Nandana-Vana park and set the city on fire. Rāma, on Vibhīṣaṇa's information sent Vidyādharas to Laṅkā to disturb Rāvaṇa in his religious fast which he had undertaken to win supernatural powers. They went there and did the job.

Then Rāma and the whole army crossed the ocean in a celestial car built by Prajñapti lore. The two armies met. A fierce battle took place. Also some cases of single combat between the chief heroes of the two fighting armies. First Rāma and Indrajit fought. With Śakti Rāma sent his opponent into swoon. Rāma and Rāvaṇa then fought; Rāvaṇa killed counterfeit Sitā to dishearten Rāma. Vibhīṣana told Rāma that it was all Māyā. Later Lakṣmaṇa appeared on the scene, requested Rāma to allow him to fight with and kill Rāvaṇa. He ultimately killed Rāvaṇa. Surgrīva and other heroes met Sitā, told her of the war and victory and then they brought about reunion between Rāma and Sitā. And Vibhīṣana was installed by Rāma on the throne of Laṅkā.

Afterwards they wandered over the earth, Lakṣmaṇa lifted the Pūrva-koṭiśilā to the great amazement of all, and brought the whole earth under their control. They met Śivagupta Jineśvara, who explained to them the nature of Saṃsāra and the true Dharma. Rāma accepted the duties of a Jain householder. Lakṣmana because of his Nidāna in the past life remained indifferent to the true Dharma. After Daśaratha's death the two brothers migrated to Vārāṇasī, leaving Bharata and Śatrughna in charge of Ayodhyā. Rāma had a son, Vijayarāma, born of Sitā and seven other sons. Lakṣmaṇa had a son Pṛthvīcandra, born of Pṛthvī, and several others. After Lakṣmaṇa's death, Rāma put his son Pṛthvīcandra on the throne and himself became an ascetic. With Rāma, other heroes such as Sugrīva and Hanumān accepted asceticism. Sītā and other queens became nuns. In due course Rāma and Hanumān attained liberation. Sugrīva and Vibhīṣaṇa, and Sītā and Pṛthvī became, after their death, gods; Lakṣmaṇa went to Hell. In due course he would come up, practise penance and achieve liberation.

This summary of the contents of the poem reveals that this version is vastly different from Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa. Puṣpadanta has introduced remarkable changes and has transformed the story to suit his own purpose. These changes may be considered under three suitable headings: omissions, additions and modifications.

Omissions—In Book I, Bālakāṇḍa, we learn that when the sons had grown to manhood, the great Ṛṣi Viśvāmitra wen to the Court of

Daśaratha. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa went forth with him to slay demons, for which they were rewarded by the Ṛṣi with magic weapons. Viśvāmitra also accompanied the princes to the Court of King Janaka of Videha to attend Sitā-Svayaṃvara. Our version leaves out this portion.

In Book II, Ayodhyākāṇda, we are told of the events at the Royal Court, the Court-intrigue, the doings of Kaikeyī, the origin of the entire trouble, the death of Daśaratha owing to the grief for Rāma, Bharata's arrival, his reproach of Kaikeyī, his visit to Citrakūṭa to bring back Rāma, Rāma's firm resolve, Bharata's return with Pādukās and so on. Our poet entirely omits all these occurrences.

In Book III, Āraṇyakāṇda, we are informed of the forest life of the exiles, their stay in the Daṇḍaka, the killing of Virādha, the man-eating giant, their fateful meeting with Śūrpaṇakhā, the killing of Khara and fourteen thousand Rākṣasas, Śūrpaṇakha's flight to Laṅkā, her incitement to Rāvaṇa to gain possession of Sītā, Jaṭāyu the vulture and his attempt to save Sītā, the deliverance of Kabandha from a heavy curse by the two brothers. This whole section has no place in our version.

In Book IV, Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa, we come across Sampāti a brother of Jaṭāyus, who told the Vānaras, led by Aṅgada that he had seen how Rāvaṇa had stolen Sītā away and taken to Laṅkā. He described to them the position of Laṅkā and the monkeys descended to the ocean. But when they saw the immeasurable sea before them they simply despaired of getting across it. This episode is not to be found in our version.

In Book VI, Yuddhakāṇḍa, we are told of the construction of the bridge over the sea by Nala and others, of the repudiation of Sītā by Rāma, and of the Fire-Ordeal through which Sītā came out safe and thus proved her purity and innocence. Our poet entirely omits these famous scenes.

In Book VII, Uttarakāṇḍa, we hear of the desertion of Sītā by the model King, the refuge given her by Vālmīki, the birth of the twins, Lava and Kuśa, the horse-sacrifice organized by Rāma, Rāma's discovery of his sons, Sītā's oath to prove her innocence, her vanishing with Mother Earth into the depths, Rāma's renunciation of the throne, in favour of his sons and his entering heaven, where he again becomes Viṣṇu. There is absolutely nothing to correspond with this portion of the Rāma's story in the present version.

Additions—The most important additions by Puṣpadanta are the description of the past lives of the most prominent personalities of the

Rāmāyaṇa. The poet describes, with a wealth of detail, the previous lives of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Rāvaṇa and Sītā. The following table would help remembering the main points:—

Birth I	Birth II	Birth III	Remarks.
Vijaya born of Prajāpati's Minister at Ratnapura.	Suvarṇacūla born as a God in Sanatkumāra heaven.	Rāma born of Daśaratha and Subalā at Vāraṇasī.	Rāma is born of Subalā and not Kausalyā; birth day Phālguna Kṛṣṇa Trayodaśī, Māgha Nakṣatra. Fair Complexion.
Candracūla, born of King Prajāpati and Kāntā at Ratnapura.	Maṇicūla born as a God in Kamalaprabhā heaven.	Lakṣmaṇa born of Daśaratha and Kaikeyī at Vārāṇasī.	Lakṣmāṇa is born of Kaikeyī and not Sumitrā; birth day Māgha Śukla Pratipad, Viśākhā Nakṣatra dark complexion.
Naradeva King of Nāgapura.	Born as a God in Saudharma heaven.	Born of Pulasti and Meghalakṣmī at Laṅkā.	Rāvaṇa is a Vidyādhara and not Rākṣasa. He is an adherent of Jainism
Maṇivatī, daughter of King of Alakā.		Sītā born of Rāvaṇa and Mandodarī, adopted by Janaka.	Maṇivatī's own Nidāna responsible for her birth as Rāvaṇa's daughter and his falling in love with her and her abduction by him &c.

Further, Rāma is shown to have *seven* wives in addition to Sītā and one son, Vijayarāma, from Sītā and seven others. Lakṣmaṇa too is shown to have *16* wives and several sons. Again, the introduction of Śivagupta Jineśvara and his sermon on Saṃsāra and the true nature of Dharma, Rāma's adoption of Jainism, are some other notable additions.

Modifications—According to Puṣpadanta's version Daśaratha first ruled over Vārāṇasī and after the end of Sagara family he migrated to Ayodhyā. He did not perform any sacrifice to obtain the four sons. Daśaratha is shown to be alive even after Rāma returned from Laṅkā. The name of Bharata's or Śatrughna's mother is not even mentioned. Lakṣmaṇa is shown to be Kaikeyī's son. And the name of Rāma's mother is Subalā, not Kausalyā. Janaka gives his daughter Sītā in marriage to Rāma for guarding the sacrifice and there is no reference to the bending of Śiva's bow. The golden-deerepisode and Sītā's rape are differently told. Śūrpaṇakhā is portrayed in a much better way. It is Daśaratha who informs Rāma that Rāvaṇa has abducted Sītā to Laṅkā. The episode of Vālin's slaying is told in a different way. He is killed by Lakṣmaṇa in straight fight. Sītā is shown to be Rāvaṇa's daughter. (No adequate cause is given by the poet why Rāvaṇa does not return Sītā even after learning that she was his daughter.) Hanumat enters Rāvaṇa's palace assuming the form of a bee and not that of a cat, (or a horse-fly). It is Hanumat who is sent as an ambassador and not Aṅgada. It is in his third visit that Hanumat destroys the park and sets the town on fire and not in his first visit as is shown by Vālmiki's Rāmāyana. Because Hanumat appeared before Sītā in the form of Vānara, he is popularly called a Monkey-God! As an envoy of Rāma, he first meets Vibhīṣaṇa and then Rāvaṇa. The heroes secure supernatural powers by worshipping the Jinas. The army of Rāma crosses the ocean in a celestial car built by supernatural-power. In the battle Indrajit is only defeated by Rāma by putting him to swoon by Śakti and not killed. There is no mention of bringing medicinal herbs from the Himālayas by Hanumat. It is Lakṣmaṇa who kills Rāvaṇa and plays more active role in the whole story. Rāma first adopts the duties of a Jain householder and later after Lakṣmaṇa's death, turns a monk. Some other heroes too become monks, queens like Sīta turn nuns, Lakṣmaṇa goes to Hell and in due course, the poet promises, he would achieve liberation. After death, Rāma and Hanumat attain liberation while Sītā is born as a God. Rākṣasas and Vānaras are shown to be Vidyādharas by Puṣpadanta.

After noting these various changes in the story we turn to some other aspects of the story. The *atmosphere* of the Rāmayaṇa is purely Brāhmanical while that of Puṣpadadta's version is surcharged with Jainism. As regards the *characterisation*, we find that with Vālmiki, Rāma is an embodiment of Dharma, an ideal son, brother and King. Sītā is an ideal Hindu lady, an incarnation of fidelity and chastity. Lakṣmaṇa and Bharata stand for ideal brothers. Hanumat is an ideal devotee-Bhakta. Rāvaṇa is, in spite of his greatness, wicked, cruel,

cunning and lustful. Puṣpadanta by modifying certain episodes has removed the inconsistencies apparent in Rāma's character. (*e. g.* the slaying of Vālin and entirely dropping the Repudiation scene). Rāma is an ideal husband in spite of his rejection of Sītā as he loved her dearly and thought of no other woman. It is extraordinary that here we have been told that Rāma had eight wives. It is also shocking to a Hindu mind that Lakṣmaṇa should sink down in Hell. But sentiment apart, it is in accordance with the Jain law of Karman. Bharata and Kaikeyī who play such an important role in Vālmiki's story are almost ignored by our poet. Rāvaṇa is shown in more favourable light.

The purpose behind these changes—Puṣpadanta has deliberately made these changes. His main purpose is to illustrate the inexorable law of Karman and a special phase of it called Nidāna. This is why the previous lives of the heroes are added to the poem by our poet. There is also another object in introducing these changes and that is to remove some absurdities and inconsistencies found in the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki. (Thus Sītā is naturally born of Mandodarī. Hanumān is called a Vānara as he appeared before Sītā in the form of a monkey &c). Lastly, the Jain poet is interested in giving his version laden with the spirit of Jainism so that it may serve the followers of Jainism as a complete substitute for the great popular Hindu Epic the Rāmāyaṇa.

A comparison of Puṣpadanta's poem with those of his predecessors-Jain and Non-Jain-and the task of finding out his own contribution to the Rāma Story would be undertaken in a separate paper.

VIII—History Section.

(23) The Date of Nahapāna

by

Prof. Dr. A. S. Altekar.

The date Nahapāṇa is one of the knotty points of ancient Indian history and widely divergent views have been expressed on the subject. Messrs Dubreuil[1] and Bakhle refer the years of his inscriptions to the Vikrama era and would place him in the last half of the first century B. C.[2] Marshall also held the same view, mainly because of the imitation of the motifs of the Sanchi stupas in the caves of Nahapāṇa[3]. R. D. Banerjee placed him slightly later; he thought that Nahapāṇa and Rudradāman must be separated by at least a century[4]. Jayaswal placed Nahapāṇa's overthrow in 58 B. C.; he thought that the Vikrama era was founded by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi to commemorate his destruction of the power of the Śaka ruler Nahapāṇa[5]. R. G. Bhandarkar[6] and Rapson[7] refer the years of his inscriptions to the Śaka era and place his overthrow by Gautamīputra soon after Śaka 46 or 124 A. D. This latter view is at present generally subscribed[8].

There are, however, serious difficulties in accepting this view. Gautamīputra ruled at least six years after the overthrow of Nahapāṇa in or before his 18th regnal year. He, therefore, continued to rule down to 130 A. D., if we assume that Nahapāṇa was overthrown by him in his 18th regnal year coinciding with the (Śaka) year 46 of Nahapāṇa's latest record. Gautamīputra was succeeded by his son Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, who ruled at least for 25 years. The Nasik inscription No. 2 issued by his grand-mother Balasiri in his 19th regnal year gives a

1. Early History of the Dekkan, pp. 19-25.
2. *J. B. B. R. A. S., N. S.* Vol. I, p. 69.
3. *C. H. I.*, Vol. I, p. 537.
4. *J. R. A. S.*, 1925, p. 19.
5. *J. B. O· R. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 249.
6. *B. G.*, Vol. I, II, p. 166.
7. *B. M. C. A. K.*, p. cx.
8. Raichoudhary *P. H. A. I.*, p. 405.

glorious picture of the might of the Sātavāhana empire. According to Rapson and Bhandarkar its date cannot be earlier than 149 or 150 A. D. But Rudradāman I claims in his Girnar inscription, dated in 150 A. D., that he had twice defeated Śātakarṇi, the lord of Dekkan, and wrested away from him Aparānta (Koṅkona), Suratha (Kathiawar) and many other provinces. It is difficult to imagine that Balasiri would have thought of giving a glorious account of her son's conquests in 149 or 150 A. D., if they had all evaporated into air by that time. There are no indications whatsoever to suggest that Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi had suffered any defeat in his reign. It is further noteworthy that Rndradāman gives the name of the Deccan ruler overthrown by him as Śātakarṇi and not as Puḷumāvi. This Śātakarṇi was spared by him because he was not a distant relative. There is no evidence to show that Puḷumāvi had any relationship with Rudradāman. If we place the overthrow of Nahapāṇa in 124 A. D., it is difficult to understand how Rudradāman could have defeated a Sātakarṇi before 150 A. D. Surely that Śātakarṇi could not have been the great Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi[1].

In order to overcome this serious difficulty R. G. Bhandarkar and D. R. Bhandarkar advocated the ingenious theory that Gautamīputra and Vāsiṣṭhīputra were ruling together[2]. They maintained that the years in all the Nasik records are to be referred to the reign of Puḷumāvi. So the 19th year of Puḷumāvi was only one year later than the 18th year of Gautamīputra. Gautamīputra was alive in the 18th year of Puḷumāvi's reign, as also in his 19th year, when Nasik cave No. 2 was dedicated.

All this is difficult to understand and believe. Several arguments can be advanced against the view of Bhandarkars. If Gautamīputra was ruling at Paithana simultaneously with his son Puḷumāvi at Nasik, how is it that no single coin in the Jogalṭhembi hoard has been restruck by Puḷumāvi, who was the *de facto* ruler over the Nasik area? It cannot be argued that Vāsiṣṭhīputra struck no coins, because his father was living; for we have actually found several types of his coins. The argument that Balasiri's description in Nasik incription No. 5 that she was a Mahādevi and Mahārājmātā shows that she was both at the same time showing that her son was ruling along with her husband, is weak. In Nasik inscription No. 2, Balasiri is called *Mahādevī mahārājamātā and mahārājapitāmahī;* are we to assume that her husband, son and grandson were ruling at one and the same time? In this inscription, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi makes a grant, the merit of which he assigns only to his father. This would suggest that Gautamīputra was dead at the time when Balasiri got his eulogy engraved in the cave.

1. R. G. Bhandarkar has suggested this possibility in *B. C.* Vol. I, ii. but it is hardly believable. No other scholar has subscribed to this view.

2. *B. G.*, Vol. I, ii, p. 165. I. A., 1948.

Nor can it be argued that Nasik inscription No. 5 dated in the 24th year of Gautamīputra's reign refers to the monks staying in the cave dedicated in the 19th year of Puḷumāvi's reign. The cave dedicated in the 24th year of Gautamīputra's reign was a joint gift of that king and his mother; the cave dedicated in the 19th year of Puḷumāvi was a gift donated by the donor's grand-mother. A careful examination of the plan of the cave shows that what Gautamīputra and his mother excavated in the year 24 of the former's reign was merely the Verandah of the cave No. 3, having one room at its either end. What Gautamī donated in the 19th year of her grandson's reign was the big cave behind the present verandah, having 18 cells around a big court yard, 43×37 feet in dimension. It cannot be, therefore, maintained the record engraved in the 24th year of Gautamīputra presupposes the cave donated in the 19th year of Puḷumāvi. The earliest epigraph in this cave dated in the 18th year of Gautamīputra merely records the grant of a field to the monks; this field was till recently in the possession of Ushabhadāta, the son-in-law of Nahapāṇa. The next record issued 6 years later refers to monks residing in the cave (at Trirashmi mountain), which was a joint gift of Gautamīputra and his mother. So during the interval of six years, a small cave was constructed. The third record engraved in the 19th year of Puḷumāvi's reign refers to the cave *vimanavaranivisesa-mahadhikalena* as magnificient, and in no way inferior to a first class *vimāna* or divine temple.

The spacious cave obviously took about 20 years to excavate, and by the time of its dedication, Gautamīputra was no longer living. This made his aged mother sad and induced her to engrave the eulogy of one who was associated with her in the first dedication.

It is thus clear that we have no evidence to show that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi were ruling conjointly, rendering the defeat of a Śātakarṇi possible before the year 150 A. D. It is thus clear that the overthrow of Nahapāṇa cannot be placed in *c.* 124 A. D.

Can we then accept the view of Messrs Dubreuil, Banerji and Bakhle and place the overthrow of Nahapāṇa at the beginning of the first century A. D.? Arguments advanced in favour of this view are hardly convincing. Banerji relies much upon the palaeographical differences between the Nasik inscriptions of Nahapāṇa and the Girnar inscription of Rudradāman and concludes that at least one century must be presumed to separate the two records[1]. But Bühler has admitted the script of Ushabhadāta's records at Nasik is similar to that of Puḷumāvi's record there, thus showing that the two were more or less contemporary. In ancient India communications were difficult and it is, therefore, fallacious to compare the palaeography of the records of places separated by hundreds of miles. We can compare the script of Nahapāṇa's records at Nasik with that of the records of Gautamīputra

1. *J. R. A. S. 1925* pp. 19 ff.

Śātakarṇi and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi at the same place, and these are similar and contemporaneous.

The theory that the years of Nahapāṇa's records are those of the era of Ages founded in *c*. 60 B. C. has yet to be proved. It is a mere hypothesis. The argument that Nahapāṇa was a Parthian and his son-in-law Ushabhadāta a Śaka, and, therefore, the former should be presumed to be a viceroy of one of the great Parthian or Śaka rulers like Azes, Vonones or Gondopharnes is a weak one. Did not the great Śaka ruler Rudradāman flourish in the Deccan a hundred years later than the latest of the Śaka-Parthian emperors of the north? There is one important numismatic fact going against this view. In Nasik inscription No. 12 reference is made both to the silver Kārshāpaṇas and to golden *suvarnas*; 35 of the former are equated to one of the latter[1]. It is clear that gold coins were in circulation in the days of Nahapāṇa. Azes, Azileses, Vonones and Gondopharnes are known to have issued no gold coins. They became common only with Wima Kadphises and we can hardly place Nahapāṇa before his date. The argument that the intelligible Greek legend on the coins of Nahapāṇa points to an early date like *c*. 50 B. C. is not of much force, because we find that Wima, Kanishka and Huvishka were issuing coins in correct Greek language down to 150 A. D. It was further to be remembered that intelligible Greek legend appears only on a few coins of Nahapāṇa. On the majority of them it is altogether corrupt.

The architecture argument of Marshall is also not very strong. He argues that the form of the entrance door way, the lotus design on the face of its jambs, the miniature Persipolitan pilasters, the rails of the balustrade flanking the steps and the treatment of the *dvārapāla* figure beside the entrance at the cave of Nahapāṇa all bespeak a date approximately contemporaneous with the Sanchi *toraṇas* of about 50 B. C. In the first century A. D. or B. C., we had no daily newspapers publishing the photographs of new buildings on the morrow of their completion or dedication. The fashion at Sanchi may have taken some decades to become popular, and there is nothing improbable in the sculptures at Nasik imitating motifs that were in vogue at Sanchi a century earlier.

It is argued that the coins of the Jogalthembi hoard show that not all the pieces that bear the name and bust of Nahapāṇa were really issued by him. Scott, who analysed this hoard, points out how there are different types of busts to be seen on them; on some Nahapāṇa is short-necked, on others long-necked, on some he is straight-nosed on others hook-nosed; on some his face is pleasant, on others stern, on some he is lean and on others fat. While admitting the possibility of one and the same person being thus diversely represented by the artists of unequal capacity, he felt it more probable that the busts on the coins

1. Cf. *Panchatriṁśaka suvarṇakṛta*.

1. *C. H. I.*, I, p. 637.

of Nahapāṇa were not of a single king, but of a series of kings, sons and grandsons of Nahapāṇa, who retained on their coins the name of their great ancestor as a title of honour and for some strange reasons caused their features to be portrayed on their coins, while refraining to record their personal names[1].

This argument is ingenious but there are insuperable difficulties in accepting it. Contemporary history shows that even rulers like Jayadāman, who were quite insignificant, used to issue coins in their own names and not in those of their more famous predecessors like Chashṭana. It is, therefore, difficult to understand how the successors of Nahapāṇa should have obliterated their own names, if they were ruling over a prosperous kingdom. It appears that Nahapāṇa could get artists of only very inadequate capacity and qualifications. In the far off Dekkan, it was not easy to secure artists who would be well grounded in Brāhmī, Kharoṣh and Greek scripts and should also be good portrait engravers. Otherwise we cannot understand the undisputed fact of Greek script being corrupt on those coins where the bust is old. It is also significant in this connection that coins which have correct Greek script have corrupt Kharoshṭhi script and *vice versa*. It cannot be, therefore, maintained that the great Nahapāṇa flourished at the beginning of the 1st century A. D. and that he was succeeded by several successors, whose coins were counter-struck by Gautamīputra about a century later.

In my opinion Nahapāṇa ruled from *c.* 55 A. D. to 105 A. D.; this theory explains all known facts of contemporary history. (1) The years in his records need not be referred either to the Śaka or the Vikrama era. They are 41, 42 and 46 and can be his regnal years. On some of his coins his bust is like that of a youth of 25, on others like that of an elderly person of 45; while some coins show his face with sunken cheeks and teethless jaw, showing that he ruled right up to the advanced age of 70 or 75. A reign of 46 years was thus perfectly possible in his case. The years 41, 42 and 46 of his records can well be his regnal years.

(2) Gold currency, as show above, had come into vogue in the reign of Nahapāṇa. Its issue was started by Wima Kadphisis, who under no theory can be placed after 100 A. D.; he was probably ruling as early as 50 A. D. We can, therefore, very well understand the reference to the *suvarṇas* or gold coins in the records of Nahapāṇa's son-in-law, if we place his reign between *c.* 55 and 105 A. D.

(3) The *Periplus* states that Ariake belonged to the kingdom of Nambanus, whose capital was Miunagar. Fleet has shown how a copyist's mistake would convert Nahapāṇa into Nambanus. The *Periplus* was written in the latter half of the Ist century A. D. and we can well understand its reference to Nahapāṇa as a contemporary ruler, if we place him between 55 and 105 A. D.

1. *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XXII, p. 236.

(4) Numismatic facts can also be well explained by this theory. If Nahapāṇa ruled from *c.* 55 A. D., the time of his predecessor Bhūmaka would be from *c.* 30 to 55 A. D. He is thus separated only by about 25 years from Spalyrises and Azes II. We can, therefore, well understand how he should be adopting on the reverse of his coins the motif of Arrow, Thunderbolt and Pellet, which is strongly reminiscent of the motif of Arrow, Discus and Bow, which occurs on the joint coinage of Spalyrises and Azes II. Nahapāṇa who ruled from *c.* 55 A. D. naturally continues this motif.

(5) It is generally agreed that the Mathura Kshatrapa Rajuvula and Śoḍāsa were ruling in the first quarter of the first century A. D. We can then well understand how the motif of the Lion capital, which was dedicated by these rulers should appear on the obverse of the coins of Bhūmaka who was separated from them only by a decade or two.

(6) All known facts of Sātavāhana history can be explained only by the hypothesis of Nahapāṇa's rule during 55-105 A. D. and by no other. (a) It is now generally accepted that the king Polemaios of the Deccan and Tistanes of Ujjayinī, whom Ptolemy mentions as contemporaries, were Puḷumāvi and Chashṭana, the grand-father of Rudradāman. Chashṭana came on the sceue after the overthrow of Nahapāṇa in *c.* 110 A. D. Soon after that date Puḷumāvi succeeded his father. We can, therefore, well understand how Ptolemy writing in *c.* 140 A. D. should mention these two as recent contemporary rulers.

(b) The huge Jogalthembi hoard does not contain any coins of Chashṭana, Jayadāman or Rudradāman. Obviously the power of these rulers had not yet penetrated to northern Maharashtra, nor had commerce introduced them at Nasik. It was probaly buried in panic on the eve of the threatened invasion of Rudradāman in *c.* 140 or 145 A. D. The counterstruck coins of the hoard were thus current for about 40 years and we can therefore well understand how they were considerably worn out by that time.

It is clear that Gautamīputra defeated Nahapāṇa himself and not any of his successors. In his earliest inscription at Nasik dated in his 18th regnal year, he donates a field in the village Kakhadi, which is expressly described as enjoyed by Ushabhadāta. This Ushabhadāta can hardly be any other than the son-in-law of Nahapāṇa. There are scores of land grants recorded in the inscriptions in the caves in Western India. None of them, except the present record, gives the name of the former owners of the fields granted. If it is mentioned in this case, the reason must have been the well-known position of the earlier owner. The monks wanted some lands and Gautamīputra in the flush of his victory gave them a field owneed by the son-in-law of his great enemy. It would however appear that at the disappearance of Ushabhadāta, his retinue was withdrawn from the village, which resulted in its practical desolation. It soon became a deserted

village and therefore the monks approached Gautamīputra six years later with a request for the exchange of the above field. We can hardly explain the total desertion of the village of Kakhaḍi within a short period of less than six years, unless we assume that Ushabhadāta, who is mentioned as the owner of the field was the son-in-law of Nahapāṇa.

(*d*) According to our theory Nahapāṇa was overthrown in *c.* 105 A. D. Gautamiputra ruled at least six years more and his death and the accession of his successor Puḷumāvi may be placed in *c.* 112 A. D. The latter ruled for at least 24 years as proved by the inscriptions, if not for 28 as stated in the Purāṇas. He thus becomes a contemporary of Chashṭana, who was ruling at about 130 A. D.

The long eulogy of the conquests of Gautamīputra issued in the 19th year of his son's reign suggests that down to the time of its issue in 131 A. D., the conquests remained intact. There is nothing to suggest that Puḷumāvi was defeated by Rudrādaman before 131 A. D.

The Aṁdhao inscriptions of the latter only show that in 130 A. D. Rudradāman was trying to lay down the foundation of a small principality in the desert of far off Kachha. There is nothing to show that he had by that time inflicted any defeat on Puḷumāvi and wrested away from him Gujarat, Kathiawar or Aparanta (Kokan).

It is further noteworthy that the king of the Deccan defeated by Rudradāman is expressly named by him in his Girnar record and his name is Śātakarni. He could obviously not havc been the great Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi; nor could he have been Puḷumāvi, for the simple reason of his name not being Śātakarṇi. To argue that the Girnar record loosely refers to Puḷumāvi as a Śatakarni as the latter name was common in the Sātavāhana dynasty is hardly convincing. We are entitled to presume that an official eulogy cannot vaguely refer to a king who was defeated twice by the hero praised in it. The name given must be a personal one especially since the king defeated was also a not distant relative of Rudradāman.

Who then was this Śātakarṇi and how was he related to Rudradāman? Kaṇheri inscription No. 11 records the gift of a minister of a queen of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śri Śatakarṇi who is described as a daughter of Mahakshatrapa Ru .... Unfortunately the name of this queen's father is not fully preserved, but it is obvious that he can be none other than Rudradāman I. The next Śaka ruler, whose name begins with *Ru* is Rudrasiṁha; but he ruled as Mahākshatra from *c.* 181 A. D., his daughter could hardly have been married to Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śātakarni, who from his name appears to have been a brother of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, who was ruling from *c.* 112 to 136 A. D.

The fact that Jayadāman did not assume the higher title of Mahākshatrapa, which was claimed by his father is also significant. The proud claim of his son Rudradāman that he had won that higher

title for himself would show that Jayadāman was defeated most probably by Puḷumāvi in *c.* 130 A. D. The victor may have demanded the marriage of his younger brother Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śātakarṇi with a Śaka princess and a daughter of Rudradāman, the son of the defeated king, may have been married to him in *c.* 130. It is also not impossible that while struggling for existence, Jāyadāman and Rudradāman may have themselves made a proposal for this matrimonial alliance hoping to improve the status of their family by it. That Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śātakarṇi of the Kanheri record did actually rule as an emperor is shown by a unique coin of his in the Prince of Wales Museum which closely imitates the Kshatrapa prototype.[1] The presence of a Śaka princess in the capital as the queen of the issuer will sufficiently explain the adoption of the Kshatrapa type for a few of his silver coins by the husband.

According to Purāṇas Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi was succeeded by Śivaśri, who is expressly described as Sātakarni by the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*. He ruled for seven years and according to our chronology his reign would be between *c.* 135 and 142 A. D. His successor is described simply as Śivaskandha by *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and *Bhāgavata*, but as Sivaskandha Śātakarṇi by the *Matsya* and the *Brahmāṇḍa*. The exact period of his rule is not recorded in any Purāna. but it may well have been from *c.* 142 to *c,* 157 A. D. Both these kings were undoutedly Sātakarṇis as shown by the Pauranic evidence and they were also the contemporaries of Rudradāman, Probably the latter was defeated by Rudradāman.

Could Rudradāman have defeated and humiliated his grandson through his daughter two times? Kings in ancient times had many wives and Śivaskanda Śātakarṇi may have been a son of Vāsiṣṭhīputra through a queen other than the Śaka princess. As he was a step-son of his daughter, Rudradāman naturally described him as related not very distantly *sambandhāvidūratayā.*

All the known facts of history can thus be satisfactorily explained by assuming that Nahapāṇa was overthrown by Gautamīputra in *c.* 105 A. D. Rudradāman avenged this defeat by twice defeating Śivaskandha Śātakarṇi, who was most probably a grandson of Gautamiputra but probably not born of his Śaka daughter-in-law and earlier wife. And now we can well understand why Rudradāman describes his relationship with the Śātakarṇi he overthrew as not distant. He was the step son of his daughter and so his relationship with Rudradāman was neither close nor distant; the record therefore naturally describes it as *avidūra* or not distant. It is not impossible that by the time of the outbreak of the war Rudradāman's widowed daughter had repaired to her father's capital after her husband's death in *c.* 142 A. D.; her relations with her step son Sivaskanda Śātakarṇi, the ruling Sātavāhana emperor, might have been far from cordial, and she might not have

1, *J. N. S. I.*, XI, p.

been inclined to oppose her father's invasion of her late husband's kingdom tooth and nail. Out of regard for her feeling, however, Rudradāman may have refrained from pressing his victories home when he defeated Śivaskanda in two successive battles between 148 and 150 A. D. and was in a position to annex Gujarat, Mālvā and Konkan.

It is interesting to note that if we assume that the first Sātavāhana ruler Śimuka rose to power in *c*. 225 B. C. and add together the reign periods of the 22 predecessors of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, the period of the latter's rule, is found to be *c*. 90 to 114 A. D. Four successive Sātavahana kings Manḍalaka, Purindra-sena, Sundara Svatikarṇa and Chakora had short reigns of five, five, one and half a year respectively during *c*. 52 to 63 A. D. It was just at this time that Bhūmaka and Nahapāṇa were trying to snatch away several provinces of the Sātavāhana empire. Some of these kings may have fallen in the long war thus ruling for short periods only.

It will be thus seen that all the known facts of history can be best explained only on the assumption that Nahapāṇa was overthrown by Gautamīputra in *c*. 105 A. D. The theories that he ruled at the end of the first century B. C. or that his inscriptions are dated in the Śaka era have to be given up.

(24) "Modoura, the (...) of the Gods" of Ptolemaios

by

Prof. Schrader-Kiel.

In the chapter "Menander and his kingdom" of his monumental work "The Greeks in Bactria and India" Cambridge, 1938) Dr. W. W. Tarn has discussed the names of the towns in what must have been Menander's kingdom as given by the geographer Ptolemy in a valuable list plotted out by him from a mass of material (itineraries, etc.) now mostly lost but which must have then been at his disposal. Among them is also Mathurā, which is mentioned as *Μόδουϱα ἡ τῶν θεῶν* *i. e.*, in literal translation into Sanskrit, *Madhurā yā devānām* (translation ours). This (the Greek name), says T. (p. 251), "is generally rendered either as 'Mathurā of the gods', which does not translate the Greek, or 'Mathurā, the city of the gods' ", which "cannot be the correct translation". Mathurā, no doubt, was a famous centre of religious thought, full of religious buildings, Vaiṣṇava, Buddhist and Jain ones, and in this respect could well have been called a "city of the gods". But why then the Greek should not have called it so, *viz.* Theo-polis? Because says T., there is no instance in Greek "where with a definite article followed by the genitive of the person the omitted word is 'city'; it is always 'son' or 'daughter'-that is the regular Greek usage-and there is no reason for translating Ptolemy's phrase differently because the genitive of the person is plural and not singular; '*daughter of the gods*' is good English and good Latin, and I think good Greek also" (three foot-notes referring to Tennyson's Dream of Fair Women, Virgil, and Hephaestion of Thebes), especially when you are not too sure just which god it might be" (p. 352). "Ptolemy must witness to some lost story about a nymph Modoura who personified Mathurā and was really an Indian Yakṣi" (p. 253).

It is hard to subscribe to this view. It suffers from the inaccuracy which was found in other places of Tarn's book by U. N. Ghoshal in his excellent review in the Indian Historical Quarterly of December 1938 (pp. 857 ff.). There is, of course, that Paurāṇic story of Śatrughna's founding Mathurā on or near the place where he had conquered the stronghold Madhu (vana) of Lavaṇa, son of the demon Madhu. But there is nothing in it about a Yakṣa or Yakṣiṇī. And no Yakṣiṇī would be called "daughter of the gods". Mathurā, which is called MéIoga, with the *th* preserved, by Megasthenes (3rd century B. C.), is not known in Indian literature as a personal name. The ἡ "the"

following it in the phrase can therefore only refer to the city, not to a person. Śatrughna, however, who founded it, and the two brothers Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, both of whom were born there, were all of them Avatāras, full or partial ones, of Viṣṇu. Could not these have made the city appear to be one "of the gods"? This much is certain that the plural cannot possibly here refer to a single person. But the phrase does not sound Indian. Could it then be an incorrect translation of an Indian epithet (such as *deva-prastha*) used to distinguish this Mathurā from other towns with the same or a similar name? Perhaps this can be sustantiated from Indian literature.

(25) On the date of the Ellora Plates of Dantidurga

by

Sri G. S. Gai, Dharwar.

These plates have been published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXV, pp. 25-31. The date-portion has been read as Saṁ 600 60 3 *A* (*Ā*) *śvayuja śuddha trayodaśyāṁ Somavāre* and this year has been referred to the Śaka era. Recently Professor Mirashi has questioned both the reading of this date and the era to which it is referred[1]. His arguments are:

(i) The details of the date do not work out satisfactorily and, therefore, it is doubtful if the date really refers to the Śaka era.

(ii) Since there is no reference to the Śakas or Śaka kings, the date is plainly not in the Śaka era.

(iii) The reading of the date is incorrect. The sign for 100 is followed by the sign which denotes 4 and not 6 so that the symbol has to be read as 400 instead of 600. Thus the date is 400 60 3 *i. e.* 463.

(iv) This revised date must be referred to the Kalachuri era and since the usual epoch of A. D. 248-49 of this era does not yield satisfactory results here, the date has to be referred to the newly suggested epoch of A. D. 250-51 which would then make the date regular[2].

After going through these arguments of Professor Mirashi, one gets the impression that just with a view to finding out a second instanc of the use of the epoch of A. D. 250-51 of the Kalachuri era, he has hit on the date of the Ellora plates and has tried to adjust it to suit his case. Let us consider his views point by point in the order given above.

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1. *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, vol. XXV, pp. 84-5. The Professor seems to have discussed this question in further details in his article on Dantidurga which still awaits publication.

2. According to Professor Mirashi, this revised date of the Ellora plates supplies a second instance of the epoch of A. D. 250-51 of the Kalachuri era, the only other instance being furnished by the date of the newly discovered Nagardhan plates of Svāmirāja (*Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXVIII, pp. 1 ff.)

(i) It is not convincing to say that because the details of the date do not work out satisfactorily, the date does not refer to the Śaka era. There are several records which specifically mention the Śaka and other eras but the details of the dates do not yield satisfactory results. In such cases, we have only to say that these dates are not regular. It is also possible that we do not know what almanacs were followed while recording the dates in those days and that our present method of verifying them from the tables like those given in the *Indian Ephemeris* may not be too perfect.

(ii) The second point relates to the absence of specific reference to the Śakas or Śaka kings. It may be noted that in many Rāṣṭrakūṭa records the date is expressed in words as well as in figures in one and the same record and a word like *aṅkataḥ* or *aṅkatō-pi* is used in connection with the latter expression. Reference to the era is made while giving the date in words and the date in figures is preceded by the expression *Saṁvat*, without the specification of the era[3]. Since the Ellora plates record the date only in numerical symbols and not in words as well, it is possible that the writer has omitted the reference to the Śakas or Śaka kings. The date of the Kanheri inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha I[4] is recorded, without specifying the era, as *samva* [765] and there is no doubt that this date refers to the Śaka era. Therefore, there can be no objection to the date of the Ellora plates being referred to the Śaka era.

(iii) The third point refers to the reading of the date. It is not possible to agree with Professor Mirashi in taking the sign which follows that for 100 as denoting 4 instead of 6. The Professor attaches more importance to a cross line in the lower portion of this symbol than to its entire shape which is like . A reference to plate LXXI-lower section (figures for 6) and plate LXXIV-lower section (figure for 600) in Ojha's *Indian Palaeography* would clearly show that the symbol under consideration is 6 only and not at all 4. So the reading of the year as 600 is quite justified. In this connection attention may be drawn to the symbol for 600 found in the Antroli-Chharoli grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Karka II of date Śaka 679[5] expressed both in words and in numerals.

Let us now examine what is called the cross bar at the lower end of the sign for 6 (in 600) on which the Professor takes his stand.

3. See Kielhorn's *List of Southern Inscriptions*, Nos. 4, 73, 77, 92 and 105.

4. *Ibid.*, No. 72.

5. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XVI, plate between pp. 108-09. A similar symbol for 600 is used in the Manor plates of Mangalarasa, dated Śaka 613. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 17 ff.)

A clue to the method of writing and engraving of copper-plate grants is obtained by a close study of some of these records. It seems that the writer first wrote down the inscription on the plates with some paint or ink and then the engraver was engaged to carve out the letters accordingly. In order to ensure the proper size and shape of each individual letter-curves, lines, loops, circles, etc.-the writer seems to have made use of dots or points at various places[6]. Afterwards these dots were removed and only the letters were inscribed. But sometime, through oversight or mistake, these dots remained there and the engraver did not omit to carve them also, along with the letters. A fine specimen of such a record is supplied by the Nagardhan plates of Swāmirāja, printed facsimiles of portions of which accompany the article of Professor Mirashi[7]. In these facsimiles we notice, for example, the dots found along with the individual letters of the word *utsarppaṇārtthaṁ* in line 14. In the Ellora plates of Dantidurga also we notice that some of these dots have been retained and engraved along with the letters proper. For example, in the letter *a* of *asmad*- (line 21) two dots can be seen on the two sides of the horizontal line. In the same line of the record such dots are also seen with the letters *nu*, *ma* and *nta*. It is, therefore, likely that the so-called cross at the lower portion of the sign for 6 in the date of Ellora plates stands for two such dots, rather elongated, on either side of the line which were intended to secure the proper place and shape of that line. So it may not be a cross at all[8].

(iv) Whereas the year of the date has been shown to read as 600 only, the question of referring it to the Kalachuri era does not arise and has, therefore, to be left out of consideration[9].

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6. Somthing like what modern ladies do while drawing artistic designs with colour-powder (*Raṅgavalli*). It is also not unlikely that the cross bar may have been intended to connect the sign for 6 with that for 100. In the numeral 600 occurring in the Antroli Charoli grant cited above a cross-bar connects both the signs for 100 and 6.

7. *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXV, plate facing p. 86.

8. Cf. the actual cross of the line in the case of the subscript *ka* in *śushka* in line 25 of this record.

9. It may, however, be remarked that though the eras are prevalent region-wise, not a single record of this Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty has been discovered so far which is dated according to the Kalachuri era. It may also be observed, in passing, that with all the adjustments suggested by Professor Mirashi in regard to the date of the Ellora plates to make it regular, the verification shows that the thirteeth *tithi* was current only for .07 of that day (*i. e.* Monday) and was followed by the Fourteenth *tithi* which was current for the rest of that day.

Thus Professor Mirashi's view that the date of the Ellora plates of Dantidurga should be read as 463 and should be referred to the Kalachuri era are not tenable.

Having confirmed the reading of the first symbol in this date as denoting 600, let us proceed to consider the second symbol which has been read as 60 by S. K. Dikshit, the editor of these plates. This symbol is like 4 and resembles the shape of the Devanāgarī letter *pa* which also forms the basis of the figure for 40 in early records. A comparison of the symbols for 40 given in plate LXXII—lower section (figures for 40) and plate LXXV—upper section (figure for 45) in Ojha's book would show that the sign in the Ellora plates under discussion resembles the symbol for 40 with the exception of a small stroke at the lower end. I, therefore, propose to read this symbol in the Ellora plates as denoting the figure 40 instead 60, so that the date would be (Ś.) 643 and not (Ś.) 663 as read by the editor of the record. This revised reading of the date *viz.* Śaka 643, *Âśvayuja śu 13*, *Somāvara,* would regularly correspond to Monday, 8th September, A. D. 721 when the thirteenth *tithi* was current. till 69 of that day[10].

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10. It is proposed to discuss separately the implications of this early date for the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dantidurga.

I take this opportunity to express my indebtedness to Professor Mirashi who was kind enough to send me reprints of some of his learned articles, the reading of which stimulated my interest in the topic discussed above.

(26) Samudragupta's Aśvamedha

by

Sri Jagan Nath, Jullundur.

The performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice by Samudragupta is an outstanding event of his reign and the Gupta Kings themselves looked upon it as an exceptionally great achievement. Samudgragupta struck a special class of coins to commemorate the performance. In the records of his successors, Samudragupta is invariably given the epithet of *cir-otsann-āśvamedh-āharttā*. This epithet has been translated by Dr. Fleet as "the restorer of the Aśvamedha sacrifice that had been long in abeyance"[1]. This rendering gives the impression that the performance of this time-honoured Vedic rite had not been witnessed for a long time past, so that Samudragupta was virtually to be credited for reviving an extinct practice. White it is easy to rectify one of the mistakes in this translation—namely, to translate *āharttā* as 'performer of a sacrifice' for ā+√hṛ means 'to offer a sacrifice'—it is more difficult to explain the word *cir-otsanna*. Several explanations have been attempted by eminent writers.

As early as 1923, Dr. Hemchandra Roychaudhury observed as follows:—

"But it should be noted that the Aśvamedha was celebrated by several Kings during the interval which elapsed from the time of Puṣyamitra to that of Samudragupta, *e.g.* Śātakarṇi, the husband of Nāyanikā, Pravarasena I Vākāṭaka, and the Pāllava Śivaskandavarman. It is probable, however, that the court poets of the Guptas knew little about these southern monarchs"[2]. However this explanation does not seem to be adequate, for the conquest of the eastern coast of the Deccan, must have established closer contact between the North and the South, and the Gupta officers could not have been unaware of important happenings at the Southern courts.

About the same time Shri D. B. Diskalkar also raised this point. Writing in the Indian Antiquary he said:—

"Kings like Pravarasena and Bhavanāga may not have as good a reason to celebrate the horse-sacrifice as Samudragupta undoubtedly

1. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum III, 44, 54.
2. Political History of Ancient India, First edition, p. 281.

had, yet the rite as such was in practice not very long before Samudragupta and how can it be said that he revived it"[3].

The point has also been dicussed at some length by Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyyangar in his admirable monograph—*Studies in Gupta History*. He remarks "Gupta inscriptions generally describe the *aśvamedha* as one that had long fallen into desuetude (*cirotsanna*). *Cirotsanna* would literally mean, long decayed or given up for as a matter of history we do know that after the days of Aśoka, who, in his Buddhist fervour, put an end to it, there were several celebrations and several celebrants. Puṣyamitra is said to have celebrated it; his contemporary Khāravela of Kaliṅga seems to have celebrated something akin, and a Sātavāhana ruler of the Dakhan, the great Śātakarṇi lays claim to having done it equally. It would, therefore, be difficult to understand *cirotsanna* in the sense that it was given up for long. The term *cirotsanna*, however, is found used in the same connection, of the *aśvamedha* in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa itself where it was explained in the sense that it had lost some of the elements constituting the sacrifice and therefore a sort of expiatory ceremony had te be performed. That means it is an old time ceremony, which had lost some of the details of its performance even so long ago as the time of the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa. The ceremony is brought to a close by the performance of a special *atirātrasoma* as it is called, which is a ceremonial apology for the shortcomings in the performance of the elaborate sacrifice. It is just possible that in the Gupta inscriptions it has that meaning; but there is perhaps a little more in it than is implied in this explanation"[4]. After pointing out that Puṣyamitra and Pravarasena were not as great conquerors as Samudragupta, and their claim to suzerainty was not quite uncontested, Dr. Aiyyangar concluded :—

"Hence the *cirotsanna* here might mean that the *aśvamedha* sacrifice was not celebrated for long as a full detailed imperial sacrifice, and Samudragupta might lay claim to having done it, it may be since the days of the famous celebration of the *Rājasūya* by Yudhiṣṭhira"[5].

However, Dr Aiyyanger was not right in his interpretation of the reference in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, as referring to a sacrifice which had lost some of its constitute elements. The expiatory rite had to be performed for quite a different purpose.

The latest writer to throw light on this point was Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. Writing in the Indian Culture, he observed as follows:

3. IA, 1923, 17.

4. Studies in Gupta History, pp. 44-45.

5. Ibid, 45.

"All things considered, Samudragupta can alone very well claim to have celebrated an Aśvamedha of the Epic style which was in abeyance for long. Certainly it was not performed with such *áclat* by anybody except perhaps Puṣyamitra who, however, came into collision with one enemy on only one confine of his dominions and does not seem to have wielded sway over the whole of India as the Gupta sovereign did"[6].

This is more or less a repetition of the view of Dr. Aiyyangar, and it leaves out altogether the hints given in the Vedic literature regarding the nature of an *utsanna* sacrifice. A study of the relevant Vedic literature indicates that the word *cirotsanna* has a purely technical sense which has not been taken note of by any of the scholars whose views have been quoted above; and which might offer a better and perhaps the true explanation of the word.

The following are some of the important passages where the word *utsanna* occurs as an adjective with sacrifice in Vedic Literature.

1. उत्सन्न यज्ञो वै एष यदश्वमेधः कस्तद्वेदेत्याहुर्यदि सर्वो वै क्रियते न वा सर्वः इति ।

"The horse sacrifice is an extensive sacrifice, who knows, they say, if all of it is done or not." Taittirīya Saṃhitā, V, 4, 12, 3 translated by A. B. Keith.

2. उत्सन्नयज्ञो वा एष यदग्निः किं वा ह्येतस्य क्रियते किं वा न ।

ibid. V, 3, 1, 7.

3. उत्सन्न यज्ञ इव वा एष यच्चातुर्मास्यानि ।

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, II, 5, 2, 4, 8, and II, 6, 2, 19.

4. उत्सन्न यज्ञ इव वा एष यदश्वमेधः किं वा ह्येतस्य क्रियते किं वा न ।

ibid. XII, 3, 3, 6.

It is of great significance that the adjective *utsanna* is applied to important Vedic rites like the *Aśvamedha* and Cāturmāsya, which cannot be described as the ceremonies that were in abeyance when the Taittirīya Saṃhitā and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa were written. It is unimaginable that either the *Aśvamedha* or the *Cāturmāsya* were regarded as 'obsolete' in the heyday of Vedic ritualism.

6. Indian Culture, I, 118.

The meaning of *utsanna* is suggested by the concluding portion of the quotation from the Taittirīya Saṃhitā. It says that it is difficult to be sure whether all the details of the ritual have been properly gone through. The reason of this uncertainty evidently was that these performances were very extensive, and one could never be sure that there were no omissions. In the contexts of these passages, the meaning "extensive" or 'elaborate' suits excellently well and we should attribute this sense to *utsanna*[7].

In the light of the Vedic passages, the expression *cirotsannāśvamedhāhartta* may, therefore, be translated as, 'the performer of the long protracted horse-sacrifice.'

7. e.f. A. B. Keith, ZIMG, 1912, 729-31.

(27) THE INDIAN PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY

by

DR. RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE.

History is the flowing cumulative stream of myths and traditions. The chanting or recital of myths, tales and ballads during festivals, marking the cycles of seasons, is the beginning of history, spurring a people to epoch-making adventures. All history is in a sense myth making. Myths are by no means futile or fictitious as presumed by the nineteenth century historians who in their turn formulated or tacitly supported the myths of the Individual, State, Nationality, Race, Power and Progress in the background of European development. Myths poetically and pregnantly embody the tradition, values and aspirations of a people These are conserved and transmitted by social memory, and bind their present to the past in belief, thought and action. The "units of history" are simply myths and traditions in action, what Rickert called "value structures" through which universal values are evidenced in historical actuality—the broad and enduring historical constants that pervade the stable social arrangement and culture of a people. and underline the recurrent patterns in their social life and development. Human history is a total cumulative ensemble or gestalt in which the broadening and lengthening warp of facts and events on one hand, and woof of myths and traditions on the other are inextricably inter-woven in the web of time. The gestalt approach to history as a cumulative, moving, forward-looking whole, with the attention focussed on the dynamism of myths, traditions and values into which the whole can be resolved or split up, makes possible the right understanding and interpretation of human affairs, of "things said and done in the past." Not all myths and traditions are dealt with by history but only those that have functional significance in the emergent cultural pattern. Such are the "units of history" that have to be chosen, or discovered and understood in their context with the present and the future. The reality of myths and traditions consists in their fashioning the cumulative sequence with its order, consistency and laws, which is history. The truth of history is the meaning of this inherent order and continuity of the march of Man in which mutable man participates. Man in Indian historiography is three fold: Man the Mutable, Man the Eternal, and Man the Deity. Man is Eternal and Universal. the inhabitant not of one country and age but of all countries and ages, the maker of enduring myths and traditions and the bearer of the ultimate values, ever projected towards the future. This is the human image which is ever-present in the vicissitudes and fluctuating situations of history. In the

ephemeral and confused pageant of history this Eternal and Universal Man is indeed the abiding presence, embodied in but transcending the limited, fleeting images of mortal man belonging to a race, country, class or historical and cultural epoch. Finally, there is Man the Deity which is the cosmic urge to advance, manifest in the glory and triumph as well as in the fall and anguish of man, the goal towards which the whole creation moves. This is the Nārāyaṇa of the Purāṇas. The Mahābhārata begins with the homage to the triple images of Man. Nara or Finite Man, Narottama or Eternal Man and Nārāyaṇa or Deity, moving and being moved in the procession of history.

History in Indian tradition is not the biography of heroes or representative men, but an age-less process in which not men but the human species, not particular lives but Life cyclically grow, mature and decay. In India the circle symbolises completion and perfection. The wheel with the movable centre is the symbol of continuing progress in the procession of time (the Chakra of Vedic and Buddhist culture). Thus history, cosmic, human and personal, is envisioned as the cyclic movement of the wheel. An unending series of Great Men, Creators and Kings of the earth, Brahmas and Indras reign, thrive and then pass away in their innumerable universes that come and go through countless cycles of creation, maturation, dissolution and reincarnation. Into this ageless cyclical process of the world organism India imports a moral and cultural purpose through the conception of the procession of Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali ages of history (yugas), the moral order of dharma gradually lapsing from purity and perfection into disorganisation and conflict and then beginning another cycle.

Indian historiography accepts the reality of the triumphs and disasters of history alike and insists that we learn from both the glory and the defeat of dharma and culture, viewed as a dynamic process rather than as a stationary state. This cyclical view of man's earthly destiny and dharma has protected the Indian people against the extremes of optimism and pessimism. And indeed few people have such a long and remarkably continuous history of five millenia, have seen such ups and downs of the social order and learnt so much in a yet living civilization from past glories and tragedies as foils for some larger good of the world organism. It is remarkable that both the Hindu and Christian Apocalyptic conception of the end of the social order was not an idea of damnation and catastrophe but of continuity and consummation of the divine will and law—the irresistable perpetual rise of the Dharma-rājya. Such is the tragic maliorism leavened with social expectancy of the Indian philosophy of history, born of the assimilation of several millenia of experience into the balance of human progression. Scant centuries cannot obviously provide the stuff out of which a true philosophy of history can emerge. This was stressed by Lord Acton who once remarked: "We can found no philosophy on the observation of four hundred years, excluding three thousand. It would be imperfect and fallacious induction."

In a sub-continent, broken up into many regions with wide variations in climate and natural resources, inhabited by diverse races and peoples and carved out into congeries of kingdoms, empires and republics, unity and solidarity are the most constant political aspirations in history as these are the ancient essential aims of religion, morals and the social order. No country in the world has ever through its metaphysics, religion, art and scheme of social gradation, woven such a rich and enduring fabric of unity amidst such diversity which embraces not only mankind but all sentient life. Out of the welding together of the mass of Indian peoples with their various types, indigenous and exotic, in the Maurya, Gupta and Pala Empires arose the fundamental political principles of the loose union of semi-autonomous states under the king of kings and of the composite and secular culture state or dharma-rājya. These represent the most constant elements in Indian history dovetailed into Indian empire building and into socio-cultural integration of development.

No doubt the moral and metaphysical conceptions of the Real or Cosmic Man the Commonalty of Mankind were the spiritual counterparts of the ever-continued, ever-reinforced processes of building up a United India, politically and socially. Empires recurrently fail, as force has its peculiar limitations for national unification in a country with such natural barriers, huge population and infinite social complexity and heterogeneity as India. Thus her civilization draws through the epochs more surely upon myths—the political myths of the Kingdom of Universal Moral Law (Dharma-rājya) and the Universal Empire, the social myths of the Caturvarna, Varna Sankara and Kaliyuga; the religious myths of the Avatāra, the Bodhisattva and the Compassionate Bhagvān and Śakti, the moral myths of Obligations and Sacrifices and the intellectual myth of the Triple Way of Living, of Wisdom, action without involvement and worship (jñāna, karma, bhakti). These have engendered common patterns of morality and ways of living among the principal regions of India from the great snow-clad mountains in the north to the Southern Ocean, and effected that solidarity of Indian society which blood and iron can achieve with but limited and temporary success. It is myth, metaphysics and religion and the forms and symbols of art in which these are the significantly and powerfully revealed from epoch to epoch that have indeed governed the unity, integrity and vitality of Indian civilization.

Every history builds up event by event, age by age, "the unity of the whole", comprising the myths, traditions and norms of mankind, the entity in human history. "The earth is our home". Mankind, is our kin" are basic Indian postulates. Through the divergent and even contradictory lines of development of different human cultures in different regions we find an increasing commonness of patterns of thought, values and faith in the structural order of mankind. We find also individual cultures rising to their highest when plasticity, freedom and universality are at their summit. Both trends contribute not towards "tribe" nationalism but towards a unified world society. Brahmanical

Vedantism, Mahāyāna Buddhism, Stoicism, Christianity and Enlightenment have contributed in great measure in different epochs of history to reinforce the spirit of universality. There is a sense of imperativeness of direction in history, corresponding to the development from the seed to the flower, about the maturation from specific culture to world culture as the destiny of the human species. Yet at no epoch in human history has mankind been so mightly challenged by what Paul Tillich calls the Demonic in history due to the lusts and fears of irrational humanity.

Mankind's historic continuity is governed as much by man belonging to a country, race or class shedding his mutable aspects, his narrow images of himself in his opinions, beliefs and faiths as by the world consciously striving towards a moral and spiritual unity through the synthesis of various cultural traditions and values and their fruitful application in global methods of co-operation. The philosophy of history finds mankind's milestones of advance across the dark sanguinary roads of the past, marked not by dogmatism and absolutism, fanaticism and utopianism that come to possess peoples drive them to violence and fade away in history, but by cultural syncretism, moral and religious humanism and the rising stature of the free human personality. This truth of history is nowhere expressed more than eloquently than in the Indian Epic, the Mahābhārata, written for the clarification of India's cultural values and norms in a period of unprecedented social turmoil and acute rivalry of opinions and faiths like the one we are facing in the present juncture:

> "Logical argument is inconclusive; the Vedas are dissimilar;
>
> There is no sage whose doctrines can be taken as authoritative.
>
> The verities of Dharma lie hidden in the inaccessible recesses of the soul;
>
> The traditions followed by the many show the true way."

(28) Some Aspects of the Divinity of the King in Ancient India and Ceylon.

by

S. Paranavitana

Yadā tvadhārmikān sarvāṁs tīkṣṇair daṇḍair niyacchati, Dhārmikāṁś c'ānugṛhṇāti bhavaty atha Yamas tadā. *Mahābhārata* XII, 68, 45.

In my paper, "Sīgiri, the Abode of a God-King", I have developed the thesis that it was to set himself up as a god-king that Kassapa (*circa* 466-484 A. C.) had a remarkable palace built on the summit of the well-nigh inaccessible rock of Sīgiri. He identified himself with Kuvera, and his palace on the Sīgiri rock was meant to be a representation of Alakā, the Himalayan abode of the God of Wealth. I have therein summarised the evidence for the prevalence of the doctrine of the Divinity of the King in those lands which derived their culture from India, and dwelt on the influence which this doctrine has had on the development of their art and architecture. References have been quoted from Sanskrit authorities, like the *Manusmṛti* and the *Mahābhārata*, in support of the divine status of the king. It has also been pointed out that, while certain Mahāyāna schools accepted this doctrine, Buddhism in general discouraged it. There appear, however, to have been occasions on which this doctrine influenced the course of political events in the Island in ancient times; it is the purpose of the present paper to collect such evidence bearing on the topic, and to interpret them in the light of ancient Indian political theories and similar beliefs which seem to have been current in India. As the ancient culture and the political institutions of this Island were derived from India, such a study, I presume, will not be without interest to those who are engaged in the task of elucidating the past of that sub-continent.

The political doctrine of the Mahābhārata[2] makes the king identical with a particular god, in accordance with the emphasis which

1. *R. A. S., Ceylon Branch, Centenary Volume*, pp. 129-183.

2. *Mbh.* XII, 68, 41ff. The references are to the critical edition of the epic published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. *Mbh.* (N) indicates the northern recension with the commentary of Nīlakaṇṭha published by Citraśālā Press.

one may place on this or that function of royalty. The god with whom a king is considered as identical may, therefore, vary according to time, place and circumstances. Kassapa considered it politic to represent himself as Kuvera on earth. A ruler of Ceylon before or after him may have endeavoured to be honoured by his subjects as another god. And, in fact, if we interpret certain data in a number of ancient Brāhmi inscriptions, and references in chronicles, in the light of the political doctrines which we have referred to, a good case can be made for the view that Vaṭṭa-gāmaṇi Abhaya (*Circa* 104-77 B. C.), who ruled Ceylon some four centuries before Kassapa, wished to be taken by his subjects as Yama, a colleague of Kuvera in the office of *loka-pāla* (world-protector).

An inscription in an early type of the Brāhmī script, found at Koravakgala near Situlpavuva in South Ceylon, records that the cave in which it is indited was fashioned and dedicated to the *saṅgha*, in the reign of a king named Tiśa (Skt. Tiṣya, P. tissa) by a dignitary named Cema (Skt. Kṣema), the treasurer of Pita-mahā-rāja (Skt. Pitṛ-mahā-rāja[1]. The long inscription, or rather the series of inscriptions, on the pavement of the Dhakkhiṇa Thūpa at Anurādhapura[2], to be ascribed to the third century on palaeographical grounds, refers in a number of places, to that monument, as founded in the reign of Pita-mahā-rāja. We know from the *Mahāvaṁsa*[3] that the Dakkhiṇa Vihāra was founded in the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya. Pita-mahā-rāja, therefore, is no other than Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya. This conclusion is supported by the Koravakgala inscription when it states that a person who dedicated a cave in the reign of a king named Tissa was the son of a dignitary who held the office of treasurer in the reign of Pita-mahā-rāja, for Vaṭṭagāmaṇi was closely followed on the throne by his nephew Tissa, called Mahācūli Mahā Tissa in the chronicle. The identification is clinched by the Pali commentaries which, in their not infrequent references to the events of the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya[4], often call him Piturāja.

The fact that an inscription set up a few years after the death of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya refers to him by the epithet of Pitamahārāja and that the traditions recorded by the Pali commentators as well as by the Dakkhiṇa Vihāra inscription knew him by that name, go to prove that

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1. The text of this inscription runs thus: *Pita-maharajhaha badakarika parumaka Sumana-puta prumaka Cemaśa leṇe rajha Tiśaha rajhiyaśi niyate agata anagata catu-diśa śagaśa.*

2. See *A. S. C. Annual Report* for 1948, p. 9.

3. Chap. XXXIII, v. 88.

4. See, for example, *Sammohavinodanī* (P. T. S. Edition), p. 448 and *Samanta-pāsādikā* (P. T. S. Edition), pp. 440 and 473.

in his life-time, many of his subjects referred to him in that manner. The reason why such an unusual name was attached to him arouses our curiosity and the old chronicler, too, seems to have realised that an explanation was necessary. For, he refers to the title of Piti-rāja (the element *maha* appears to have been optional) borne by Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya and, moreover, he tells us how the king came to be known by it. Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya, we are told by the chronicler, adopted as his own son Mahācūḷi Mahātissa, the son of his elder brother Khallāṭa Nāga. As he stood in the position of father to Mahācūḷi Mahātissa, Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya was called Piti-rāja, 'the father king'.

This explanation, though charming in its naivete, hardly carries conviction. The adoption of another's son as one's own is not so extra-ordinary an occurrence as to justify a sobriquet on that account to one who does so. Even less is the justification when the adoption is of a son of one's own brother. If Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya had to be given an epithet based on paternity, it was not necessary to seek the reason for it in the fact that he adopted his brother's son as his own, for he had sons of his own, one of whom, Coranāga, succeeded to the sovereignty. Even without any formal adoption, the son of one's own brother is, according to the Sinhalese system of kinship, modern as well as ancient, entitled to be called 'son'. Vaṭṭagāmaṇi was Mahācūḷi's 'father' even without adoption. The explanation of the epithet Piti-rāja' given in the *Mahāvaṁsa* appears, therefore, to have been invented, not necessarily by the author of that chronicle, at a time when the real significance of the word had been forgotten. It is also not impossible that the explanation is due to a desire, for reasons which would become clear in the sequel, to prevent its real purport gaining currency among the people.

If the title 'Piti-rāja' was not due to its bearer standing in the relation of 'father' to another person, it is necessary, in order to explain its significance, to ascertain the other meanings that could have been attached to it. The equivalent in Sanskrit of P. 'Piti-rāja' is 'Pitṛ-rāja', and this, we know, is not uncommon in the epics as a name of Yama—a name appropriate to that god for the reason that he is the king of the Pitṛrs *i. e.* the Manes or the spirits of the departed. In Book I, Canto 48, v. 23 of the *Mahābhārata*, for instance, we read *Vyaktaṁ mayā 'pi gantavyam Pitṛ-rāja-niveśauan* (There is no doubt that I, too, should one day go to the abode of Pitṛ-rāja, *i. e.* Yama), 'Pitṛ-rāja' occurs as the name of Yama in several other passages of the same epic, for example, II, 8, 30, and III, 181, 14. If P. 'Piti-rāja' and the old Sinhalese 'Piti-maha-raja' be understood in this sense, the epithet borne by Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya, which was preferred by some, in ancient times, to his personal name, would indicate that he desired his subjects to take him as Yama, the Divine Judge.

Such a conclusion would also make intelligible an episode in the story of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya as it is narrated in the *Mahāvaṃsa*[1]. A

1. *Mahāvaṁsa*, Chap. XXX, vv. 35-36.

few months after his accession to the throne, Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya was defeated in battle by invaders from South India, and was forced to flee for life. When the king, with a few followers and those dearest to him. was fleeing before his enemies through the northern gate of Anurādhapura, a Jaina ascetic is said to have cried out that the 'Mahā-kāla Sihala' was running away. This phrase 'Mahākāla-Sihala' has been translated as 'the great black Sinhalese' and is taken by the translators of the chronicle as well as by writers on and students of Ceylone history as a personal insult which the Jaina ascetic, meanly taking advantage of the occasion, hurled at the king in his adversity. The epithet can, of course, be interpreted in that sense if the scene were shifted from ancient Anurādhapura to modern Europe. We have also accepted the inter-pretation without questioning because we have unconsciously imbibed the sense of values of the Europeans based on colour. But in ancient Ceylon, or in India, no one would have been offended by being reminded of his complexion. Some of the great heroes in Indian literature are described as dark, for instance Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. Draupadī, the heroine of the *Mahābhārata* and Damayantī, immortalised in one of the most beautiful poems in Sanskrit, were dark of complexion. This did not make them the less desirable. Even today, Sinhalese villagers who have not been "educated" and thus trained to judge by values foreign to them will not feel ashamed by such names as Kaḷu Baṇḍa, Kaḷu Māṇike or Kaḷu Mahattaya, in which *Kaḷu* 'black' is a component part. Moreover, the Jaina ascetic could not have damaged the king's reputation by referring to his bodily complexion, for which he was not responsible. The Nigaṇṭha, if he wanted to pay back for any real or imagined injury, might have made use of words impeaching the king's character or conduct.

The expression put in the mouth of the Jaina ascetic gains significance if Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya had set himself up as Yama on earth. 'Kāla' is one of the best known of the names of Yama and *mahā* can be added, according to one's whim, to the name of any important personage, human or divine. 'Mahākāla' would thus be synonymous with 'Piti-rāja' or 'Pitimahārāja.' The spectacle of a king who had to flee before his earthly enemies only a few months after he had proclaimed himself to be Yama would have indeed aroused any one's sense of irony. If the Jaina ascetic did not subscribe to these political doctrines which ascribed such divinity to kings, as was very likely, there was no better propaganda than to bring the irony of this situation forcibly home to the people by shouting that the Mahākāla (Yama) of the Sinhalese was taking to his heels.

Yama is generally conceived as a god of fearful aspect, and a king who identified himself with Yama must have cultivated this bearing. There appear to have been current, in ancient Ceylon, folk-tales in which Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya figured in such a capacity. For Buddha-ghosa, in the *Samantapāsādikā*, refers to an incident in which the

gnashing of teeth by Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya was sufficient to cause the death of an unfortunate individual named Cūḷasumana[1].

If the significance of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi's title, Piti-rāja, is as given above, it will enable us to understand, in their proper perspective, the events of his reign, as given in the *Mahāvaṁsa* and the commentaries[2]. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya (*circa* 161-137 B. C.) who re-established the first dynasty of Sinhalese kings after an interval of Tamil domination, so guided his policy that the interest of the royal house became identical with those of the Buddhist *saṅgha*. The king extended his liberal patronage to the *saṅgha* and the *bhikkhus* exerted their great influence with the people to the aim of making the latter attached to the royal house. This happy union between the state and the church continued with little interruption up to the accession of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi. The majority of the people had accepted the Buddhist creed, and they would have been gratified by the religious policy of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and his successors. But there were Jainas as well as Brāhmaṇas, who would naturally have been antagonised by the royal family identifying itself so closely with the interest of the *saṅgha*. They, however, had no chance to express their dissatisfaction by hostility towards the royal family, for the latter had popular support so long as the *saṅgha* was on the side of the king. If Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, as we have inferred, proclaimed himself to be Yama, acting on political doctrines not consistent with the tenets of the Theravāda, while remaining an adherent of the Buddhist creed, he would certainly have offended the Sinhalese *saṅgha* which, up to that time, was not divided into sects, and was not prepared to endorse any doctrines opposed to those preached by Mahinda. The displeasure of the *saṅgha* would have resulted in the unpopularity of the king, and those sections of the population who had already been antagonised by the pro-Buddhist policies of the royal family, would have found an opportunity of translating their discontent into action. And this was precisely what happened. A Brahmin named Tiya[3], who was hostile towards Buddhism, raised the standard of revolt, and the invasion by South Indian hordes, which drove the king into hiding, was probably not unconnected with domestic discontent.

Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, in hiding, was gathering forces to regain his throne. In the meantime, those who had wrested power from him did not extend patronage to the *saṅgha*, some members of which must have realised that, in spite of his heretical theories in politics, Vaṭṭagāmaṇi

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1. *Pitu-rañño ca Sīhala-narindassa dāṭhā-koṭanena Cūla-sumana kuṭumbiya-mārane rājiddhi daṭṭhabhā. Samantapāsādikā*, (P. T. S. Edition), p. 440.

2. *Mahāvaṃsa*, Chap. XXXIII, No. 34-104 and *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī*, (P. T. S. Edition), pp. 612-623.

3. For an account of Tiya's revolt, see *Sammoha-vinodanī* (P. T. S. Edition), p. 448.

in power would be more advantageous to the Buddhist Church than the rulers of South Indian origin. Thus we find that an influential *thera* helped Vaṭṭagāmaṇi during his years of misfortune. An incident relating to this period of the king's eclipse gives us an indication that, even when he was reduced to extreme straits, he was not prepared to forego any fraction of the divinity which he claimed for his person. While still rallying the people to his cause, he had the support of eight powerful chiefs, one of whom he very impolitically slew for not having prostrated on the ground before him. This alienated the other chiefs who deserted the king. At this critical juncture, too, it was that same *thera* who persuaded the chiefs not to desert Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya, by the powerful argument that it was only by supporting him, in spite of his impolitic conduct, that the Buddhist Church could be firmly established.

Vaṭṭagāmaṇi at last regained his throne, but adversity did not force him to renounce his claim to be Pitṛ-rāja (Yama). He founded the Abhayagiri Vihāra and granted it to that *thera* who helped him in his adversity. But the older establishment of the Mahāvihāra excommunicated this *thera*, thus leading to a schism in the Buddhist Church. If Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, as we have inferred, claimed to be a god-king (Yama), the establishment of the Abhayagiri Vihāra in opposition to the Mahāvihāra was perhaps dictated by the necessity of having a community of monks who were not opposed to his political doctrines. With the support of the king, the Abhyagiri fraternity increased in numbers. The king's lukewarm attitude to the Mahāvihāra, in spite of the traditions of his family, was very likely due to the reason that the members of the fraternity were uncompromising in their hostility towards the doctrine of the divinity of the king. Those who realised that such an uncompromising hostility towards the only leader who could defend the Island against invaders from abroad and anti-Buddhist elements at home, would ultimately undermine the position of the *saṅgha*, probably enrolled themselves as members of the Abhayagiri fraternity.

If Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya, as we have suggested, identified himself with Yama. he must have done so because the worship of that god was prevailing among the people of Ceylon in his time. If we can, therefore, establish that the cult in fact was known, our hypothesis will receive support therefrom. Yama is frequently mentioned in Singhalese literature. but not as the centre of a cult. Images of Yama have been discovered at ancient sites in Ceylon, sometimes in association with those of other *lokapālas*. The ancient Indian belief that he is the Divine Judge who rewards the virtuous and punishes the evil-doers, was made use of by Buddhist preachers for moral ends. Even today, under the name of Yama-rajjuruvo (King Yama), he is known to every Buddhist peasant. He, however, under the familiar name of Yama, does not receive worship as the principal or subsidiary deity installed in a temple.

There is, however, evidence to prove that the deity called Saman in Sinhalese and Sumana in Pali, who is still regarded as one of the four protectors of Ceylon, who figures[1] in the chronicles in connection with the reputed visits of the Buddha to Ceylon, who is the presiding deity of Mount Samanoḷa (better known as Adam's Peak) and whose shrines at Sabaragamuva and Alutnuvara are visited by thousands of Sinhalese Buddhist votaries on the occasion of the Annual Festival in his honour, is no other than Yama Ceylonised. The transformation of Yama which has taken place in Ceylon, and the traits of Saman which betray his origin, form an interesting and fascinating study, the pursuance of which, however, is beyond the scope of our present purpose. I intend to deal with that subject in a separate paper. Here, I confine myself to two links in the chain of evidence which establishes the identification.

A Sinhalese Buddhist of the present day will be taken aback if he is told that the mild and good-natured Sạman, to whom by force of habit, he pays courteous respect, is the same as the dreaded Yama, the inevitable interview with whom he rarely contemplates with equanimity. But the Sinhalese *Jātaka*, written in the fourteenth century, contains conclusive proof that the identity of Saman or Sumana with Yama was well-known at that time. Compare the following metrical Pali passage from the Bhūridatta Jātaka with the corresponding Sinhalese:—

Dhātā Vidhātā Varuṇo Kuvero Somo Yamo Candimā cāpi Suriyo[2] *Dhṛtarāṣtra nam divya-rajjuruvō da Varuṇa nam divya-rajjuruvō da, Kuvera nam divya-rajjuruvō da, Soma nam divya-rajjuruvō da, Sumana nam divya-rajjuruvō da, Candra divya-pūtrayō da, Surya divya-putrayō da*[3]. *Sumana nam divya-rajjuruvō* (the divine king name Sumana) in the Sinhalese text stands for *Yamo* in the Pali. To the author of the Sinhalese *Jātaka*, therefore, Sumana was the same as Yama.

The name Sumana, as it occurs in the *Mahāvaṁsa* of the fifth century, is based on the Sinhalese name of the god as it was then pronounced. The genuine Sinhalese form of the name, as it occurs in literary works and is actually pronounced by the average Sinhalese, is *Śamana*. In the fifth century, this must have been *Śamanā*. We can easily equate the last with Skt. *Śamana* (the Tranquilizer or Extinguisher) one of the names of Yama.

There is a tradition which attributes to Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya the discovery of the Buddha's foot-print on Mount Saṃanoḷa (Adam's

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1. *Mahāvaṁsa*, Chap. I, vv 33 ff., and vv 77 ff.

2. *Jātaka*, Fausboll's Edition, Vol. VI, p. 201.

3. *Pansiya-panas-jātaka*, Jinālaṅkāra Press, Colombo, 1929, p. 1499.

Peak). The story narrated in the *Mahāvaṁsa* (I, 77 ff.) is that the Buddha impressed the foot-print on the summit of this mountain at the request of god Sumana who, as we have seen above, is no other than Yama. If Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya identified himself with Yama, the tradition referred to gains significance[1].

In this connection, the name Dhama-raja (Skt. Dharma-rāja) occurring in a number of early Buddhist inscriptions from various parts of the Island, merits consideration. In two cave inscriptions at Bōvattegala in South-eastern Ceylon[2], a prince named Bamaraja figures as the father of the donor. In a number of cave inscriptions at Koṭṭadämūhela, also in the same area, the genealogy of the donor is traced to Damaraja[3]. This Damaraja, it has been surmised, belonged to a family of local rulers who held authority about the third or second century B. C. In a cave inscription at Mihintale, a Dhamarajha is mentioned as the father of a prince named Asaliya, the donor[4]. The name also occurs in an inscription from a place named Näṭṭukanda in the Anurādhapura District, but it is not clear in what connection, for the text is not quite clear. It is also not certain whether all the records refer to the same prince. If a ruler of Anurādhapura who had this title is the Dhamaraja of the Mihıntale and Näṭṭukanda inscriptions, there is no means of identifying him with a name forthcoming in the chronicles. 'Dharmarāja' is one of the best known names of Yama. It is, therefore synonymous with 'Piti-rāja' and may have indicated divine kingship in the person who bore it. Whether Vaṭṭagāmaṇi used this title in addition to Piti-rāja, and possibly Mahākāla, deserves consideration.

It has been surmised that the king named Dhamaraja, figuring in an inscription at Mihintale, is the same as Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya who is noted for his piety and liberality towards the Buddhist Church. In his attachment to the religion of the Buddha (Dhamma), he emulated Aśoka and the title Dharmarāja might have been used by him in imitation of the Indian emperor[5]. Against this, it may be stated that the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya has been dealt with in great detail in the *Mahāvaṁsa*[6]. It was, in fact, the aim of Mahānāma, the author

1. William Skeen, *Adam's Peak*, Colombo 1870, p. 16.

2. *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Section G., Vol. II, pp. 99-100 and pp. 114-115.

3. *A. S. C. Annual Report* for 1934, p. 21.

4. *A. S. C. Aunual Report* for 1911-12, p. 95.

5. For Aśoka being styled Dharmarāja, see *Divyāvadāna*, p. 379.

6. Chapters XXII to XXXII.

of that chronicle, to glorify Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and uphold him as a model Buddhist king. If therefore, this monarch had the title of Dharma-rāja with a Buddhist significance, it is difficult to believe that the chronicler would have omitted to mention a fact so significant for his purpose.

In the case of Aśoka, the title 'Dharma-rāja, that he bore has but one significance to a Buddhist. He earned it by his devotion to the Dharma as taught by the Buddha. The character of Aśoka and his actions before he embraced Buddhism, which entitled him to an epithet meaning the reverse of *dhamma*, are often painted in lurid colours, so as to emphasise the transformation made in him by Buddhism[1]. According to these, Aśoka was Dharmrāja or Dharmāśoka only after he became a Buddhist. If a Buddhist king of Ceylon, which derived its religion through the missionary endeavours of Aśoka, is found to have borne a name of Yama, it may not be fantastic to inquire into the possibility that Aśoka himself first adopted the title of Dharmrāja, not in his character as a patron of Buddhism, but in accordance with the politico-religious beliefs which ascribed divinity to kings.

Buddha himself is often referred to as Dharmarāja; but, in the early period of Buddhism, no lay adherent would have assumed a title which was considered appropriate to the Buddha. One can rule out the possibility that Aśoka was called Dharmarāja in order to identify him with the Buddha, or for the same reason that the Buddha was considered to deserve that epithet. If Aśoka was Dharmarāja even before he embraced Buddhism, the Buddhists could continue to use that epithet in referring to him, but with a new significance. The early Buddhist teachers often poured new wine into old bottles. Great psychologists as they were, they understood the passionate attachment which people have for words, and rarely tried to dethrone a word which had established itself. Instead, they adopted it themselves and gave it a new meaning. If Aśoka was known as Dharmarāja before he embraced Buddhism, the Buddhist propagandists could easily explain it as due to his devotion to their own *dhama*. Asoka himself could have adopted a line of action in conformity with such an interpretation of the title if he had used it before he became a follower of Śākyamuni.

If Asoka's title of Dharmarāja denoted divine kingship, it follows that he was regarded as the counterpart of Yama on earth. In Further India and Indonesia, when a king identified himself with a god, it was indicated by a visible symbol of that god, a model of the divine abode, Mahāmeru or Kailāsa, for instance. Yama, in popular belief, was regarded as the deity superintending the punishment of evil-doers in Hell; and, if a king wished to be taken as the counterpart of that deity on Earth, it can best be driven home to his subjects by the exhibition

1. *Mahāvaṁsa*, Chap. V, v. 189.

of a miniature model of Hell. And we are told by Hieun Tsang that Aśoka, before he embraced Buddhism, did in fact possess a very realistic representation of that place of punishment and torture.

Says Hiuen Tsiang: "At first, when Asoka (Wu-yan)-raja ascended the throne, he exercised a most cruel tyranny; he constituted a hell for the purpose of torturing living creatures. He surrounded it with high walls and with lofty towers. He placed there specially vast furnaces of molten metal, shary scythes, and every kind of instrument of torture like those in the infernal regions. He selected an impious man whom he appointed lord of the hell. At first every criminal in the empire, whatever his fault, was consigned to this place of calamity and outrage; afterwards all those who passed by the place were seized and destroyed. All who came to the place were killed without any chance of self-defence[1]."

We need not follow the edifying story of the pious pilgrim in all its details: how a mere novice of the Buddhist order escaped unhurt from the fires of this hell, how the emperor came to the scene to witness this miracle, how the keeper wished to make the emperor himself taste the fires of his hell, how the emperor turned the tables on the keeper and how, after this incident, the institution itself was abolished. But the story can be interpreted as having taken its origin from the memories of a model of Hell exhibited by Aśoka to justify his claim to be the counterpart of Yama, if he did in fact, make that claim. The Buddhists wouid naturally have taken these stories to illustrate the unregenerate character of Aśoka in those days before the *dhamma* had influenced him.

If the purpose of Asoka's Hell is such as we have conjectured, that institution appears to have been honoured by being referred to in his Edicts. In Rock Edict No. IV, we read: "But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of king Devānampriya Priyadarśin, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, representations of elephants, masses of fire and other divine figures[2]." The exact significance of the "masses of fire" (*agi-khaṁdhāni*) has been the subject of much discussion among scholars[3]. The general purport of the edict is to recount the measures by which Aśoka promoted the practice of *dhamma* among his subjects. A very effective method of doing this

1. Samuel Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 86.

2. Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, p. 7.

3. References to the views of various scholars on this point are given by Hultzsch, *op. cit*, p. 7. f. n. 7.

would be by vividly bringing home to the people the sufferings in hell to which, according to every religion, evil-doers are consigned after death. The word *agi-khaṁdhāni* may very well be a reference to what Hieun Tsiang calls 'vast furnaces of molten metal'. Even today, painted representations of Hell, with flames of fire as their chief characteristic, are found in old Buddhist temples in Ceylon, and are designed to serve the purpose which was dear to Aśoka's heart: to make people desist from sin. In popular belief, Yama is the overlord of Hell, and the purpose for which that god maintains this very necessary institution is the same as that of Aśoka. If Aśoka at first was considered to be the counterpart of Yama on Earth, the Chinese pilgrim's account of his Hell is probably a popular parody of an institution based on certain politico-religious conceptions, while Aśoka's reference to the "masses of fire" in his own edicts is that monarch's interpretation of it in conformity with the doctrines of the faith that he had embraced later in life.

In the extract from Aśoka's fourth Rock Edict we have given above, the word translated by Hultzsch as 'aerial chariots' is *vimana* (Skt. *vimāna*). This may also mean celestial mansions, for the gods move about in their own mansions. The divine mansion is also the divine chariot. Yama, while consigning evil-doers to the tortures of hell, rewards virtuous men by admitting them to heavenly abodes. He is a righteous judge and, if he has to condemn some people to a state of suffering, the fault is theirs and not his. Aśoka's claim that he had representations made of celestial mansions in addition to masses of fire would thus be in keeping with the conjecture that he was taken to be the counterpart of Yama. In discussing the significance of the representations of elephants referred to in the above extract, Hultzsch has pointed out that celestial elephants are the usual vehicles of the Lokapālas. Yama was a Lokapāla and, if Aśoka was Yama on Earth, the representation of elephants must be as the vehicle of that god. The occurrence of a figure of an elephant below some of the Asokan edicts assumes a new significance in this light. The edicts engraved on the rock above the figure of the elephant have the sanction of Dharmarāja (Yama) in heaven as well as Dharmarāja on Earth.

If Aśoka used the title Dharmarāja with such a significance as explained above, he had ancient tradition to support him. In every age and clime, it was customary for kings to model themselves on the heroes of anquity; this was particularly so in India. And, in adopting the title 'Dharma-rāja', Aśoka seems to have followed Yudhiṣṭhira, the eldest of the Pāṇḍavas, the heroes of the *Mahābhārata*[1]. 'Dharma-

1. This epic may not have existed in its present form in the time of Aśoka; but it is not impossible that the kernel of the epic is as old as, or older than 3rd century B. C. At any rate, the story of the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas must have been current in India in Asoka's age or even earlier.

rāja" is one of the commonest epithets by which Yudhiṣṭhira is referred to in the epic. The title is appropriate to him because he was the embodiment of Dharma, *i. e.* Yama. That deity was believed to have been the actual father of Yudhiṣṭhira and, in conformity with this belief, the hero is represented in the epic as always upholding Dharma in actions. The kings assembled for the Rājasūya sacrifice proclaim that it was Yudhiṣṭhira's championing of Dharma which makes them acknowledge him as their suzerain[1]. Like Yama, Yudhiṣṭhira was believed to possess the faculty of slaying by sight. After the valliant Bhīṣma was slain, Kṛṣṇa, in congratulating Yudhiṣṭhira, says: "having encountered thee, slayer with the eye, he was burnt with your fear-some eye"[2]. Buddhaghosa, in the *Suttanipāta* commentary, tells us that the weapon of Yama is his own eye, and that Yama kills by a glance with the eye[3].

Bimbisāra, the Magadha king who was the contemporary of the Buddha is described in the *Dīgha Nikāya*[4] as *dhamikaṁ dhammarājān*. The old commentators and modern translators have apparently attached no greater significance to this expression than that it refers to Bimbisāra as a just ruler, for it has not been the subject of comment. If the expression meant no more than this one of the two words, *dhamikaṁ* or *dhammarājānaṁ* would have sufficed. It is not impossible that the *Dīgha Nikāya* refers to a title borne by the kings of the Śiśunāga dynasty. If so, the use of the title Dharmarāja was not an innovation by Aśoka, but a continuation, or a revival, of a practice of Magadha kings before him. The influence of the *Mahābhārata* on the names and titles of Magadha kings is not confined to the 'Dharmarāja'. 'Ajātaśatru', the name of Bimbisāra's son and successor, was also a well-known epithet of Yudhiṣṭhira. The title Dharma-mahā-rāja was borne by some of the dynasties of South India, for example the Kadambas[5].

In my essay referred to at the beginning of this paper, the evidence has been marshalled for the thesis that a king of Ceylon proclaimed himself to be the embodiment of a god who is the symbol of Wealth (*artha*) and, in the foregoing paragraphs, have been collected evidence

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1. *Mbh.* II, 34, 12ff.

2. *Tvaṁ tu caksurhanaṁ prāpya dagdho ghorena cakṣuṣā Mbh.*, VI, 115.

3. *Paramathajotikā*; P. T. S. Edition, p. 225.

4. P. T. S. Edition, Vol. I, p. 86.

5. G. M. Moraes, *The Kadamba-kula*, p. 31.

for the view that kings (in Ceylon as well as India) were sometimes taken as the embodiment of Justice (Dharma). In the *Mahābhārata*, there are certain passages from which the conflict between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas—the main theme of the epic—can be interpreted as a conflict between the two principles of Dharma and Artha. We have already dwelt on the topic of the Pāṇḍavas, headed by Yudhiṣṭhira, standing for Dharma. The general impression to be gathered from the epic is that the Kauravas, the opponents of the Pāṇḍavas, stood for the negation of Dharma and not a defensible principle of statecraft like Artha. But we must remember that the epic, at least as it is now, takes the side of the Pāṇḍavas.

There are, however, passages of the epic in which the connection of Artha with the Kauravas is referred to in a manner not deprecatory. In a council of war, Karṇa refers to Duryodhana, the leader of the Kauravas, as the Arthapati, saying that other people do not comprehend affairs so well as one to whom that title is applicable[1]. 'Arthapati' may be rendered as 'Lord of Wealth' and it is interesting to note that the title 'Vat-himi', by which kings are referred to in Sinhalese inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries, can be interpreted to give the same meaning[2]. Bhīṣma, explaining why he fought on the side of the Kauravas, though he was not convinced of the justness of their cause, says "Man is a slave of Artha (Wealth); Artha is not the slave of any one. This is the truth, O great king; I have been bound with Artha by the Kauravas"[3]. Identical words are put in the mouth of Droṇa as well as of Kṛpa[4]. Duryodhana, in winning over the people to his side, was liberal with *artha* and *māna*[5]. In the sacrifice performed by Duryodhana. as a prelude to his assumption of the imperial dignity, the central ritual was the ploughing of the sacrificial ground with a golden plough[6], The title 'Arthapati' by which Duryodhana

1. *Yathā cārthapatiḥ kṛtyam paśyate na tathetaraḥ, Mbh.* (N), II 5, 3.

2. *J. R. A. S., C. B.*, Centenary Volume, p. 159f.

3. *Arthasya puruṣo dāso dāsastvartho na kasya cit, Etat satyaṁ mahārājā baddhosmy arthena Kauravaiḥ.* (Mbh. VI, 41, 36).

4. *Mbh.*, VI, 41, 51 and VI, 41, 51, 66.

5. I, 130, 6.

6. *Mbh.*, III, 242, 1ff. It is interesting to compare this with the account in the *Mahāvaṁsa* (Chapter X vv. 158ff) and the *Mahābodhivaṁsa* (P. T. S. Edition, p. 134) of Devānampiya Tissa, the first Buddhist king of Ceylon, ploughing, with a golden plough, the consecrated boundary of ancient Anuradhapura.

is referred to, is also a name of Kuvera; but the epic, so far as I am aware, nowhere states, or even suggests, that the leader of the Kauravas was an embodiment of that deity. Duryodhana is represented as the embodiment of Kali, the Spirit of Evil. The opponent of Dharmarāja cannot, obviously, from the point of view of the epic, be connected with a deity like Kuvera who, in the heroic age, was the peer of Yama. But the probability that a Ceylon king of the fifth century identified himself with Kuvera can be taken as evidence that, in ancient India, rulers who stood for Artha were taken as embodiments of Kuvera, just as those who stood for Dharma were considered to be counterparts of Yama. The Rājadharma section of the *Śāntiparva* of the *Mahābhārata* (Chap. 68, vv. 46-47) also supports this inference.

The Nandas, who preceded the Mauryas in the sovereignty of Magadha, also appear to have laid emphasis on the Artha aspect of state-craft. The commentary of the *Mahāvaṁsa* contains an elaborate account of a hoard of gold deposited in the Ganges by the founder of the dynasty[1]. This is paralleled by the statement in the later chronicle that Kassapa, having built a palace on the summit of Sīgiri rock, made deposits of wealth thereon[2]. The purpose in both cases seems to be the imitation of Kuvera, who is fabled to possess nine inexhaustible hoards (*nidhi*) of wealth. The names of some of the members of the Nanda dynasty are suggestive. One was Dhana-Nanda, another bore the name of one of Kuvera's treasure hoards-Mahāpadma.

Under the rule of the Nandas, the power of Magadha greatly expanded, for it is to avoid a conflict with the forces of the Nandas that the cohorts of Alexander the Macedonian refused to advance beyond the Land of the Five Rivers. It is, therefore, easy to imagine that, in order to build up such a power, the Nandas paid more attention to material than to spiritual affairs, thus incurring the displeasure of Brāhmaṇas as well as the Buddhists, who stood for Dharma. The accounts which represent the Nandas as embodiments of rapacity and greed should therefore be treated with reserve, very much like the caricatures of modern politicals drawn by their opponents. The same applies to the delineation of the character of the Kauravas in the *Mahābhārata* and of Kassapa in the *Cūḷavaṁsa*. The manifestations of certain politico-religious conceptions have been parodied by those who regarded Dharma as the essential of state-craft to the disadvantage of those who emphasised Artha.

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1. *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī*, P. T. S. Edition, pp. 179-180.

2. *Cūḷavaṁsa*, edited by Geiger, Chap. 39, v. 4.

Saṁharitvā dhanaṁ tattha nidahitvā sugopitaṁ.

But political theorists gave Artha its due place in the scheme of things; and, in the doctrine of the divinity of the king, Artha had its place by the side of Dharma. The *Rājadhrma* of the *Mahābhārata*, after giving an account of the primeval ruler, raises the pertinent question why the king, who does not excel other men in his physical and mental faculties, is entitled to implicit obedience from them. The question is then answered from the mythological standpoint: "And that time, a golden lotus arose from the forehead of Viṣṇu, wherein was born Goddess Śrī, the consort of wise Dharma. Of Śrı, by (union with) Dharma, O Pāṇḍava, was born Artha. Therefore, in Kingship are established Dharma as well as Artha and Śrī[1]" Incidentally, this passage from the *Mahābhārata* explains why the Sinhalese kings in their charters, from the fifteenth century up to the downfall of the monarchy in 1815, affix the syllable *Śrī* as the sign-manual.

These two concepts of Artha and Dharma are in fact the two pillars on which the edifice of the state was raised in ancient India and Ceylon. It is a commonplace in the Sinhalese *Jātaka* to state that the councillors advised the king on affairs of Artha and Dharma[2]. In modern political parlance, Artha may be translated as 'Welfare'. Everything that pertains to the material welfare of human beings, finance, trade, agriculture, etc. can be included under this head. Under Dharma is included Justice, Law, Religion-in short everything necessary for the spiritual well-being of a community. In a well organised state, the one is as necessary as the other. Injury to the one results injury to the other, too. Sometimes, it is difficult to determine whether a particular matter has to be included in the one or the other. For example, providing for the sick and the comfort of travellers, which Aśoka busied himself with, may come under Dharma as well as Artha.

There would, however, have been occasions on which one of these aspects was comparatively neglected so that men's attention was drawn to its necessity. A ruler who directs his policy towards one of these aspects which had been neglected would naturally receive the support of his subjects. But too much emphasis on one aspect, would make a

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1. *Viṣṇor lalāṭāt kamalaṁ sauvarṇam abhavat tadā, Śrīḥ sambhūtā yato Devī patnī Dharmasya dhīmataḥ; Śriyaḥ sakāśād Arthaś ca jāto Dharmena Pāṇḍava, Atha Dharmas tathaiv ārthaḥ Śrīś ca rājye pratiṣṭhitā.* Mbh. XII, 59, vv. 132-134.

2. For example see *Pansiya-panas-Jātaka, op. cit.*, p. 1569. It is interesting to note that while the Sinhalese version has *arthayen dharmayen anuśāsanā karana*, the Pali text contains *dhammānusasakā*, It becomes apparent from this that while, to the early Buddhists, politics constituted Dharma alone, later Buddhist writers were forced to concede a place to Artha as well.

ruler unpopular. Dharma, however admirable in theory, if exclusively pursued, would result not in benefit to the community as a whole, but to those who claim the monopoly of its interpretation. Artha, if pursued to the exclusion of Dharma, would lead to consequences even more deplorable. After Aśoka had espoused Dharma, it was rarely that a king had the courage to make a stand for Artha. The bad odour which Artha acquired in course of time is symbolised by the iconographical development of Kuvera who, having been quite a presentable deity in the early centuries of the present era, became deformed of body in mediaeval times, It is the tragedy of history that the rulers of the world have rarely succeeded in maintaining an even balance between Artha and Dharma.

(29) New Reading of the Inscription on Sculpture No. J. 20 in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow

by

K. D. Bajpai, M.A.,

Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

The fragmentary sculpture No. J. 20 exhibited in the Jaina gallery of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, is one of the most important inscribed pieces discovered by Führer while excavating the famous Kaṅkāli Tilā of Mathura in the year 1890-91. This fragment is the left-hand portion of the pedestal of a Jaina Tīrthaṅkara image. In the centre is the *triratna* symbol surmounted by the Wheel of Law. To its left four female worshippers are shown-three holding garlands and the fourth, a girl, with folded hands. On the right side of the *dharmacakra* is the mutilated figure of a Jaina ascetic. The end of the base is, as usual, occupied by a couchant lion figure.

The pedestal is inscribed in the Brāhmī characters of the Kuṣāṇa period and consists of three lines. Bühler, Führer and Smith read it as follows:—

L. 1 सं. ७०६ व ४[1] दि २० एतस्यां पूर्व्वायं (यां) कोट्टिये गणे वईरायां[2] शाखायां........[3]

L. 2 को अय (आर्य) व्रथहस्थि अरहतो नन्दि[4] [आ] वसंस प्रतिमं (मां) निर्वर्तयति.

L. 3 भार्य्यये श्राविकये [दिनाये] दानं प्रतिमा वोद्वे थूपे देवनिर्मिते प्रि[5]

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1. Smith reads it as व्र (*Jaina Stūpa*, p. 12, Vol. VI).
2. Bühler reads as वइरायां.
3. Bühler reads here [वाच]
4. Bühler reads it as णन्दि [*E. P. Ind.* II, p. 204, No. XX].
5. Smith reads it as प्र.

That is, "in the year 79, the fourth (month of the) rainy season, the twentieth day, on that (date specified as) above, Aya-Vridhahasti, a preacher in the Koṭṭiya gaṇa (and) in the Vāirā Śākhā, gave the advice to make an image of the Arhat Āvarta (Nandyāvarta)....the image, the gift of the female lay disciple Dinā (Dattā), wife of............ was set up at the Vodva Stūpa, built by the gods[1]."

Thus according to the above reading the image installed was that of Aranātha, the 18th Jaina Tīrthaṅkara. Führer has translated the relevant portion of the second line as 'the Arhat whose mark is the Nandyāvarta symbol, that is to say, Aranātha, the 18th Tīrthaṅkara[2].'

But a close examination of the original shows that the name नन्दिश्रावर्तंस or यान्दिश्रावर्तंस is not correct and it should be मुनिसुव्रतंस. My reading of the second line is:—

को अव व्रधहस्थि अरहतो मुनि सुव्रतंस (मुनिसुव्रतस) प्रतिमां निर्वर्तयति

By accepting this new reading the image installed at the instance of Ārya Vriddhahastin was that of Muni Suvrata or Suvratanātha, the 20th Jaina Tīrthaṅkara, and not that of Aranātha.

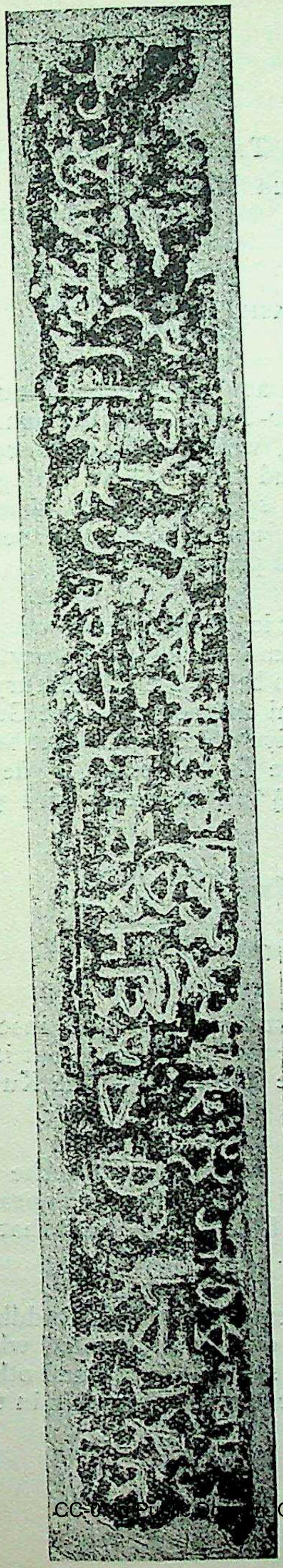
The year 79 undoubtedly refers to the Śaka era and the image was accordingly made in the year 157 A. D. when Vāsudeva, the Kuṣāṇa king was ruling at Mathura.

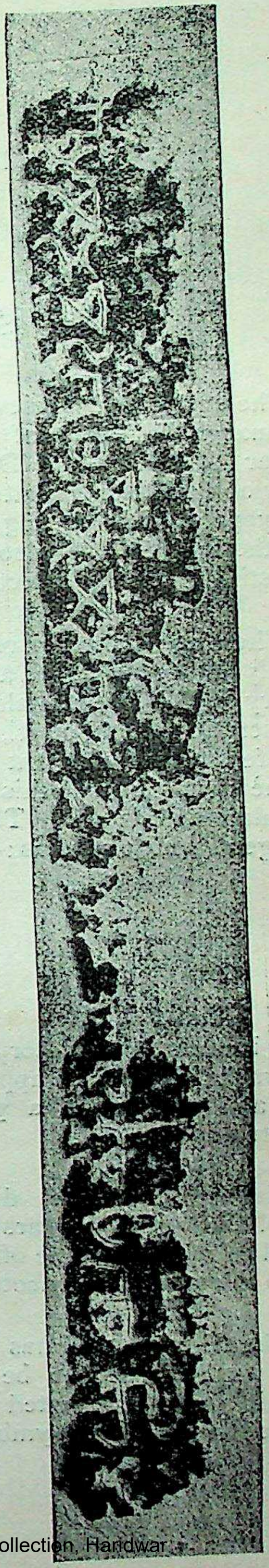
The inscription may have begun with the words-' सिद्धं महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य वासुदेयस्य etc., and may have ended with the words प्रियन्तां देवः or जिनः in the third line, as has been found in similar inscriptions from the Kankāli Tilā.

The inscription is significant as it refers to the old Stūpa at Kaṅkāli Tilā, which has been referred to in the Jain literature such as the *Tīrthakalpa* of Jinapabhā Sūri[3] and which was regarded in the second cent. A. D. as a Stūpa built not by men but by gods. Vincent Smith has gone so far as to conjecture that "this Stūpa is the oldest known building in India[4]."

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1. Bühler *Opcit.*
2. See Fürther Progress Report of the Lucknow Museum, 1891, p. 16.
3. See Bühler, *A legend of the Jania Stūpa at Mathura.*
4. Smith, *Opcit*, p. 13.





(30) An Interesting Terracotta Seal in the Bikaner Museum

by

Satya Prakash, m.a.

The seal under review was found at Dhalia near Hanumangadh in Hanumangadh Tehsıl of the Bikaner-Unit of Rajasthan. It was in the year 1917 A. D. that Dr. Tessitori, while making an archaeological survey of the Bikaner State area, found in the above village a number of clay pots such as jug, Lotā with spout and one okhali. Along-with these pots was also found the above terracotta seal, which is interesting in many respects as we shall presently see.

The clay pots under review reflect in them a level of culture that roughly corresponds to a period from the 2nd Century to the 5th Century A. D. The seal also appears to be of the 5th century A. D. for the inscrption found on it., is in Brahmi character of the Gupta period and refers to an important administrative office in it. But before I discuss the significance of this office in the Gupta period, I deal with the particulars of this seal. The seal is 1¼" in diameter and gives place to a legend which runs as :—

श्री समकजिक

कुमारामात्याधिकरण

It is difficult to interpret the first portion of the inscription *i. e.* Sri Samaka jika, which apparently appears to be a name but is a peculiar name and may mean a place, where the office of the Kumārāmātya was situated.

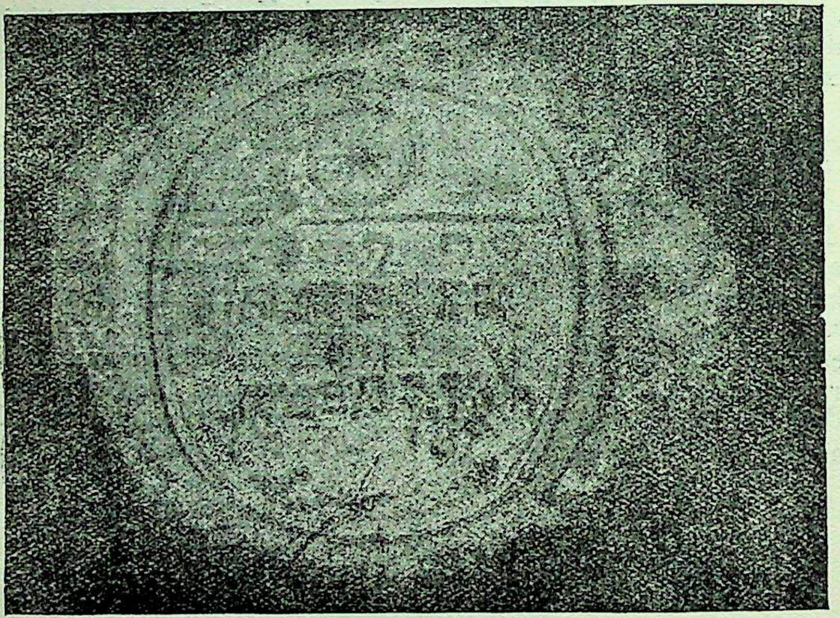
The straight line, dividing the inscription and the wheel-like symbol used on it, appears to be very significant. It appears that this symbol of wheel was the official seal of the period and that is why it was so adopted on terracotta seals also.

The wheel symbol has so far been taken to be a Buddhist Symbol and it was supposed to be connected only with Aśoka, who, being a Buddhist in faith, adopted Hīnayāna symbols in arc and other objects. The existence of this symbol on terracotta seals like this in the Gupta

period is curious application and presents a problem for scholars to ponder over and give their judgment on this issue. It may either be taken as a Vaishnavite Symbol and may mean to be the 'chakra' of Lord Viṣṇu.

A word may be said here about the office referred to in the seal. This office figures so prominently in no other administration than that of the Guptas in both seals and inscriptions of the time. The word Kumārāmātya has been explained in several ways by historians. Some say that it meant a minister attached to the prince of the royal blood, who was appointed either as an heir apparent or a Viceroy. But this interpretation is not acceptable to Scholars on the plea that Hariṣeṇa, foreign Minister of Samudra Gupta and Śikharasvāmin and Pṛthvī Sena (Minister to Candra-Gupta II and Kumāragupta) were also called Kumārāmātyas and were Ministers serving directly under emperors and not under any Crown prince.

Again, Kumārāmātyas are also referred to as district officer's and sometimes as subordinates to even Mahādaṇḍanāyakas, who appear to have been occupying a status higher than that of the Kumārāmātya, for Pṛthvī Sena Kumārāmātya is referred to the E. I. X (52) as having been promoted to it after some approved service. Dr. Altekar appears to be right in his inference when he says that Kumārāmātya, to a great extent, resembled the modern I. C. S. officers, who, sometimes, work in the district, sometimes in the provincial or the central secretariat and sometimes as a member of the Government itself. Higher posts of Ministers and Generals were also filled in by promotion from their cadre.



GUPTA SEAL

5th Century A. D.

Legend—श्री समक जिक कुमारामात्याधिकरण

X—Indian Linguistics Section.

(31) पर्यायवचनविवेकः।

श्री चारुदेवः शास्त्री

के नाम पर्यायवचनाः। ये पर्यायेणार्थं ब्रुवन्ति ते पर्यायवचनाः। पर्यायो नाम परिपाटी क्रमः। इदमुक्तं भवति—ये शब्दा असंनियुक्ता असहोच्चारिता एकार्थस्य वाचकास्ते पर्यायवचनाः समाख्यायन्ते। इदं चातोऽर्थादापद्यते य एकार्थका इति कोषेषु पठिता लोके वा तथात्वेन परिगृहीतास्ते चेद्युगपद्वाक्ये प्रयुक्ताः स्युर्नैकार्थकाः स्युः। अवश्यं तत्र विशेषेण केनापि भवितव्यमनिर्ज्ञातेन। अर्थगत्यर्थो हि शब्दप्रयोगः। अर्थस्य चैकेन सम्प्रत्ययादितरस्य वैयर्थ्यप्रसङ्ग इति सुव्यवस्थितः पर्यायवचनानां सममप्रयोगः।

विभूर्मात्रा प्रभूः पित्राऽश्वोसि हयोस्यत्योसि मयोस्यर्वासि सप्तिरसि वाज्यसि वृषासि नृमणा असीति वाजसनेयके (२२।१६) श्रूयते। अत्राश्वो नाम चतुष्पाज्जातिविशेषः कैरपि नामभिस्तोष्टूयते हयादिभिरिति विवरीतारः। यदि चेहाश्वेन संनियुक्तानां हयादीनामत्यन्ताया विशेषस्तदा नार्थोऽनेनाश्वस्तवेन। यदि हयादयोऽभ्युच्चीयमाना अर्थाभ्युच्चयाय न प्रकल्पेरंस्तदाऽनुलपितमेतत्प्रलपितमिव स्यात्। न ह्यश्वो स्यश्वोस्यश्वोसीति साम्रेडमुद्यमानं वचः स्वदते नाम, न वा वाक्सरणिं लौकिकीमनुसरति। तेनात्राश्वजात्यनतिक्रमेपि हयादीनां गुणक्रियाविशेषाद्विशेषोऽभिधित्सितः। यस्तावदश्व आशीयोऽध्वानमतियाति चिरतरं च प्रयाति न च क्लमथं याति स हयो वाऽत्यो वेत्युच्यते। यश्च संगरेषु रथस्य वोढा सन्नरीन् हिनस्ति स उच्यतेऽर्वेति। यः पुनः सैन्येन सपति संगच्छते स सप्तिरिति व्यपदिश्यते। यश्च वीर्यवान् पुष्कलबीजशक्तिः स वाजीति वा वृषेति वाभिलप्यते। एवं व्याक्रियमाणेऽस्मिन् यजुषि सर्वं सुस्थं भवति। प्रत्यर्थं शब्दनिवेशाद्यावतामर्थानामभिधानं तावतां प्रयोगो न्याय्य इति भाष्योक्तदिशाऽर्थाधिक्ये शब्दाधिक्यं च निर्दुष्टं भवति।

इहाम्नायवचने हयादीनां यः परस्परमर्थभेदः स गच्छता कालेन तिरोहितोऽभूदिति ते हयादयोऽश्वार्थे निर्विशेषं प्रयुक्तास्सन्तः पर्यायतामयुः। गुणवचनेषु तु बहुलमेतदभूदिति शक्यं न्यक्षेण निदर्शयितुम्। वेदे तावद् वाजिशब्दोऽत्यविशेषणमश्वविशेषणं वा प्रयुक्तः—अत्यं न वाजिनम् (ऋ० १।१२९।२), अश्वं न वाजिनम्

(ऋ० ७।७।१) इत्यत्र यथा । एवं सस्निशब्दोप्ययं विशिंषन्दृष्टः--अयं न सस्निम् (ऋ० ३।२२।१) इत्यत्र यथा। तथा मह्युर्वीपृथिव्यादीनां मिथो विशेषणविशेष्यभावेन दाशतये प्रायिकः प्रयोगः। तद्यथा। उर्वीं पृथ्वीम् (ऋ० ७।३८।२), यथेयं पृथिवी मही दाधार (ऋ० १०।६०।६), उनत्ति भूमिं पृथिवीमुतद्याम् (ऋ० ५।८५।४) ।, अध्वरशब्दो लोके यज्ञपर्याय इति परिगृहीतो वेदे यज्ञविशेषणं दृश्यते । तद्यथाऽग्ने- यं यज्ञमध्वरं विश्वतः परिभूरसि (ऋ० १।१।४) । न ध्वरति न हिनस्तीत्यर्थयोगा- दध्वरशब्दोऽहिंसकमाह। यस्मात्सर्वोपि यज्ञोऽविशेषेण यजमानमवति, तमपायात्पाति, न हिनस्तीति यावत्, तस्मात्सोऽध्वरोभूत् । स्वेनैव च विशेष्यार्थमर्पयन्यज्ञपर्यायता मयात्। लोकेपि चैवं बहुधा विलोक्यते। तद्यथा । सानुमानिति पर्वतपर्यायः पर्वत नामस्वमरादिभिः पठ्यते । अयमपि पुरा पर्वतविशेषणमिति प्रयुयुजे, उत्तुङ्गशिखरं चाचचक्षे। तथा चादिकवेः प्रयोगः-आपगाश्च महानूपाः सानुमन्तश्च पर्वताः (रा० २। ४८।१०)। विहङ्ग इति पक्षिनामसु पठ्यते। अयमपि पुरा विहायसा गच्छतीत्यर्थस- माश्रयेण पक्षिविशेषणं प्रयुज्यते। तद्यथा। तां विनाथ विहङ्गो सौ पक्षी प्रणदितस्तदा (रा० ४।१।५५) । अंशुमानिति सूर्यनामसु पठ्यतेऽभिधानकोषेषु । पुरा सूर्यविशे- षणत्वेनाप्यस्य प्रयोगो बभूवेति स्पष्टं श्रीरामायणे। तद्यथा। उद्यतोंशुमतः काले खं प्रभेव विवस्वत (२।३६।१८) इति। शाखी विटपी पलाशीति वृक्षनामसु पठ्यन्ते। अमी चापि शब्दा वृक्षविशेषणभावेन प्रचुरं प्रयोगमवातरन्निति शक्यते निदर्शयितुम्। तथा च भारते प्रयोगः—पलाशिनं शाखिनं च तथा विटपिनं पुनः । तं दृष्ट्वा जीवितं वृक्षं काश्यपेन महात्मना ॥ (आ० आस्तीक-पर्वणि ४३।१०-११)। गहनमिति दुष्प्रवेशार्थ- मभिधाय वनमात्राभिधानेपि शक्तं भवति। उभयथा हि प्रयोगा दृश्यन्ते। एवं चात्र क्रम प्रतिभाति--आदौ केवलं यौगिकाश्शब्दाः कालपर्ययेण योगरूढा भवन्ति । तत्र विशेष्यसाहचर्यं तद्धेतुका प्रसिद्धिर्वा निबन्धनं भवति।

क्वचिदुपमानान्यपि केवलानि प्रयुक्तान्युपमेयैः सहैकार्थतां यान्ति विशेष्याणि वा विशेषणैरिति विपरीतोपि क्रमो लक्ष्यते। घन इति मेघपर्यायेषु पठ्यते। तथा चाम- रेण तेऽनुक्रम्यन्ते—घनजीमूतमुदिरजलमुग्धूमयोनय इति । मूर्त्तौ घन इति घनशब्दः पाणिनीये निपातितः। मूर्त्तिश्चास्यार्थो निर्दिष्टः । मूर्त्तिर्नाम काठिन्यम्। यदा च धर्म- शब्देन धर्मी भण्यते तदा घनं दधीत्यपि भवति। कठिनं संशीनमित्यर्थश्च। यथार्था- न्तरं दध्यादि घनं भवति तथाऽभ्रमपि। तादृशे संश्लिष्टावयवेऽम्मये जीमूते विवक्षिते ऽभ्रघन इति प्रयोगोऽभूदिति शक्यमनुमातुम् । पश्चात्साहचर्येण निरूढिं गतेर्थे घनशब्दः केवलोऽभ्रपरिहारेणापि तदर्थं प्रवृत्तोऽभिधातुम्। इयं चानुमाऽऽदिकवेः प्रयोगेण समर्थ्यत इति सर्वं निर्विचिकित्सं स्थितं भवति। तथा श्रीरामायणे (५।२७।२८) प्रयोगः-- तमभ्रघनसंकाशमापतन्तं महाकपिम् । अभ्रं घन इवेति विग्रहो द्रष्टव्यः। घन इत्यस्य कठिनसंघात इति चार्थः। अभ्रस्य घनो मूर्त्तिरित्येवमपि शक्यं विग्रहीतुम्। यथानन्द-

घन इति वा सैन्धवघन इति वा । तत्रापि षष्ठ्यन्तं विशेषणं भवतीति विशेषणमन्तरेणापि केवलो घनशब्दो घनं सान्द्रमभ्रमाह । तथा चेदानीन्तनाः पञ्चनदीयाः कुङ्कुमकेसर इत्यस्यस्थाने केसर इत्येव व्यवहरन्ति विशेषणपरिहारेण ।

क्वचिद्विशेषवाची शब्दः सामान्यवाचिना समं प्रयुक्तः केवलं विशेषणार्थे पर्यवस्यति । तद्यथा । कान्तारो हि महारण्यमाह प्रथमया वृत्त्या । परं वनेन संनियुक्तो दुष्प्रवेश इत्येवार्थमर्पयति । तथा च भगवतो वाल्मीकेः प्रयोगः—"बहुदोषं हि कान्तारं वनमित्यभिधीयते (रा० २।२८।५) ।

सामान्यस्य विशिष्टार्थोपसङ्क्रमोपि दृश्यते । गरुदिति पक्षनाम । गरुत्मानिति पक्षिपर्यायः । तथा चामरः—नीडोद्भवा गरुत्मन्तः पित्सन्तो नभसंगमा इति समानार्थकान्परिपठति । पक्षिसामान्यवचन एष गरुत्मच्छब्दः कालपरिवासेन पक्षिविशेषे सुपर्णे रूढिं गतोऽतिशयविवक्षया । अपशवो वान्ये गोअश्वेभ्यः । पशवो गोश्वा इति चात्र वचनभङ्ग्यनुसृता भवति । एवं ह्यभिप्रयन्ति तत्र वक्तारः—अयमेको गरुत्मान्यो जविष्ठः पतताम् इति ।

विपरीतोपि क्रमो लक्ष्यते—वाहिनी पृतना चमूरनीकिनीत्यादयः सैन्यविशेषस्य नामधेयानि सन्तोपि विशेषाविवक्षायां सेनासामान्यमभिदधानाः परस्परं पर्याया भवन्ति ।

एवं पर्यायाणां विकासे दिङ्मात्रं प्रदर्शिते तेषां प्रतिनियतविषयतामधिकृत्य किञ्चिदुच्यते—आह च भाष्यकारः—नियतविषयाः शब्दा दृश्यन्ते । तद्यथा । समाने रक्ते वर्णे गौर्लोहित इति भवत्यश्वः शोण इति । समाने च काले वर्णे गौः कृष्ण इति भवत्यश्वो हेम इति । समाने चशुक्ले वर्णे गौः श्वेत इति भवत्यश्वः कर्क इति । रक्तादयः शब्दाः शोणादिभिः समानार्था विविच्यन्ते सूरिभिः । तथा च—बन्धुजीवजपासन्ध्याच्छाया वर्णे मनीषिभिः । शोणरोहितरक्तानां प्रयोगः परिकीर्तितः ॥ इति भागुरिमुदाहरत्यमरव्याख्यायां सर्वानन्दः । इन्धनं त्वेध इध्ममेधः समित्स्त्रियामित्यमर इन्धनादीनां पर्यायवचनतायामपि समिदिध्मयोस्तु होमीय इन्धन एवं बहुलः प्रयोग इति वाग्योगविदः ।

आभिधानिकैः पर्यायवचनतया संपठिताः शब्दा येनाभिप्रायेण तथा पठितास्तमित्थङ्कारमभ्यूहन्ति प्राञ्चः—तमालपत्रतिलकचित्रकाणि विशेषकमित्यत्रामरे तमालपत्रादीनां चतुर्णां पर्यायत्वमन्तरेण तमालपत्राकृति कस्तूर्या ललाटे तमालपत्रम् । तिलकाकृति तिलकम् । चित्रकं नानावर्णम् । विशिनष्टि विशेषकम् । इत्थं तिलकभेदा एते । पर्यायत्वं त्वदूरविप्रकर्षादिति स्वामी स्माह । अन्यत्र च आकारस्त्विङ्ग इङ्गितमित्यमरं व्याचक्षाणः स एवाह । इङ्गिताकाराभ्यां भावज्ञानमित्यादौ गोबलीवर्दन्यायेन

इङ्गितं चेष्टितम् । आकृतिग्रहणमाकारो मुखरागादिरिति कौटिल्यो व्याख्यत् । अयं त्वनयोराशयज्ञापकत्वादैक्यं मन्यत इति ।

अयमत्र निष्कर्षः । ये खल्वभिधानकोषेषु समानार्थका इति परिपठिताश्शब्दास्ते नात्यन्ताय समानार्थका भवितुमर्हन्ति, भिद्यते हि तेषामर्थः कयापि कलयेति । यथेक्षुक्षीर-गुडादीनां माधुर्यं सान्तरं सदपि न तथा विभाव्यते न वा वाचा प्रणिगद्यते, भेदस्याति-सौक्ष्म्यात्, तथा समानार्थकानामप्यवान्तरो विशेषो भवति, न च लक्ष्यते, सौक्ष्म्या-दिति तल्लक्षणे प्रकृतो यत्नः । तत्र च न वयमुत्प्रेक्षामात्रसचिवाः प्रमाणान्तरनिरपेक्षाः प्रवर्तितुमर्हामः । तथाजातीयका नः प्रवृत्तिः प्रज्ञानां प्रीतये प्रतीतये वा न स्यात् । तेन संस्कृतं वाङ्मयमवगाहमवगाहं यद्यत्प्रकृतोपयोगि शिष्टवचनं पश्यामस्तत्तदिह समाम-नामः, यथावसरं यथामनीषं विमर्शं च निजं प्रवर्तयामः ।

सत्यं तथ्यमृतं सम्यगमूनि त्रिषु तद्वतीत्यत्रामरे सत्यऋते समानार्थके पठिते । ऋतं वदिष्यामि । सत्यं वदिष्यामीत्यत्र तैत्तिरीयोपनिषदि तु स्पष्टं नानार्थे । तत्र ऋतं यथाशास्त्रं यथाकर्तव्यं बुद्धौ सुपरिनिश्चितमर्थम् । सत्यमिति वाक्कायाभ्यां सम्पा-द्यमानः । इति शाङ्करं भाष्यम् । कोऽर्हति मनुष्यः सर्वं सत्यं वदितुम् । सत्यसंहिता वै देवा अनृतसंहिता मनुष्या इत्यैतरेयब्राह्मणे (११६) ऋतसत्ये इत्थं निरूपयाञ्चकार भट्टभास्करः—मानसमर्थतथात्वमृतम् । वाचिकमर्थतथात्वं सत्यमिति । गोविन्दस्वामी तु यथार्थवादित्वमृतम् । यथार्थदृष्टवादित्वं सत्यमित्येवं प्रोवाच ।

यशः कीर्तिः समाज्ञा चेत्यमरेण यशःकीर्तिशब्दौ पर्यायवचनौ समुपन्यस्तौ । साहित्ये तु वाक्येषु समं प्रयुक्तौ दृश्येते इति पर्यायता विहन्यते । तथा च जैमिनीयोप-निषदि प्रयोगः—तस्मात्तप्यमानस्य भूयसी कीर्तिर्भवति भूयो यश इति (२।१।१३) श्रीरामायणेऽप्यनेकत्र सहप्रयोगो विलोक्यते । तद्यथा । तेनेहास्यातुला कीर्तिर्यशस्ते-जश्च वर्धते (२।२।३३) । तत्र तिलककारो रामः कीर्तिः शौर्यादिजा, यशो दानादिजा प्रसिद्धिरिति तयोर्विशेषमाह । अन्यत्र च रामायणे न साम्ना शक्यते कीर्तिर्न साम्ना शक्यते यश (६।२१।१६) इत्यत्र पद्येऽसावेवं विविङ्क्ते—कीर्तिर्देशान्तरख्यातिः, यशः स्वदेशख्यातिरिति । अत्रैकतरं व्याख्यानं प्रमाणमुभयं वाऽनुभयं वेति नार्हामो वक्तुम् । मनुसंहितायामप्येतयोः साहचर्येण प्रयुक्तिरुपलभ्यते । तद्यथा । इन्द्रियाणि यशः स्वर्गमायुः कीर्तिं प्रजाः पशून् (११।४०) इति । तत्र जीवतः ख्यातिरूपं यशः । मृतस्य ख्यातिरूपां कीर्तिमिति कुल्लूकव्याख्यानम् । नेदं सर्वत्र घटत इति न वेद्या विदां वराः । तथा हि भगवद्गीतासु अकीर्तिं चापि भूतानि कथयिष्यन्ति तेऽव्ययामिति पद्ये जीवत एवाकीर्तिर्मरणान्मरणदुःखादपि सुदुःसहा भवतीति निगदत एव स्पष्टा प्रतिपत्तिः । मृतस्य सतः सम्भावितस्य जनस्याकीर्तिर्मरणातिरेकोऽकिञ्चित्कर इति तदुक्तिर-नर्थिका स्यात् ।

परीवादापवादौ प्रायेण पर्यायौ परिगृह्येते। तत्रापि सहप्रयोगः पर्यायत्वापघातको दृश्यते। तथा च श्रीरामायणे प्रयोगः—परिवादोऽपवादो वा राघवे नोपपद्यते (२।१२।२७) तत्र रामष्टीकाकार एवं तयोर्भेदं निब्रूते—परिवादोऽकार्यकरणनिमित्तं समूलमयशः। अपवादोऽसूयाकल्पितं निर्मूलमयशः। गुरोर्यत्र परीवादो निन्दा वापि प्रवर्तते इत्यत्र मनौ विद्यमानदोषस्याभिधानं परिवाद इति कुल्लूकः। परिवादः सम्भूतदोषानुकथनम्। निन्दाऽविद्यमानानां दोषाणामभिधानमिति च मेधातिथिः।

दीप्तिकान्तिद्युतयोऽदूरविप्रकर्षात्पर्यायाः, वस्तुतस्तु भिन्नार्था इत्यत्र शिष्ट-प्रयोगाः प्रमाणम्। तथा च भारत आदिपर्वणि तत्तद्विषयतापरिच्छेदेन तेषां प्रयोगः—दीप्तिकान्तिद्युतिगुणैः सूर्येन्दुज्वलनोपम (१८।३) इति। अन्यत्र च भीष्मपर्वणि—उभौ चन्द्रार्कसदृशौ कान्त्या दीप्त्या च भारत (११०।३०) इति। अन्यत्रापि काव्य-नाटकेषु सूर्यादीनां दीप्त्यादिभिरव्यभिचरितः सम्बन्धो विलोक्यते, प्रयोगनियमश्च विज्ञायते। तद्यथा। उस्रैः सर्वैः समग्रस्त्वमिव दीप्यते सप्तसप्तिरिति विक्रमोर्वशीये। कला च सा कान्तिमती कलावत इति च कुमारे। अत्र तेजस्तारतम्यमेव विषयभेदे हेतुः। सूर्यस्य तेजश्चक्षुरुपहन्तीत्यसह्यं भवति, तदुच्यते दीप्तिरिति। चन्द्रस्य प्रभा कमनीया भवतीति साऽभिधीयते कान्तिरिति। ज्वलनो नामार्चिष्मान्भवति, विरम्य विरम्य च ज्वलत्येधेन पुनः पुनः प्रीणितः सन्निति स उच्यते द्योतत इति। यथा तारका द्योतन्ते यथा वा विद्युद्विद्योतत इति। ताभिः सामान्यं किञ्चिदादाय सूर्यचन्द्रयोः प्रकाशाद् विशेषं कञ्चिदाख्यातुं तथा प्रयोगो भारते। नायं नियमः सूर्यादीनां कर्तृतायां तत्सम्बन्धे वा दीप्यतिप्रभृतीनां धातूनामेव प्रयोगो भवतीति, धात्वन्तरप्रयोगस्य बहुलं दर्शनात्। न तत्र सूर्यो भाति न चन्द्रतारकं नेमा विद्युतो भान्ति कुतोऽयमग्निरित्यत्रैकेन भातिना सूर्यादीनामन्वयदर्शनात्।

कोपक्रोधावभिन्नार्थाविति प्रायेणाभ्युपेयते। तदनुपपन्नम्। क्रुधद्रुहेर्ष्यासूयार्थानां यं प्रतिकोप इति सूत्रे भाष्ये नानार्था एते कुपौ त्वेषां सामान्यम्। न ह्यकुपितः क्रुध्यती-त्युक्तम्। तत्र कोपक्रोधयोर्विशेषमभिप्रैति भाष्यकारः। तं च विशेषमित्थमुन्नयति कैयटः—ननु कोपः क्रोध एवेति भेदाभावात्कथं पौर्वापर्यम्। एवं तर्हि प्रथमामनुद्भूतां कोपावस्थां द्वितीयां चोद्भूतां विकृतवाक्कायव्यापारानुमीयमानामाश्रित्यैतदुक्तमित्य-दोषः। एतच्च 'प्रतिकूलेषु तैक्ष्ण्यस्य प्रकर्षः क्रोध उच्यते इत्यभियुक्तोक्त्या बलवत्समर्थ्यते। क्रोधो विक्षिप्तचित्ततेति शान्तिपर्वणि (२१३।४) नीलकण्ठभणितिरप्यत्रानुगुणा।

अमर्षरोषावपि विविच्येते अर्थतो विचक्षणैः। मालतीमाधवे (पृष्ठे ९० तमे) ऽमर्षरोषाविति द्वन्द्वनिर्देशः। समुपलभ्यते। तत्र टीकाकृज्जगद्धर इत्थं विशेषं निर्वक्ति—अमर्षरोषौ अक्षमाक्रोधौ। यद्वा स्थिरक्रोधतात्कालिककोपौ। यथाहुः—क्रोधः कृतापराधेषु स्थिरोऽमर्षत्वमश्नुते रोषस्तात्कालिकः कोप। इति। इदं च निरवद्यं

भाति । क्षणे रुष्टः क्षणे तुष्टस्तुष्टो रुष्टः क्षणे क्षणे इति हितोपदेशस्थे पद्ये वाक्यार्थे विमृश्यमाने रोषस्तात्कालिकः कोपो भवतीति न दुष्करमुन्नेतुम् ।

मित्रं सखा सुहृदिति समानार्थकानि नामानि परिपठति कोषकारः । विशेषज्ञास्त्वत्र विशेषं विजानन्ति । प्रथते च प्राचामुक्तिः—अत्यागसहनो बन्धुः सदैवानुगतः सुहृत् । एकक्रियं भवेन्मित्रं समप्राणः सखा मतः ॥ इति । यदत्र मित्रलिलक्षयिषयोक्तं तत् 'तन्मित्रमापदि सुखे च समक्रियं यद्' इति हयुक्त्या संवादात्सुष्ठूपपन्नं भवति । भारते शान्तिपर्वणि (१७४।२८) असुहृत्ससुहृच्चापि सशत्रुर्मित्रवानपीति पठ्यते । तत्र मित्रसुहृदोर्भेदेनोपादानमिति व्यक्तम् । तं च भेदमित्थं विवृणोति भावप्रदीपे नीलकण्ठः सुहृत्प्रत्युपकारमनपेक्ष्योपकारकर्ता । मित्रं प्रत्युपकारमपेक्ष्योपकारकर्तृ । इदमत्रावश्यवाच्यं सुहृच्छब्दसंनियोगेन मित्रशब्द इदमर्थाभिधायी भवति, सुहृच्छब्दार्थपारिशेष्यात् । न तु मित्रशब्दः सर्वत्र प्रत्युपकारापेक्षयोपकर्तरि रूढः । यच्च प्राचीनैः सखिशब्दमुद्दिश्य समप्राणः सखा मत इति परिभाषितं तत्क्वचिदेवावितथम् । बाढं शाकुन्तले षष्ठेऽङ्के मधुकरिकायाः परभृतिकां सखीं प्रति 'एकमेव नौ जीवितं द्विधा स्थितं शरीरम्' इत्युक्तिस्तस्यार्थस्य पोषिका भवति । प्रायशश्च सखिशब्दः सहचरमाह सहायं वा । तथा च कवीनां प्रयोगः—वनेचराणां वनितासखानाम् इति कुमारे (१।१०), सचिवसख इति रघौ (४।८७) । मरुत्सखाभमिति च । समानं ख्यातीति सखेति व्युत्पत्तेर्ययोर्द्वयोः शीलादि समानं भवति तयोरेव सखिभाव इत्यभ्युपगमाच्च समानावस्थितिकाः समानव्यवसितिकाश्च परस्परं सखायो भवन्ति । अयं चार्थो भारत आदिपर्वणि द्रोणोद्देश्कया द्रुपदोक्त्या साधीयः समर्थ्यते । एवं हि सोऽवादीत्—नाऽश्रोत्रियः श्रोत्रियस्य नारथी रथिनः सखा । नाराजा पार्थिवस्यापि सखिपूर्वं किमिष्यत (१६६ । १४) इति ।

गर्वोऽभिमानोहंकारो मानश्चित्तसमुन्नतिरिति पर्यायवचनाः । तत्र गर्वमधिकृत्य पूर्वाचार्यवाक्यमुदाहरति सर्वानन्दः—गर्वो नाम कुलैश्वर्यरूपविद्याबलादिभिः । इष्टार्थविषयप्राप्तेर्जायते नीचगोचरः ॥ इति । भारते शान्तिपर्वणि (२१३।४) क्रोधात्काममवाप्याथ लोभमोहौ च मानवाः । मानदर्पावहंकारमहंकारात्ततः क्रियाः ॥ इति स्मर्यते । तथा मानदर्पाहंकाराणां पृथङ् निर्देशोऽर्थभेदस्य प्रकल्पक इत्यभिव्यक्तम् । तमर्थभेदमित्थमुद्भावयति नीलकण्ठः—मान आत्मनि पूज्यताबुद्धिः । दर्प उच्छृङ्खलत्वम् । अहंकारः परेषां तुच्छीकरणमिति । यश्चात्र मानशब्दार्थ उक्तः स व्युत्पत्तिलभ्य इति प्रमाणान्तरं नापेक्षते । अभिमानोपि विशिष्टः स एव । दर्पशब्दोऽपि यथातथं व्याख्यातः । कन्दर्पो दर्पकोऽनङ्ग इति कामनामानि । कामाविष्टो हि दृप्यत्युच्छृङ्खलो भवतीति सार्वलौकिकम् ।

तर्जनं भर्त्सनं च समानाभिधेये इति भूम्ना व्यवह्रियेते । तथा च धातुपाठः—

तर्ज भर्त्स भर्त्सन इति। अत्रापि विशेषः कश्चित्समस्ति। श्री रामायणेऽनयोः सहप्रयोगदृष्टेः। तद्यथा। तर्जापयति मां नित्यं भर्त्सापयति चासकृत् (६।३३।६) इति। तत्रैवं विविङ्क्ते तिलककारः—अवाचिकी भीषिका तर्जनम्। वाचिकी तु सा भर्त्सनमिति। इदं च हृदयङ्गमम्। तथा हि भष भर्त्सन इति पठ्यते न तु भष तर्जन इति। आगन्तुमपसर्पन्तं निशाम्य वाचा भीषयते श्वा न तु कायव्यापारेण। प्रदेशिनी नामाङ्गुलिस्तर्जनीति संज्ञान्तरेणोच्यते न तु भर्त्सनीति भीषिकायां वाग्व्यवहाराभावात्। अत एवामरः शब्द वित्तम ॅ पपाठ—भर्त्सनं त्वपकारगीरिति।

केयूरमङ्गदं तुल्ये इत्यमरे पर्यायवचनतया पठिते। परं रामायणे भारते चानयोः सहप्रयोगदर्शनान्नैते समानार्थके इति शक्यमध्यवसातुम्। रामायणे तावत्—अङ्गदानि च चित्राणि केयूराणि शुभानि चेति दृश्यते। तत्राङ्गदं बाहुमूलधार्यं भूषणम्। केयूरं तदधोभागस्थमिति तिलककारः। भारत उद्योगपर्वणि चाप्येनयोर्भेदेनोपादानं विलोक्यते। तद्यथा। अङ्गदैः पारिहार्यैश्च केयूरैश्च विभूषितान् (१६२।१६) इति।

विलपः परिदेवनमिति परस्परेण समानार्थकं द्वयं कोषेषु। अत्रापि विशेषः कश्चिदस्ति स वक्तव्यः। परिदेवनमिति चौरादिकाद् दिव परिकूजन इति धातोर्व्युत्पद्यते कूजनं रोदनं चास्यार्थः। कूजति रोदितीत्यनर्थान्तरम्। अङ्गात्प्रातिलोम्ये (८।१।३३) इति सूत्रे 'अङ्ककूज वृषल, इदानीं ज्ञास्यसि जाल्मेति प्रत्युदाहरणे तदर्थावगतेः। विलाप इति तु लप व्यक्तायां वाचीत्यस्मात्तेनैतयोरर्थभेदः स्फुटः। तथा चैतयोः पृथगर्थतया रामायणे प्रयोगः—विलपितपरिदेवनाकुलं व्यसनगतं तद भर्त्सुदुःखितम् (२।३६।४१) तत्र विलपितं रामगुणकैकेयीदुर्गुणप्रतिपादकं वाक्यम्। परिदेवनं रोदनमिति रामकृता विवृतिः।

पिशुनसूचकौ समार्थकौ प्रतिपद्येते। तथा च धातुपाठः षूच पैशुन्य इति। भृगुप्रोक्तायां मनुसंहितायां तु भिन्नार्थकतया प्रयुक्तौ। पिशुनः पौति नासिक्यं सूचकः पूति वक्त्रताम् (११।५०) इति। तत्र पिशुनो विद्यमानदोषाभिधायी। सूचकोऽविद्यमानदोषाभिधायक इति कुल्लूको विशेषमाविष्करोति।

सिकताशर्कराबालुकानां प्रायेण व्यतिकीर्यन्ते प्रयोगाः। अस्तीह सामान्यं भेदश्च। भारते शान्तिपर्वणि भूमिपाषाणसिकताशर्कराबालुकाभस्मशायिन इति प्रयोगो लक्ष्यते। तत्र सिकताः सूक्ष्मपाषाणपांसवः। शर्करा कर्करसहिता मृत्। बालुका लघूपलमिश्राः सिकता एवेति भारतभावप्रदीपे नीलकण्ठः।

मुत्प्रीतिः प्रमदो हर्ष इति हर्षनामस्वमरः। मुत्प्रमोदयोस्तु प्रत्ययो भिद्यते न प्रकृतिः। तेनानवकाशोऽर्थभेदः। प्रमोदामोदयोश्चाप्युपसर्गौ भिद्यते केवलं न प्रकृतिर्न

वा प्रत्ययः । तस्मात्तयोरप्यर्थवैशिष्ट्यं न । इदानीं विचार्यते प्रीतिहर्षप्रमोदानां परस्परं को विशेष इति । इदं तावदभ्युपेयं प्रीतिर्नाम सामान्यस्तोष इति । अस्ति खलु मोदहर्षयोर्भेद इति श्री रामायणे 'न चाहृष्यन्न चामोदन् वणिजो न प्रसारयन्' (२।४८।४) इत्यत्र स्पष्टम् । तत्र हर्षः शारीरो मुखविकासादिरूपः । मोद आन्तरो हर्ष इत्येवं विविनक्ति रामायणतिलके रामः । परं नायं विवेकः साधुर्भवतीति प्रतीमः । चरके विमानस्थानेऽनुमानज्ञेयान्भावान्प्रकृत्याह—तत्र क्रोधमभिद्रोहेण, शोकं दैन्येन, हर्षमामोदेन, प्रीतिं तोषेण......विद्यात् । आमोदो गीतवादित्राद्युत्सवकरणम् । तोषो मुखनयनप्रसादादिः तेन प्रीतिस्तोषमात्रम् । हर्षस्तु प्रीतिविशेषो मनउद्रेककारक इति चक्रपाणिर्व्याचष्टे । इयमेव च साध्वी व्याख्या । मूल आमोदेन लिङ्गेन हर्षमनुमिमीतेत्युक्तेः । यदि नाम हर्षो रामस्याभिमतः शारीरो मुखविकासादिरूपः स्यान्नासावनुमेयः स्यात् । प्रत्यक्षमुपलब्धेः । आमोदे चान्त ह र्ष चि ; त्वमपि नोपपत्तिमत्स्यात् । तेन रामोक्ती रभसोक्तिरिति नादृत्या भवति ।

हेमशब्दो हिरण्यस्य पर्याय इति स्वीकारः तथा चामरः—हिरण्यं हेम हाटकमिति । चरके विमानस्थाने तु भेदेनैतयोरुपादानम् । तत्र माल्यदामदीपहिरण्यहेमरजतादि समासोक्त्या पठितम् । व्याख्यातं च चक्रेण हिरण्यशब्देनाघटितं हेम गृह्यते, हेमशब्देन च घटितमिति । तथा सत्यप्यमरे प्रयोगसाङ्कर्यं दृश्यते यदाह—हेमरूप्ये कृताकृते इति । मन्ये वृत्तानुरोधादेवं प्रायुङ्क्त कोषकारः ।

कुम्भघटयोरपि न प्रायेण सुग्रहो विशेषः। अस्ति च स इति तं दिदर्शयिषामः । चरके सूत्रस्थाने इदानीं तावत्संभारान् विविधानपि समासेनोपदेक्ष्याम इत्युपक्रम्य तांस्तानर्थान्परिगणयन्कुम्भघटौ साहचर्येण पठति । तत्राह टीकाकारश्चक्रपाणिः—कुम्भो दृढावयवोऽल्पमुखो घट इति ।

अनर्थकापार्थकयोरपि समानार्थकाभिमतयोर्विशेषं सुधियः स्वदन्ताम् । चरके विमानस्थाने वाक्यदोषान्परिगणयति ग्रन्थकारः । तत्रानर्थकमपार्थकं चेति दोषद्वयमपि कीर्तयति । स्वयमेव च व्याख्याति । तद्यथा । अनर्थकं नाम यद्वचनमक्षरग्राममात्रमेव स्यात् पञ्चवर्गवन्नार्थतो गृह्यते । अपार्थकं नाम यदर्थवच्च परस्परेण चायुज्यमानार्थकम् । यथा चक्रनक्रवंशवज्रनिशाकरा इति ।

इदं चाकूतकरं भविष्यति विदुषां धृतिधैर्ययोरप्यर्थभेदःसमस्तीति । भारते शांतिपर्वणि चरके च तयोर्भेदेनोपादानं दृश्यते । भारते तावत्—तेजो धैर्यं क्षमा शौचमनुरागः स्थितिर्धृतिः । परीक्ष्य च गुणान्नित्यमिति (८३।२१) स्मर्यते । तत्र धैर्यं महत्यामप्यापदि चित्तस्यानवसादः । धृतिर्धारणसामर्थ्यमिति विशेषमुन्मेषयति नीलकण्ठः । साध्विदं विवेचनमिति भाति । धीरस्य धृतिमतः कर्म धैर्यं भवति । धृतिस्तु वृत्तिविशेषः । तेन

धृति धैर्ययोर्जन्यजनकभावः सूपपन्नो भवति। धृतिः कारणं धैर्यं कार्यमिति। इदं चान्यत्र शान्तिपर्वणि (१६२।१६) धृतिर्नाम सुखे दुःखे यया नाप्नोति विक्रियामिति वचनेन भूयः पोषमेति । चरके विमानस्थानेऽनुमेयार्थाननुक्रामन्नाह—धैर्यमविषादेन, धृतिमलौल्येन"""विद्यादिति । तत्र धैर्यं विपद्यपि मनसोऽदैन्यमिति चक्रपाणिः। अत्र धैर्यं नाम विषादप्रतिरोधी गुणः, धृतिश्च चापलप्रतियोगिनीति विशेषो विवक्षितो भाति।

दरी तु कन्दरो वा स्त्रीत्यमरोऽपठीत्। अत्राप्यर्थविशेषोऽस्ति रामायणे संनियोगेन प्रयोगदर्शनात्। तद्यथा। विचरन्ति वनान्तेषु तानि द्रक्ष्यसि राघव। सरित्प्रश्रवणप्रस्थान् दरीकन्दरनिर्झरान् ॥ इति। तत्र दरी पाषाणनिभेदः। कन्दरा गिरिगुहेति विशेष-मुत्पश्यति तिलककारः। इमं च विशेषं कवयो नाद्रियन्त इत्यन्यदेतत्। तथा च वैराग्य शतके भर्तृहरिः कन्दरवचनं दरीशब्दं प्रयुङ्क्ते—एका नारी सुन्दरी वा दरी वेति।

अश्रुबाष्पयोरपि पर्याययोरपि सुस्थितो विभेदः। कण्ठः स्तम्भितबाष्पवृत्तिकलुष इत्यत्र शाकुन्तलेऽश्रुणः पूर्वावस्था बाष्पमिति राघवभट्टः । नेदमुत्प्रेक्षामात्रम् । रामायणेऽश्रुबाष्पयोः सहप्रयोगोपलम्भात् । तद्यथा । अश्रूणि मुमुचुः सर्वे बाष्पेण पिहितानना इति (२।४८।३) अन्यत्रापि रामायणे (२।६१।२) बाष्पकृतः कण्ठरोध उदीरितः। तद्यथा। बाष्पैः पिहितकण्ठश्च प्रेक्ष्य रामं यशस्विनमिति । तेनाश्रुप्रवाहो-श्रुपातो वा भवति न जातु बाष्पप्रवाहो बाष्पपातो वेति। मेघदूते (१।१२) तु स्नेह व्यक्तिश्चिरविरहजं मुञ्चतो बाष्पमुष्णमिति बाष्पाश्रुणोरभेदेन प्रयोगश्चिन्त्यः।

विषगरौ समानार्थौ प्रतिपन्नौ। तथा चामरः—क्ष्वेडस्तु गरलं विषमिति पठति। गरगरलयोस्तु न विशेषः कश्चिदस्ति श्यामश्यामलवत् । अन्यत्र लिङ्गभेदात् । इदं तु विमृश्यं विषगरयोः सोऽस्त्युत नेति। अस्तीति ब्रूमः। तयोः साहचर्येण प्रयोगदर्शनात्। चरके सूत्रस्थाने तस्यायुर्वेदस्याङ्गान्यष्टौ। तद्यथा कायचिकित्सा शालाक्यं शल्यापहर्तृकं विषगरवैरोधिकप्रशमनं भूतविद्या कौमारभृत्यकं रसायनानि वाजीकरणम् इति। तत्र गरः कालान्तरप्रकोपि विषम् इति चक्रपाणिर्व्याचष्टे । तत्रैव चान्यत्र जठरामगरार्दिता इति पाठं विवृण्वानः स एव गरः कृत्रिमं विषमित्याह ।

तूणोपासङ्गतूणीरनिषङ्गा इषुधिर्द्वयोरित्यमरे पर्यायवचनाः। भारते त्वेषां भेदे-नोपादानम्। तथा चोद्योगपर्वणि (१५५।३) सानुकर्षाः सतूणीराः सवरूथाः सतोमराः सोपासङ्गाः सशक्तीकाः सनिषङ्गाः सहर्ष्टयः। इति पाठः। तत्र नीलकण्ठ एवं भेदमभ्यूहति —तूणीरो रथवाह्यो बाणकोशः। महानिषङ्ग इति यावत्। उपासङ्गा हयगज-वाह्यास्तूणाः। निषङ्गाः पत्तिवाह्यः स एवेति।

पुमानाक्रीड उद्यानमित्याक्रीडोद्याने समानार्थके अभ्युपेयेते । एते अपि विशिष्येते । सहप्रयोगदर्शनात् । तथा च रामायणे पाठः—देवाक्रीडशताकीर्णां देवोद्यानयुतां नदीम् (२।५०।१५) इति । तत्र देवानामाक्रीडैः क्रीडापर्वतैरिति तिलकम् ।

अटव्यरण्यं विपिनं काननं गहनं वनमिति, वननामस्वमरः । एषां गहनमिति दुष्प्रवेशार्थमभिधाय दुष्प्रवेशं वनमभिधातुं प्रावृतदिति सत्त्ववचनं बभूवेत्यधस्ताद् दर्शितम् । इतरेषामप्यदूरविप्रकर्षात्पर्यायत्वम् । सहप्रयोगो हि दृश्यते । तथा च श्रीरामायणे प्रयोगः—दुष्प्रतीकमरण्येऽस्मिन् किं तात वनमागत इति (२।१००।५) । तत्रारण्यं गजाद्युपभोग्यम् । वनमाम्रादियुतं मनुष्यभोग्यमिति तिलककारो रामः । अन्यत्रापि रामायणे—शोभयिष्यन्ति काकुत्स्थमटव्यो रम्यकानना (२।४८।१०) इत्यटवी काननयोः सह प्रयोगः । तत्र रम्यकाननाश्चारुवृक्षसङ्घा इत्येवमर्थापयति रामः ।

वल्ली तु व्रततिर्लतेत्यनर्थान्तरमिति कोषकृतः । परं वल्लीलतयोः सहप्रयोगदर्शनान्नैते पर्यायाविति गम्यते । तथा च भारते भीष्मपर्वणि प्रयोगः—वृक्षगुल्मलतावल्ल्य (४।१४) इति तत्र लता वृक्षाद्यारूढा गुडूच्यादयः । वल्ल्यो भूमिप्रसारावर्षमात्रस्थायिन्य इति विशेषमभिव्यनक्ति नीलकण्ठः । वल्लीवीरुधोस्तु व्यक्ततरो भेदः । एतयोरपि रामायणे (४।४८।०१) सहप्रयोगः । तद्यथा । न चात्र वृक्षा नौषध्यो न वल्ल्यो नापि वीरुध इति । तत्र वल्ल्यो वृक्षाद्याश्रिताः । वीरुधो भूम्याधारा इति तिलके रामः ।

तीक्ष्णनिशितौ पर्यायवचनाविति प्रतीतौ । तावपि भिन्नार्थकाविति शक्यं प्रतिपत्तुम् । तथा हि भारते भीष्मपर्वणि भेदेनैतयोरुपादानम्—सायकेन सुपीतेन तीक्ष्णेन निशितेन च (४५।४८) इति । तत्र तीक्ष्णेन सूक्ष्मधारेण, निशितेन शाणोल्लीढेनेति नीलकण्ठः ।

स्थपतिः कारुभेदेऽपीत्यमरे मूल एव स्थपतिः कारुविशेष इत्युक्तम् । विवृतं च स्वामिना कारुविशेषो मुख्यतक्षेति । तेन स्थपतिर्वर्धकिमात्रं न भवति । तथा च श्रीरामायणे 'कर्मान्तिकाः स्थपतयः पुरुषा यन्त्रकोविदाः । तथा वर्धकयश्चैवेति' भेदेनोपादानं विशेषमिममुपस्तभ्नाति । स्थपतयो रथादिकर्तारः प्रधानवर्धकयः, वर्धकयस्तक्षाण इति च तत्र तिलकम् ।

स्यान्माया शाम्बरीत्यमरं व्याचक्षाणः स्वामी 'इन्द्रजालं तु कुसृतिः कुहकं कुहिका चेति' कोषान्तरमुदाहरति पर्यायान्तरसमुच्चिचीषया । मायाकारस्तु प्रातिहारिक इत्यत्र च मूले प्रातिहारिक ऐन्द्रजालिक इत्याह । भिद्यन्ते च मायादयो मिथ इति च विवक्षामः । तत्रैषां वाक्ये भेदेनोपादानमेव प्रमाणम् । तथा च भारत उद्योगपर्वणि प्रयोगः— न माया हीन्द्रजालं वा कुहिका वापि भीषणेति (१६०।११८) । तत्रार्जुन-

मिश्रटीकाकारो मायाऽनृतदर्शिनी कापि विद्या विश्वरूपादिदर्शनरूपा । इन्द्रजालं मन्त्रौषधादिभिश्चतुरादिप्रतिबन्धेनान्यथा प्रतिभानम् । कुहिका हस्तलाघवेनान्यथा दर्शनमिति ग्रन्थेन मायादीनामन्योन्यं भेदं ब्रवीति ।

न्यासनिक्षेपयोः को विशेष इत्यपि जिज्ञासास्पदम् । वात्स्यायनीये कामसूत्रे न्यासनिक्षेपयोर्वाक्ये सहप्रयोग एवार्थविशेषे मानम् । तथा च तत्र पाठः—प्रसृते च परिचये तस्या हस्ते न्यासं निक्षेपं च निदध्यादिति । न्यासाः स्थाप्याश्चिरकालग्राह्याः । निक्षेपोऽल्पकालग्राह्य इति च तत्र जगद्धरटीकाकारः ।

सगोत्रबान्धवज्ञातिबन्धुस्वस्वजनाः समा इत्यमर एषां समानार्थत्वमातिष्ठते । तत्र नहि सर्वे बन्धवः सगोत्रा भवन्ति । सप्तमे पुरुषे सपिण्डताविनिवृत्तौ सगोत्रता संवर्तते । बन्धुबान्धवयोस्तु नार्थभेदः कश्चित्, रूपभेद एव केवलः स्वार्थिकप्रत्यय-कृतः । सम्बन्धिशब्दोपि बन्धुपर्यायो भवतीति व्यामुह्यति जनः । भिद्यन्ते च ज्ञाति-सम्बन्धिबान्धवा इत्यत्र मनुसंहिता प्रमाणम् । एवं हि तत्र स्मर्यते—बालवृद्धातुरै-र्वैद्यज्ञातिसम्बन्धिबान्धवैः (४।१७९) । तत्र ज्ञातयः पितृपक्षाः । सम्बन्धिनो जामातृ-श्यालकादयः । बान्धवा मातृपक्षा इति कुल्लूकः । भारतेपि शान्तिपर्वणि (१३८।३०) ये च सम्बन्धिबान्धवा इति सम्बन्धिबान्धवयोर्भेदेन ग्रहः ।

इदमिह विमृश्यमानं स्वदिष्यते विमर्शकेभ्यः पूगश्रेणिव्रातानां परस्परं कि-मन्तरमिति । पूगाञ्ञ्योऽग्रामणी पूर्वादिति सूत्रे नानाजातीया अनियतवृत्तयोऽर्थकाम-प्रधानाः सङ्घाः पूगा इति काशिका । व्रातच्फञोरस्त्रियाम् (५।३।११३) इति सूत्रे च नानाजातीया अनियतवृत्तय उत्सेधजीविनः सङ्घा व्राता इति सैव । श्रेण्यादयः कृतादिभिः (२।१।५९) इति सूत्रे भाष्यप्रदीपे एकशिल्पपण्याश्रयणेन जीविनां सङ्घः श्रेणिरिति कैयटः । एतदेव कारुः शिल्पी संहतैस्तैर्द्वयोः श्रेणिः सजातिभिरित्यमर वचनमनुरुन्धे । राज्याङ्गानि प्रकृतयः पौराणां श्रेणय इत्यत्र चामर एकगुरुः सजातीय-समूहः श्रेणिरिति स्वामिकृतमुद्घाटनम् ।

प्रायेणालिङ्गनपरिष्वङ्गावेकार्थौ प्रतिपद्येते । तदप्यदूरविप्रकर्षान्न त्व-त्यन्ताभेदादिति श्रीरामायणे सस्वजे गाढमालिङ्ग्य (६।१०१।४६) इति वचनं प्रमाणम् । मन्ये बाहुभ्यां कृतस्यावेष्टनस्यालिङ्गनमिति नाम । वक्षसोपपीडनस्य च परिष्वङ्ग इति । परिरम्भः संश्लेष उपगूहनमित्येतेऽपि परिष्वङ्गेण समाः ।

इदमिह विचार्यतेऽशनभोजनभक्षणखादनानि समानार्थानि भवन्त्याहोस्वि-न्नानार्थानीति । तत्राशनभोजने अभिन्नार्थे इत्यभ्युपगमः । अभ्यवहरणसामान्यं च ब्रूतः । यत्राभ्यवहार्यं विशिष्य नोच्यते तत्राश्नातिः प्रयुज्यते भुजिर्वा । यथाऽऽशितः कृताहार-

स्तृप्त इत्युच्यते। यथा वाश्नीतपिबता वर्तत इत्यत्र। भुक्ता ब्राह्मणा इत्यत्र च। भक्षण-खादने तु खरविशदस्यार्थस्याभ्य वहरणे वर्तेते। खाद भक्षण इति साधुरर्थनिर्देशः। तथा च नीतिकारवचनम्—न परेणाहृतं भक्ष्यं व्याघ्रः खादितुमिच्छतीति। समुच्चये सामान्यवचनस्येति सूत्रे (३।४।५) ओदनं भुङ्क्ष्व, सक्तून् पिब, धानाः खादेत्येवायम-भ्यवहरतीति काशिकोदाहरणेऽपि भुजिखाद्योरौपयिकः प्रयोगः। अन्यत्रापि पाणि-नीयाष्टके संस्कृतं भक्षाः (४।२।१६), हितं भक्षाः (४।४।६५) इत्यत्र च आष्ट्रे संस्कृता आष्ट्रा अपूपाः, अपूपभक्षणं हितमस्मा इत्यापूपिक इत्युदाहृत्योरपि यत्र दन्तव्यापार-पूर्वकं निगरणं तत्र भक्षणव्यवहार इति विशदम्। परं भक्षणमन्यत्राप्यतिदिश्यत इति नानुपेक्ष्यम्। भोज्यं भक्ष्य (७।३।६९) इति पाणिनीये शासन इह भक्ष्यमभ्यवहार्यमात्र-मिति काशिका। अब्भक्षो वायुभक्ष इति भाष्यप्रयोगेऽपि भक्षयतिरभ्यवहरतिना समानार्थः। खादतिस्तु नाशने सामान्ये क्वचिदिष्यते, शब्दस्वाभाव्यादिति विबुधा विभावयन्तु। अतएवं संगच्छते चरके सूत्रस्थाने (२८।३) ऽशितपीतलीढखादित-प्रभवाश्चास्मिञ्शरीरे व्याधयो भवन्तीत्यशितखादितयोः पृथङ्निर्देशः।

प्रकृतं निबन्धं भाष्यकारकृतेन पर्यायार्थप्रविवेकेन पर्यवसाययामः। आशं-सायां भूतवच्चेति सूत्रे (३।३।१३२) भाष्य आशंसासंभावनयोरविशेषादिष्टाव्यवस्था न प्रकल्पेतेति दोषमुद्भाव्याह भगवान्भाष्यकारः—न वा संभावनावयवत्वादाशंसायाः। संभाव-नावयवात्मिकाऽऽशंसा। आशंसा नाम प्रधारितोऽर्थोऽभिनीतश्चानभिनीतश्च। संभावनं नाम प्रधारितोऽर्थोऽभिनीत एवेति। अत्र कैयटः—आशंसासंभावनयोरिति। आशंसासंभावनयो-रर्थभेदाभावादविशेष इत्यर्थः। आशंसाऽनागतवस्तुवाञ्छा। संभावनमपि भाविवस्तुप्रेक्षण-मिति भावः। न वेति। अवयवशब्दः पृथग्भाववाची। संभावनात्पृथगेवाशंसेत्यर्थः। प्रधारितोर्थ इति। इदं मे भूयादिति मनसा विषयीकृतोर्थः। अभिनीत इति। कारणयोग्यतावशाच्छक्यप्राप्तिरित्यर्थः। ततोऽन्योऽनभिनीत इति। अन्ये त्वप्रधारित इति पठन्ति। अनिर्धारितोऽवश्यंभावितयाऽनिश्चित इत्यर्थः। संभावनं चासतिविधुर-प्रत्ययोपनिपाते भवितव्यमनेनार्थेनेति ज्ञानमित्यनयोर्भेद इति।

इति शम्।

(32) Words Denoting "Emptinfss".

by

Herbert V. Guenther, ph.d.

Every language is a living organism and as such it represents in its structure and outer form all those forces which contributed toward its development. At the same time it is possible to observe the living spirit of a language by going behind the facade of the comparatively rigid and final forms of the grammatical categories. It is the task of linguistics to lay bare the living spirit of a language, but not to postulate laws which after all are unable to make us understand why and how a specific formation has come about. Linguistics—I understand this term in the sense as it is used in Continental Europe and as will become evident in this article is no longer concerned with mere comparison. Its main task is to elucidate the spirit of any given language and, should someone be interested in comparison, a comparison may be done. But to compare different languages with each other without having elucidated their individual living spirit can only result in the statement that in every language there are vowels and consonants, which is not a very intelligent result. Moreover, etymology is also not sufficient. We do not understand the words we use by their etymology but by the associations they arouse in us. Nobody has the association of "bread keeper" when he hears the words "lord", but rather the association of "feudal superior", although the etymology of lord is bread-keeper (hirferd= hlaf = loaf and weord = ward). Hence translations from foreign languages by having recourse to etymology proved to be mere humbug. It is true that etymological speculations may aid us in finding the living spirit of a language, and in this respect the popular etymological fancies are more valuable than the scientific ones. The so-called scientific explanations are almost exclusively concerned with the cognitive meaning of a word, while the popular explanations represent the emotive meaning which plays a much greater role in life than we are disposed to admit. It is only when the emotive meaning is taken into account as well that a language is understood properly. And it is only when the living spirit of a language has been understood, the living spirit being identical with the psychic disposition of those who utilize the language. that it is possible to give exact translations or to appreciate the stand point of other people and their philosophy in its own rather than through the tainted glass of one's particular prejudices.

The difference in the viewpoint from which things are looked at is most conspicuous in words denoting emptiness. While in the

Western connotation of the words denoting emptiness stress is laid on the absence of something, the abosolute nothingness, in other words, while stress is laid on a bleak negativism, in the Eastern, particularly, the Indian connotation stress is laid on the existence of something, on something positive, the absence of something being more or less accidental. Thus, in Western languages we say "with empty hands", the most important aspect being the emptiness of the hands, but the two Indian terms corresponding to "empty hand" lay the stress on the presence of the hands. That there is nothing in them is just bad luck. These two terms are *rikapāṇi*—and *riktahasta*.—The one is found, for example, in Mbh. VII 147, 43: *riktapāṇir na paśyeta rājānaṁ brāhmaṇaṁ striyaṁ.* "One should not come before a king, a Brahmin, or a woman with empty hands"; the other one in Kathāsaritsāgara LXXX 25: *iyanto riktahastāḥ kiṁ paśyāmo devatām iti* "How should we come before the deity with empty hand". The exact translation of *riktapāṇi* and *riktahasta* is "One whose hands are left over", *rikta* being the past participle[3] passive[2] of the root *ric* "to leave".

The same idea is found in the adjective *réku*, belonging to the same root *ric*[1] and only found in the Vedic language. It is used RV IV 5, 12 and X 108, 7 in the formula *réku padáṁ* denoting the place where one does not find the goods oneexpects to find. Again stress is laid on the presence of something, be it only the place. To what an extent the positive meaning is connected with the root *ric* may be seen from its derivatives. I mention only *atireka*—"too much"; *réknas*—"riches" this meaning having developed from the basic meaning of "what is left over to one's children"; *réknasvat*—"rich", *surékṇas*—"having nice riches, very rich", and rikthá—"heritage".

There can be no doubt that the stress of the positive aspect has its root in the (unconscious) fear of all that is empty, negative, and makes man feel utterly lonely and forlorn. This fear prompts man not only to avoid words arousing this fear—as every student of practical psychology knows the word is only too often the thing itself—but also to act in such a way as not to be assailed by this lurking fear. Both these factors, *i.e.*, taboo of word and action, is found in a passage of the Atharvaveda which has not been understood properly up to now. AV XIX 8, 4 runs as follows:

anuhavàṁ parihavàṁ parivādáṁ parikṣavàṁ
sárvāṇi riktakumbhā̀ny ārā̀ttāt savitaḥ suva

Whitney's translation[2] is "Detraction, evil gossip, reproach, sneezing about (?)—them, O Savitar, drive '*suva*' away from me empty-handed ?, with all."

As regards the term *riktakumbhā̀ni* Whitney observes as follows: "*riktakumbha* he (*i. e.* the commentator) simply glosses with *cūnyakalaca*, adding no further explanation; the Pet. Lexx. conjecture "perhaps idle talk (lit. emptypottedness); the translation implies their going away with empty vessels—that is carrying off no result or advantage"[2].

It is obvious that these remarks by Whitney are no explanation at all; the text does not say that all these evil omina like reproach etc., shall go away "with empty vessels". Grammatically speaking, the terms *sárvāṇi riktakumbhāni* are dependent on *suva* "drive away". The explanation of this passage is to be found in the fact that everything which is ominous has to be avoided or be driven away. As is well known from Indian folklore "empty vessels" are most ominous, while "full vessels" are highly auspicious. Hence "empty vessels", being on the same level with evil gossip, have to be removed. The correctness of this interpretation is borne out by a passage from the Pāli Canon. We will be able to appreciate this interpretation when we bear in mind that only too often the Buddha had defeated his opponents and so it was quite natural that he appeared to his opponents, so haughty at the beginning and so meak at the end of the dispute, as the personified bad luck. Dīgha-nikāya III 38 and 53 such a haughty opponent declares before his defeat: *iṅgha gahapati Samaṇo Gotamo imaṁ parisaṁ āgaccheyya, ekapañhen' eva naṁ saṁsādeyyāma, tucchakumbhi va naṁ maññe oroddheyyāma ti* "Look, householder. should the Samaṇa Gotama come to this assembly, with one single question we would make him fail to answer and, I think, like an empty vessel we would threw him out". Here no doubt is left as to the fact that empty things are ominous. If it should be objected that empty things are worthless and hence discarded the answer is that the alleged worthlessness is, psychologically speaking, only too often a rationalization which is essentially made for disguising the deep-lying fear. However, it must be pointed out that there is a slight difference in the linguistic expression between the Atharvaveda and Pāli Canon. In the Atharvaveda the so-called taboo of words has influenced the linguistic formation of the word *riktakumbha* while in the Pāli Canon the word *tuccaha*, the meaning of which will be explained later on, has been used.

Having so far elucidated the difference in view point as regards words denoting emptiness we are by now confronted with the problem which words are used for "emptiness", what is their intrinsic meaning, and what means are adopted by a language when an ominous factor such as emptiness is mentioned?

As I have said the connotation of emptiness in the Western languages is one of nothingness, essencelessness, and worthlessness, this latter association pointing to an emotive meaning rather than to a cognitive meaning. In Sanskrit the words that may be translated by "empty, emptiness", are divided into two groups. Group I comprises all those words which are formed by a negation and an adjective a noun, or a participle. The list of these words is:

asāra—"non-essential".

asidda—"incomplete, invalid".

apramāṇa[3]—"without authority", in MBh XIII 163, 25 "something unimportant."

nirartha[4]—"useless".

nirarthaka—"useless, in vain", *e.g.* MBh. V 34, 21.

The second group comprises all those words formed by passive participles circumscribing the idea of emptiness and those adjectives which are either used for "empty" or correspond more or less to the Western connotation of "emptiness."

(a) *rikta*—"left over", which has already been discussed.

rahita—and *virahita*—"concealed", "left".

varjita—"shunned".

hīna—"having disappeared" (cp. *annahīna* "without food").

(b) *alpa*—"little".

manda—"slow" (*mandabuddhi* "of slow understanding", "empty headed").

talina[5]—"thin, little".

phalgu—"insignificant, little".

śūnya—"void".

tuccha—"empty".

tucchyà—"empty", only found in the Vedic language.

From this list, which is mainly derived from B. D. Mulgaokar's English-Sanskrit Dictionary, it is obvious that with the apparent exception of the two or three last mentioned words all other words more or less circumscribe the concept of "emptiness". Where a negation has been used the basic positive expression is self-evident. In the other words the positive connotation is also preponderant.

The problem before us is now to find out the intrinsic meaning and the specific use of those words which are not circumscribing the idea of emptiness. When I said that words denoting ominous things are avoided and, since emptiness is something ominous, any mentioning of ominous things is done by circumscribing them, then the use of the words *tuccha*—and *tucchya*—belonging to the Indo-European root **teus* "to make empty",[6] is an obvious contradiction. However, it has to be borne in mind that at all periods there have been people who did not care for using otherwise tabooed words, and it has also to be taken into account the frequency of the use of tabooed words as well as their context.

According to Boehtlingk's Dictionary the words *tuccha*—and *tucchyà*—are used very little. This means that the use of these words was actually taboo.

The Vedic form *tucchyà*—is found only in two passages. The one is the creation hymn RV X 129, 3. H. Grassmann[7] as well as Boethlingk-Roth consider it to be a noun and translate it by "empty space" K. Geldner[8] considers it to be an adjective and connects it with *salila*, translating the passage by "in the dead ocean (im toten Gewoge)". Whatever the correct translation may be, the use of the word *tucchyà*—does not elucidate our problem here.

The second passage is RV V 42, 10. This passage is of greater importance. Here it has been said that he who blames the Maruts should have "empty wishes" (*tucchyān kāmān karate*). It is almost like a curse and in such strongly emotionally toned utterances even tabooed words may be used without any restriction. Everything which is ominous may come to a man who commits such a heinous crime as insulting the gods.

If we turn to the Pali Canon and its language it becomes quite obvious that the taboo played an important role in the use of the word *tuccha: tuccha*—and its derivative *tucchaka*—is *never* used *alone*[9] but always in connection with a non-tabooed word. Only a few passages showing the use of *tuccha*—in connection with other non-tabooed words may be quoted. DN I 55 (=MN I 515): *tesaṁ tucchaṁ musā vilāpo ye keci atthikavādaṁ vadanti* "they indulge in empty untruthful talk who speak of existence"; DN III 34 *evaṁvādiṁ kho maṁ Bhaggava evaṁ akkhāyiṁ eke Samaṇa-Brāhmaṇa asatā tucchā musā abhūtena abbhācikkhanti* "O Bhaggava, I who am speaking and preaching in this way, am reviled by some Samanas and Brahmanas in an untruthful, empty wrong, and false way"; Sn 883:

yaṁ āhu saccaṁ tathiyan ti eke.

taṁ āhu aññe tucchaṁ musā ti.

"What some declare to be the truth and the suchness, others called it empty and false". In these instances *tuccha*—is connected with the non-tabooed word *musā*. In the following examples *tuccha*—is used in connection with *ritta*=skt *rik'a*, which is a substitute for the tabooed word as we have seen above. MN I 107 (almost the same as Vin I 157; II 216) *ye passati pānīyaghaṭaṁ vā paribhojanīyaghaṭaṁ vā vaccaghaṭaṁ vā rittaṁ tucchaṁ so upaṭṭhāpeti* "he who see the drinking bowl or the food bowl or the chamber pot empty and without (the necessary water) shall take care of (having these things in proper order)". MN I 233: *evam eva kho tvam Aggivessana mayā sakasmiṁ vāde samanuyuñjiyamāno samanugahiyamāno samanubhāsiyamāno ritto tuccho aparaddho* "O Aggivessana, thus, when I asked you about

your own thesis, when I wanted to know your opinion, and when I wanted to know the points you find fault with, you proved to be empty, void, and in the wrong." MN I 414: *passasi no tvaṁ Rāhula imam udakādhānaṁ rittam tucchan ti....evaṁ rittaṁ tucchaṁ kho Rāhula tesaṁ sāmaññaṁ yesaṁ na'tthi sampajānamusāvāde lajjā.* "Do you see this empty water pitcher, o Rāhula?....Just as empty and hollow is the Samaṇaship of those who are not ashamed when they consciously tell lies."

Examples for *tucchaka*—are DN I 240 (almost the same as MN II 201): *tesaṁ idaṁ tevijjānaṁ brāhmaṇānaṁ bhāsitaṁ hassakaṁ yeva sampajjati, nāmakaṁ yeva sampajjati, rittakaṁ yeva samapajjati, tucchakaṁ yeva sampajjati* "The talking of the Brahmins knowing the three Vedas proves to be ridiculous, to be mere words, to be empty, to be hollow" MN I 329: *mā h'eva te rittakaṁ eva ahosi tucchakaṁ eva ahosi* it will not turn out empty, hollow for you."

In these last examples *tuccha(ka—)* is not so closely connected with the non-taboo word as it was in the other examples mentioned so far. This looser connection is found in emotively-toned statements. In this way, under the influence of a strong emotion or an affect the speaker will use the tabooed word but will avoid or minimize the effect of having mentioned the tabooed word by immediately afterwards using a non-tabooed word. Instances for emotively toned utterances may be found in the Milindapañhā, p. 5: *tuccho vata bho Jambudīpo, palāpo vata bho Jambudīpo, na'tthi koci samaṇo vā yo mayā saddhiṁ sallapitum sdkkoti kaṅkhaṁ paṭivinetun ti* "Alas, India is empty; alas, this India is only chaff; there is not a single Samana who might converse with me and dispel my doubts"; p. 10: *tucchā vata bho ime vedā, palāpā vata bho ime vedā, asārā nissārā ti* "Alas, empty are these Vedas; alas, chaff are these Vedas, essenceless, worthless are they"; and p. 13: *tuccho vata me upajjhāyo, bālo vata me upajjhāyo* "Alas, empty is my teacher; alas, a fool is my teacher."

Another way to use the tabooed word without incurring the risk of being affected by the evil consequences of having used the tabooed word has been pointed out by G. Bonfante[10]. Though his other theories are not acceptable, his explanation in this connection is correct. He says: "le deuxième consiste à composer le mot taboué avec un autre (adjectif ou substantif); le nouveau mot, bien qu'il contienne en soi l'ancien mot taboué, n'est point tabou:...." (the other alternative is to combine the tabooed word with another word (adjective or substantive); although this new word contains the old tabooed word, it is not at all taboo).

A few examples from the Pali may illustrate Bonfante's observation. Jāt I 209: *so tucchahattho va agamāsi* "he came with empty hands"; Jāt. VI 365: *tucchapātıṁ hatthe aṭhayetvā bhūmiyaṁ katvā* "having placed the empty bowl not on the hand, but on the ground."

From this rule it becomes clear why the word *tucchakumbhi*—could be used. In the composition *tuccha*—was no longer taboo. However, *tuccha*—always implied taboo ideas and thus it is replaced by non-taboo words as, for instance, in Jāt. V 46: *rittahattho viya aṭṭhāsi* "he stood there like with empty hands."

To what an extent the idea of avoiding ominous things was vivid may be gathered from Niddesa I 481 on Sn 963. Here the word *rittāsana*—"empty seat" is explained by "opportunity to sit down without seeing unplesant sights."

From the above it will have become obvious that *tuccha*—denotes emptiness in the sense of defectiveness (see the passages from the Milindapañha). Thus it implies evaluation. Evaluation is always emotionally toned. And since in emotionally toned things there is always the danger lurking that the emotion may develop into an affect and since affectivity is a grave danger for the human mind such words as are connected with emotions and likely to rouse an affect are taboo. This explains the rare use of *tuccha*—.

The most commonly used word for "empty" is *śūnyà*—, and it may be asked what is the reason that this word can be used without any restrictions, in other words, why is this word and its derivatives not taboo?

In the Vedic language *śūnyà*—is not found. There we find only the nonn *śū́na*—, belonging to the same IE root. The word *śū́na*—is found six times[11] in the Rgveda, and every time it is constructed with the prohibitive particle *mā́*. This proves again that the idea of emptiness was something ominous and fearful. However, contrary to *tuccha*—the meaning of *śūna*—is spatial emptiness, loneliness in immense wideness. This meaning is obvious from RV VII 1, 11: "If only we would not sit there devoid of heroes, devoid of sons....", and also RV VIII 45, 36: "If only I were not without a friend or a son...."[12].

The noun *śū́na*—is derived from the IE root **keu*—to which there is also a passive participle *śūnà*—. The difference in accent is due to the rule that abstract nouns have the accent on the root syllable, while adjectives and agentive nouns have the accent on the formative element[13].

According to Walde-Pokorny[14] the meaning of **keu*—is "to swell, swelling, curvature" (schwellen, Schwellung, Woelbung), but also "cavity, hollow" (Hoehlung, hohl), the common denominator being "curvature toward the within and toward the without" (Woelbung nach aussen oder innen). He further says that *śūna*="swollen, flabby" (geschwollen, aufgedunsen) and that also the concept of "hollow"

(hohl) = "empty" (leer) may be connected with it. From here then we would have the noun *śūna*—"emptiness" and the adjective *śūnya*— "empty". It must, however, be noted that the connotation of "hollow" is absolutely hypothetical. None of the Indian words, derived from the root **keu*—have the meaning of "hollow"[15]. Hence the explanation of the unrestricted use of *śūnya*—must be sought elsewhere.

As I have already pointed out, *śūnyá*—has a spatial connotation. Thus we read in Śat. Br. II 3, 12, 9 and Taitt. Br. II 1, 2, 12 about "the empty place, not lived in by men" (*śūnyá* āvasatha). As in the case with *réku padaṁ* "the empty place, worthless because one does not find the goods one expected to find" there is no evaluation whatever in the phrase *śūnya āvasatha*. The meaning of spatial unlimitedness, derived from the original meaning of "increase (toward infinity)", makes *śūnya*—a constant attribute to *ākāśa*—"ether", and its synonyms as for instance *kha*—. The *ākāśa* is not a nihil but unlimited plenitude. While thus *śūnya*—is used in connection with the idea of spatial unlimitedness, it is also used in the sense of mental unlimitedness. Again the difference between the Indian and Western viewpoint has to be noted here. While the Westerner tends to identify the whole of the nature of things with a determinate kind of things and hence regards everything that does not comply with the determinateness postulated by him as a nihil, the Indian mind regards the determinateness of a thing as a limitation of the otherwise unlimited nature of things. Thus for him passing into the unlimitedness has a higher value than the clinging to a particularly determinate kind of reality idea. While to have a blank mind has some depreciatory connotation for a Westerner, a blank or empty mind, that is, a mind not preoccupied with something or other, has no such connotations for an Indian. It is therefore impossible to give a "literal" translation of the following passages, without violating or distorting the meaning. MBh. II 14, 44: *puraṁ śūnyena manasā prayayau bharatarṣabha* and MBh. XIII 53, 4: *atha śūnyena manasā praviśya svagṛhaṁ nṛpaḥ*. The meaning is that none of them was preoccupied.

It is this idea of plenitude, of unlimitedness and boundlessness that has found its climax in the Mādhyamaka Philosophy with its concept of *śūnyata*—, of which it has been said

> *aparapratyayaṁ śāntaṁ prapañcair aprapañcitaṁ*
> *nirvikalpaṁ anānārtham etat tattvasya lakṣaṇaṁ*

"Not dependent on others, peaceful (or, tranquil), inaccessible to the concepts of discursive reasoning, without thought-constructions, without contradictory notions, that is the definition of reality"[16].

The same positive outlook we find in Indian mathematics. "Zero" is not "nothingness", it is the undefinable and infinite. Bhāskara

states in his Bījagaṇita that "This fraction the denominator of which is zero is called endless mass. In this endless mass where zero is the denominator there is no change, however much one may add or detract, just as little as there is any change at the time of the creation or dissolution of the world in the endless and changeless, however many beings (may be created or dissolved"—*ayam ananto rāśiḥ khahara ity ucyate, asmin vikāraḥ khahare na rāśāv api praviṣṭeṣv api niḥsṛteṣu bahuṣv api syāl layasṛṣṭikāle 'nante' cyute bhūtagaṇeṣu yadvat*[17].

Since the intrinsic meaning of *śūnya*—is the undefinable, that which transcends all the concepts of ordinary consciousness, or that which is not determined or limited by conceptual constructions and hence only figuratively "emptiness", its use was not taboo because of its inherent positive character.

In course of time, however, the different shades of meaning of *tuccha* and *śūnya*—have not been observed and the one word may be used for the other. A striking exemple is found in Visuddhimagga, p. 494: *khaṁ-saddo pana tucche; tucchaṁ hi ākāsaṁ khan ti vuccati* "The noun *kha*—means "emptiness"; "emptiness" is another term for *ākāśa* or *kha*".

In conclusion I want to point out the fact that, as is well known, the word *śūnya*—in the mathematical meaning of "zero" has found its way into the European languages by way of the Arabic translations. *śūnya*—"zero" is translated by *ṣafira* "to be empty". This means that the Arabs made a literal translation, but did not convey the psychological and philosophical background from which *śūnya*—also got the meaning "zero[18]".

NOTES

1. See Walde-Pokorny, Vergleichendes Woerterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen, II 396 sq. sub **leiqu.*

2. Atharva-Veda-Samhita (=Havard Oriental Series, volume VIII), p. 910. See also the notes on this Mantra in Bloomfield's Concordance, and M Lindenau's remarks in the introduction to the second edition of Roth-Whitney's Atharva-Veda, p. xvii, last line.

3. As adjective *apramāṇa*—might be best translated by "not having the proper measure". In Pali, appamāṇa-has the meaning of "endless" but also of "insignificant". In this case the negation *a*—has a double function, the one is the function of negation, the other the function of intensifying. The same functions of negation and intensifying are still found in the German language. See Friedrich Kainz, Psychologic der Sprache, I 256.

4. Not given by Mulgaokar.

5. *Alpa* and *talina* are not found in Mulgaokar's dictionary, these words, however are given as synonyms of *tuchha*—by the Pet Lexx.

6. Walde-Pokorny, Vergleichendes Woerterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen, I 714.

7. H. Grassmann, Woerterbuch zum Rigveda, sub verbo.

8. Karl Geldner, Zur Kosmogonie des Rigveda, mit besonderer Beruecksichtigung des Liedes 10,129, p, 20.

9. Puggalapaññatti, pp. 45 and 46 *tuccha*—also is not used alone but mentioned in contrast to *pūra* "full".

10. Etudes sur le tabou dans les langues indo-europeennes (Mélanges de Linguitique offerts á Charles Bally. Genève 1939, pp. 195-207), p. 197.

11. RV I 105, 3; X 37. 6 in the loc. śūne with the root *bhū.* III 33, 13 in the acc. śūnaṁ with the root *ar.* VII 1, 11 in the loc with root *nī sad.* II 27, 17; VIII 45, 36 in the acc. with the root *ā vid.*

12. The same idea is found in RV II 27, 17. For the feeling of loneliness and fear see also Brh. Up. I 4, 1 sq.

13. Thus, for instance, *dā́na-* "gift" and *dānà-* "he who gives", vára "what is chosen" and *vará* "he who chooses". A Meillet, Introduction á l' étude comparative des langues indoeuropéennes, eigth edition 1937, p. 140. H. Guenther, Gabe und Geber (=Zeitschrift fuer vergleichende Sprach-forschung, 1950), pp. 225-244.

14. Walde-Pokorny, Vergleichendes Woerterbuch der indo-germanischen Sprachen, I 365.

15. All words derived from this root denote increase, growth: *śunā* "growth, increase, fortune"; *śāvas-* "power, strength"; *śura-* "strong, heroic"; *suśiśvi-*"beautifully growing"; *śiśu-*"child", *śāva-* "cub".

16. Mūlamādhyamakakārika XVIII 9. See also p. 351 of Louis de la Vallée Poussin's edition, where we read: *tasmāc chunyataiva sarvaprapancanivṛttilakṣaṇatvān nirvāṇam ity ucyate* "Therefore the śūnyatā is called Nirvāṇa because its characteristic is the fading away of all concepts belonging to the realm of discursive reasoning".

17. Ed. Calcutta 1917, pp. 17 sq. The connection between *ākāśa*, *kha* and zero has not been properly understood by A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Kha* and other Words denoting "Zero" in Connection with the Metaphysics of Space (=Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies (University of London), volume VII: 1933-35, pp. 489-97), p. 493 ". . . so the Self 'awakens this rational (cosmos) from that space', Maitri Up. IV 17, in, other words *ex nihilo fit*". The problem of the creation out of nothing is a late Christian speculation not earlier than the sixteenth century. "Space" and "*śūnyatā-*" in Indian connotation have never been nothingness but always plenitude.

18. Passages in which *ṣfira, ṣifr* denote "to be empty" are found as early as the sixth century, the meaning of "zero however, is not found earlier than the ninth century. See A. Fischer, Zu "Berichtigung einer Etymologie K. Vollers" II (=Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft, LVII 783-793), p. 791. In the German Language "Ziffer" is the generic term for numeral, it does not mean "zero" alone. See also Karl Lokotsch, Etymologisches Woerterbuch der europaeischen (germanischen, romanischen and slavischen) Woerter orientalischen Ursprungs, Heidelberg, 1927, p. 150, No. 1894.

(33) हिन्दी में संयुक्त क्रिया का विकास

(लेखक—डॉ० सरयूप्रसाद अग्रवाल, एम० ए० पी-एच० डी०
लेक्चरर, लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय)

भाषा की व्याकरणिक धाराएँ समय-समय पर विभिन्न रूपों में विकसित होती रहती हैं। इन्हीं के द्वारा भाषा के सूक्ष्म से सूक्ष्म भाव व्यक्त किये जाते हैं। पुरानी धाराएँ विलुप्त हो जाती हैं और नवीन धाराएँ उनकी स्थान-पूर्ति करती रहती हैं। यह सब भाषा में भावों के सूक्ष्म स्पष्टीकरण के लिए होता है। प्राचीन आर्य भाषाओं में क्रिया-पद के रूप प्रायः समान मिलते हैं। प्रत्येक क्रियापद का प्रयोग मुख्य क्रिया के रूप में होता था। सहायक क्रियाओं का विकास उन भाषाओं में नहीं हुआ था। संस्कृत भाषा में क्रियाओं के प्रयोग का असंयुक्त रूप ही प्रचलित है। कृदंतों के भी प्रयोग किए जाते हैं परन्तु वे या तो मुख्य क्रिया के रूप में प्रयुक्त होते हैं या उससे पृथक् अपना अस्तित्व रखते हैं। ऐसे प्रयोग अवश्य मिलते हैं जब कि कोई कृदंत किसी मुख्य क्रिया के पूर्व प्रयुक्त हुआ है परन्तु वह केवल निकटस्थ (juxtaposition) रूप में। उनसे कोई संयुक्त क्रिया के अर्थ का बोध नहीं होता। कुछ विद्वानों ने पास पास रखे हुए कृदंत और मुख्य क्रिया के इस रूप को संयुक्त क्रिया का उदाहरण मान कर यह सिद्ध किया है कि संस्कृत में भी संयुक्त क्रिया का प्रयोग किया जाता है। उदाहरणतः बालकाः पठन्तः गच्छन्ति। परन्तु 'पठन्तः' शतृ बहुवचन का रूप है और यह अपना विशेष अर्थ रखता है। अपने अर्थ को न तो इसने मुख्य क्रिया के अर्थ में विलुप्त कर दिया है और न मुख्य क्रिया का अर्थ इस शतृ रूप में निहित है। दोनों रूप अपने-अपने अर्थ को पृथक्-पृथक् ग्रहण किए हुए हैं। वे अपने सामान्य अर्थ को छोड़ते नहीं। उक्त वाक्य से व्यक्त अर्थ हिन्दी में 'बालक गण पढ़ते हुए जाते हैं' होगा, न कि 'बालक पढ़ते जाते हैं'। इन दोनों में अन्तर है। 'पढ़ते जाते हैं' संयुक्त क्रिया में 'पढ़ने' के अर्थ की प्रधानता है। शेष रूप इसी अर्थ में निरन्तरता (continuity) के भाव को व्यक्त करता है। 'पढ़ते हुए जाते हैं' से 'पढ़ना' क्रिया और 'जाना' क्रिया के अलग-अलग अर्थों का बोध होता है। इसी लिए संस्कृत में संयुक्त क्रियाओं का अभाव ही कहा जाना चाहिए। पालि और प्राकृत भाषाओं में भी ऐसे उदाहरण मिलते हैं परन्तु वे निकटस्थ (juxtaposition) क्रियारूप के ही उदाहरण हैं। पालि के उदाहरणः—मारेत्वा पचित्वा खादन्तो, आनेत्वा अदासि, पतित्वा गतं, गहेत्वा अदंसुक्त्वा प्रत्यय पूर्वकालिक क्रिया के उदाहरण; मुञ्चतो अट्ठासि, परिदेवमानो—नियोजि, निसितो चिन्तेसि, शतृ के

उदाहरण; गहेत्वा रुखन्तो निसीदि, क्त्वा, शतृ दोनों के एक साथ प्रयोग ऐसे ही उदाहरण हैं। ये संयुक्त क्रियाओं के रूप नहीं हैं। इसी प्रकार प्राकृत में गदुअ समप्पेहि (शौरसेनी) कदुअ दिण्णा, आगन्तुं भणइ (जैन महाराष्ट्री) निगन्तूण गओं (जैन महाराष्ट्री) ठविता पव्यामि (जैन महाराष्ट्री) आदि क्त्वा प्रत्यय और कुणमाण्ये विहरइ (अर्ध मा०) पडि जागरणमाणे विहरइ (जैनमहा०) शतृ प्रत्यय के साथ मुख्य क्रियाओं के प्रयोग निकटस्थ (jnxtaposition) क्रियाओं के उदाहरण हैं, संयुक्त क्रियाओं के नहीं। अतएव संस्कृत, पालि, प्राकृत भाषाओं की स्थिति तक संयुक्त क्रिया का विकास नहीं हुआ था। अपभ्रंश भाषाओं में अवश्य संयुक्त क्रिया के रूपों के कुछ प्रयोग मिलते हैं। परन्तु अपभ्रंश में भी क्रिया के निकटस्थ रूपों के ही अधिकांश प्रयोग हुए हैं। उदाहरणतः हियडा फुट्टि तडत्तिकरि, गयवड भज्जिउ जन्ति, क्त्वा प्रत्यय, घुविक ज्जन्त भमान्ति, अब्भालग्गा डुंगरहि रडन्तउ जाइ श्री शतृ के उदाहरण संस्कृत प्राकृत की भाँति ही हैं। कुछ ही उदाहरण संयुक्त क्रिया के रूप में मिलते हैं। संयुक्त क्रिया के विकास में आस्टिक, द्राविड़ आदि भाषाओं का भी प्रभाव पड़ा है।

अतएव संयुक्त क्रिया का रूप मुख्य क्रिया धातु के साथ किसी सहकारी अथवा सहायक क्रिया धातु का सम्मिलित रूप कहा जा सकता है परन्तु मुख्य क्रिया के अर्थ में सहकारी क्रिया अपने अर्थ का लोप कर देती है। संयुक्त क्रिया द्वारा एक ही प्रधान क्रिया का अर्थ ग्रहण किया जाता है। उदाहरण—'वह पढ़ता जाता है' और 'वह पढ़ता हुआ जाता है' में अन्तर है। 'पढ़ता हुआ जाता है', संयुक्त क्रिया का रूप नहीं होगा, इसमें 'जाता है' संयुक्त क्रिया अवश्य है। वह 'काम करके गया' और वह 'काम कर गया' में अन्तर है। 'करके गया' संयुक्त क्रिया का रूप नहीं है। इसमें 'करने' और 'जाने' दोनों के अर्थ अलग-अलग प्रकट हैं। 'कर गया' से 'जाने' का भाव व्यक्त नहीं होता वरन् कार्य-समाप्ति अथवा पूर्णता के भाव का बोध होता है। संयुक्त क्रिया में सहायक क्रिया अथवा सहकारी क्रिया अपने अर्थ को छोड़ देती है। परन्तु सहायक और सहकारी क्रियाओं द्वारा क्रिया के काल का बोध होता है। जैसा कि ऊपर निर्देश किया जा चुका है कि आधुनिक आर्य भाषाओं में संयुक्त क्रियाओं के रूप में अर्थ का विकास अपभ्रंश भाषाओं में मिलता है। इन अपभ्रंश भाषाओं के आधार पर आधुनिक आर्य भाषाओं का विकास हुआ। आधुनिक आर्य भाषाओं के प्राचीन रूपों में पुरानी हिन्दी, पुरानी राजस्थानी आदि हैं। इसीलिए अपभ्रंश का प्रभाव इनमें व्यापक दिखाई पड़ता है। संयुक्त क्रियाओं के सभी रूपों का संबन्ध अपभ्रंश भाषाओं से जोड़ा जा सकना संभव है इस सम्बन्ध में निश्चित रूप से कुछ भी नहीं कहा जा सकता। क्योंकि अपभ्रंश भाषा की सम्पूर्ण सामग्री आज भी अनुपलब्ध है। संयुक्त क्रियाओं के कुछ उदाहरण अपभ्रंश भाषा से अवश्य संबन्धित किए जा सकते हैं।

उदाहरण:—भज्जिगय, खल खलिय खडविक झडक्क देति। पृष्ठ ६८ स्वयंभू रामायण।

केवि णियय विमाण हो झंपि देति । पृष्ठ १०८ । जो त परिहरेण सक्कइ । स्वयंभू फुटका । सुण्णा पक्ख मिडि लेहु रे पास । पृष्ठ १३८ लुईया । फुड लेहू रे जाणी । पृष्ठ १६८ धामपा । उठे (ऊध) गेल पाणी । १६८ धामपा । चन्दु न दिक्खणा सक्कइ जंसा ससि वयणि । पृष्ठ ३६८ हेमचन्द्र ।

(२) उदाहरणः—सव्व सहेव्वतु होइ, दद्दुर रड्डे विलग्ग, स्वयंभू रामायण पृष्ठ २८ आ० का० धारा । लग्गु रुज अव्वए तहिं मंदोयरि ।

(३) उदाहरणः—अच्छहु विलवंति, । पृष्ठ २६८ अब्दुर्रहमान । राति दिवस आछइ विलवंत, लोट्टइ तनु धरणी । पृ० ३६६ विद्याधर ।

(४) कहण न जाई । पृष्ठ १४४ गुंडरीया । अलक्ख लक्खण जाई, । पृष्ठ २३८ शास्तिया अणुवय आवत जिय, आवइ धरण न जाइ ।

उपर्युक्त उदाहरणों में सहायक अथवा सहकारी क्रियाओं के साथ क्रमशः पूर्वकालिक क्रिया के धातु रूपों, क्रियार्थक संज्ञा, वर्तमानकालिक और भूतकालिक कृदंतों के प्रयोग से संयुक्त क्रियाओं का विकास हुआ है । आधुनिक आर्य भाषाओं में भी संयुक्त क्रियाओं का विकास इन्हीं रूपों के आधार पर पाया जाता है। हिन्दी के कुछ प्राचीन कवियों चन्द, विद्यापति, कबीर, नरहरि आदि की रचनाओं में संयुक्त क्रियाओं के प्रयोग द्रष्टव्य हैं । चन्दवरदाई के पृथ्वीराजरासो की भाषा बिल्कुल प्रामाणिक तो नहीं कही गई है, फिर भी उसमें प्राचीन राजस्थानी भाषा का रूप तो प्रयुक्त हुआ ही है । संयुक्त क्रियाओं के प्रयोग विविध भावों को प्रकट करने के लिए प्रयुक्त हुए हैं । उदाहरण—तब चलन देहु दुजह लगन । पृष्ठ ३६ । लै चल्यो नृपति दिल्ली सुराय । पृष्ठ ४० । परे रहत रिनखेत अरि । पृष्ठ ४१ । जीति चल्यौ प्रीथराज रिन । पृष्ठ ४१ । थकि रहे सूर कौतिग गिगन ।४३। वरवीर पर्यौ मारथ्थ वर लोह लहीर लग्गत झुल्यौ । २१ । चलि गयौ नक्रमन क्रम न चलें । २१ । गिद्धिन ते अरउरा लियौ चाहतौ न पावौ । २२ । लगै झगरे हंस जइ जाराइ री । २८ । रोस भरे ग प्रथिराज । पृ० १० । पद्मावती हरि लीय जाय आदि । ऊपर के उदाहरणों में क्रियार्थक संज्ञा, पूर्वकालिक तथा कृदंत रूपों के साथ सहायक या सहकारी क्रियाओं के प्रयोग हुए हैं । इससे स्पष्ट है कि उक्त क्रियाओं के प्रयोग प्रारम्भिक अवस्था से हैं ।

विद्यापति की भाषा में भी संयुक्त क्रियाओं के प्रयोग इसी रूप में हुए हैं । उदाहरण—बेरि बेरि बोल पठाव । पृष्ठ ३ । सैसव जौवन दुहु मिलि गेल । ६ । मधुक मातल उड़इस्स न पारे ।१७। कान्हु कपलगमने ।१७। वेधि धारल उड़ि जाएत अकासे । ३२ । तुअ गुन देहब आनि । ४३ । अलटि हे खूत उलट परलओ । ५५ । हि कहि

कि सुनि किछु बुझिए न पारि । ६० । अत सब आदर गेल दरसाइ । ६० । सपनहु हरि पुनु पुनु कए लए उठए तोर नाब । ८० । सुनु सुनु ए सखि बचन विसेस ।९३। करे लगल सबिलास । १०५ । वजर किवाड़ पहु देलीन्ह लगाय । १०६ । आएल चाहिय सुमुखि तोरा । ११७ ।

कबीर की भाषा कोई एक निश्चित भाषा नहीं कही जा सकती । फिर भी उनकी हिन्दीमिश्रित भाषा के प्राचीन रूप में, अवधी, ब्रज, भोजपुरी और पंजाबी का प्रभाव स्पष्ट रूप में मिलता है । उनके इस स्वरूप में संयुक्त क्रियाओं के प्रयोग भी मिलते हैं । उदाहरण—बूडे थे परि ऊबरे, गुरु की लहरि चमकि, मेरा देख्या जरजरा सब उतरि पड़े फरकि । ३ । कबीर कहता जात है सुणता है सब कोइ । ४ । हरि सुमिरण हाथु घड़ा, बेगे लेहु बुझाइ । ७ । जो कुछ था सोइ भया, अब कछु कह्या न जाइ । १३ । बेसण लागे काग । २० । तब लगि डोले साथि । ३३ । गोविन्द मिले न झल बुझै रही बुझाइ बुझाइ । ३५ । पूछ न पकड़े भेद की उतरया चाहे पार । ३९ । साई मेरा सुलषा सूता देई जगाइ, लागत ही में मिल गया पड़्या कलेजे छेक । ६३ । कबीर ऐसे ह्वै रह्यो ज्यूँ पाल तलि घास । ६५ । ऐसा कोऊ न मिले अपना घर देइ जराइ । ६६ । दोख पराये देखि कर चल्या हंसत हंसत । ८२ ।

ब्रजभाषा में भी संयुक्त क्रियाओं के प्रयोग हुए हैं । यहाँ पर सूरदास की भाषा के कुछ उदाहरण उद्धृत किए जा रहे हैं । इतनी कहत आय गये ऊधो रही ठगी तिहि ठाम । तबहि गयो लै । ६ । बात कछु कहत न आवै । रहे नयन जल छाय, फिर पूँछति हैं तातें । १० । बारक बहुरि मिल्यो है चाहत । २६ । कवि जन कहत कहत थक आए । ३४ । हाँसी होन लगी या ब्रज में । ६८ । अब हम लिखि पठवन चाहति हैं । ७२ । कहि न सकत वह बात । ८४ । ऊधो कहत कहि न जाय । ९१ । मेरो मन कियो चूर थूर जाहु जाहु ऊधो । १३८ ।

खड़ीबोली हिन्दी में तो संयुक्त क्रियाओं के उदाहरण नित्य प्रति देखते-सुनते हैं । अतः यहाँ पर उनके उदाहरण छाँटने की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं समझी गई ।

उपर्युक्त उदाहरणों से हिन्दी में संयुक्त क्रियाओं के प्रयोग का आवश्यक परिचय मिल जाता है । संयुक्त क्रिया की रूप-रचना में सहायक अथवा सहकारी क्रिया के साथ क्रियार्थक संज्ञा, वर्तमानकालिक या भूतकालिक कृदंत पूर्वकालिक कृदंत तथा संज्ञा या विशेषण आदि के प्रयोग हुए हैं । कुछ उदाहरण पुनरुक्त क्रियाओं के भी हैं । परन्तु संज्ञा या विशेषण के योग से बनी हुई सभी नामबोधक संयुक्त क्रियाओं या पुनरुक्त संयुक्त क्रियाओं द्वारा वास्तविक रूप में संयुक्त क्रिया का अर्थ-बोध नहीं होता । भारतीय तथा पाश्चात्य व्याकरणों ने इनका उल्लेख संयुक्त क्रिया के अन्तर्गत किया है । नाम-

बोधक संयुक्त क्रिया के कुछ उदाहरणों : करि मन्जरण भल्ला हुआ जो भारित्रा, केलि-करन्त मैं इसको अंगीकार करता हूँ, मैं उसका पीछा करता हूँ आदि में सहायक या सहकारी क्रियाओं के साथ संज्ञा या विशेषण के प्रयोग पूरक के रूप में ही है। हाँ यदि पूर्ववर्ती रूप किसी क्रिया से बना हुआ संज्ञा या विशेषण का रूप हो तो वह संयुक्त क्रिया का उदाहरण कहा जा सकता है। उदा० दिखाई देता है। पुनरुक्त संयुक्त क्रियाओं के रूपों में वे सब कुछ खा पी गए, वह उसे समझाता बुझाता रहा, क्या पूछ-ताछ रहे हो आदि सहायक क्रिया के साथ दो वर्तमानकालिक कृदंत या दो पूर्व-कालिक कृदंत के रूपों के प्रयोग मिलते हैं। इसमें या तो दो समान रूपों की पुनरुक्ति होती है या पहले रूप के समान ही दूसरे कोई मिलते जुलते रूप प्रयुक्त मिलते हैं इसे द्वित्व का रूप कहा जा सकता है। द्वित्व में दूसरा शब्द प्रायः मूलरूप में निरर्थक होता है। उपर्युक्त उदाहरणों में 'पूछ-ताछ' में 'ताछ' शब्द ऐसा ही है। चूँकि संयुक्त क्रिया के इस पुनरुक्ति या द्वित्व रूपों से एक ही अर्थ का बोध होता है। उदा० समझाता-बुझाता, पूछ-ताछ, खा-पी शब्द ऐसे ही हैं। क्रिया का दूसरा शब्द अपने अर्थ को पहले में लोप भी कर देता है इसलिये ये संयुक्त क्रिया के उदाहरण हो सकते हैं। परन्तु क्रिया के पुनरुक्त रूप जैसे प्राकृत में 'उत्थेदु उत्थेदु मुञ्चेध, मुञ्चेध, णमट्ठौ, णट्ठोम्नि' आदि तथा हिन्दी में रुकुमिनि हरन होत है जागहु जागहु। अवधी। सुन सुन हे सखी वचन विशेष। मैथिली। जाहु जाहु ऊधो। व्रज। रही बुझाइ बुझाइ। कबीर। आदि संयुक्त क्रिया के उदाहरण नहीं हैं। क्योंकि इनमें दोनों रूप एक ही प्रकार की क्रियाओं के हैं। जब कि संयुक्त क्रिया में नाम रूप संज्ञा या विशेषण का होना चाहिए। परन्तु उक्त उदाहरणों में परवर्ती शब्द अपना अर्थ बनाये रहते हैं जब कि उसका अर्थ पूर्ववर्ती रूप में विलीन हो जाना चाहिये।

संयुक्त क्रियाओं द्वारा जैसा पहले कहा गया है कि भावों को स्पष्ट अभिव्यक्ति संभव होती है। संयुक्त क्रियाओं द्वारा विशेष-विशेष भावों का प्रकाशन भी होता है। इस भाव-प्रकाशन का व्याकरणिक दृष्टि से काफी महत्व है। उदाहरण : दादुर रडु वि लग्गि, 'लग्गि रुए अव्वए तहिं मंदोयरि', लह लहरि लगात झुल्यो। चंद। लगे झगरैं हंस जर जार एरी। चंद। तब लागी डोलैं साथि। कबीर। हाँसी होन लगी या व्रज में। सूर। आदि संयुक्त क्रियाओं में 'लगना' शब्द के योग से आरम्भबोधक भाव की अभिव्यक्ति होती है जो तं परिहरेण सक्कइ चंदुन दिक्खण सक्कइ जा सा ससिबयनि, किछु बुझिए न पारी, मधुक मातल उडए न पारे। मैथिली। कहि न सकत वह बात। व्रज। आदि संयुक्त क्रियाओं में 'सकना' या 'पारना' शब्द के योग से शक्तिबोधक भाव का परिचय मिलता है। 'सब्ब सहेबउँ होइ' मुझेकरना पड़ता हैं। आदि में क्रियार्थक संज्ञा के साथ होना या पड़ना शब्दों के योग से विवशता या पराधीनता के भाव का बोध होता है। इसी प्रकार कहब न जाई, अब कछु लिख्या न जाइ। कबीर। सीं

कबहूँ छाड़ि न जाइ, बात कछु कहत न आवै, ऊधो कहत कही नहिं जाय आदि में 'जाना' या 'आना' शब्दों के योग से भी असमर्थता का भाव प्रकट होता है। अच्छहु डिलवंति। गोविन्द मिले न झल बुझै रही बुझाइ बुझाइ। कबीर। रहे नयन जलछाय। ब्रज। आदि में 'रहना' शब्द के योग से संयुक्त क्रिया द्वारा निरन्तरताबोधक भाव प्रकट होता है। तब चलन देहु हुज्जइ लगन। चंद। तुअ गुन देहब आनि। मैथिली। जाता है सो जान दे। कबीर। आदि में देना शब्द के योग से अनुमतिबोधक भाव का परिचय मिलता है। गिद्धिनि ने अपछरा लियौ चाहतौ न पायौ। चंद। पूछ जो पकड़े भेद की उतरया चाहै पार। कबीर। बारक बहुरि मिल्यो है चाहत, अब हम लिख पठवन चाहति हैं। ब्रज। आदि में 'चाहना' शब्द के योग संयुक्त क्रिया द्वारा इच्छा-बोधक भाव प्रकट होता है। संयुक्त क्रियाओं के उदाहरण--वह उठ बैठा, वह मार बैठा, खड़ी बोली। लए उठइ तोर नाब। मैथिली। आदि उदाहरण तात्कालिक भाव का बोध कराते हैं। कुछ संयुक्त क्रियाएँ उदाहरण : वह जा चुका, वह लिख चुका आदि में 'चुकना' के प्रयोग से समाप्तिबोधक भाव प्रकट होता है। इस प्रकार संयुक्त क्रिया का विकास हिन्दी भाषा की एक महत्त्वपूर्ण विशेषता है।

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(34) The Story of Devadatta in the Mahābhāṣya

by

Sri Sukumar Sen, Calcutta.

The grammarians everywhere and always have the tendency of using particular names in the examples illustrating the grammatical aphorisms and statements. The author of *Mahābhāṣya* was apparently enamoured of the name Devadatta. The examples and illustrative matter collected and rearranged, present, not only an outline of a story with Devadatta as the hero, but, what is much more important, a picture of the contemporary life and society in Eastern India, with Pāṭaliputra as the capital city, in the closing century of the pre-Christian era. Such an attempt has been made here.

The original and the translation have been given in parallel columns.

[*Introduces the hero as a boy*].

Sraughno Devadattaḥ....	Devadatta's family had come from Srughna.
Gārgyo Devadattaḥ.	He belongs to the clan of Garga.
Devadatto Dattaḥ. Devadattakaḥ Devakaḥ.... Dattakaḥ....Dattaḥ.	Devadatta, Devaka, Dattaka and Datta [—he is variously called].
Devadatta-śabdo Devadiṇṇaśabdaṃ nivartayati.	Devadatta, the correct form of the name, cancells the popular form Devadiṇṇa[1].
Anāhato nadati Devadattaḥ.	Devadatta raises a cry though no one has thrashed him.
Abhiprāyo Devadattasya modakeṣu bhojane.	In eating Devadatta has a preference for the ball cakes of sweetened parched rice[2].

1. Deodīn in modern Behari.
2. Bengali 'moā'.

[*The hero at school*].

Padyate vidyā Devadattena.	Devadatta is receiving education.
Yo'dhīyāna āste sa Devadattaḥ.	[The boy] who is engaged in study is Devadatta.
Devadatta-Yajñadattāvv-ādḥyāv-abhirūpau darśanīyau pakṣavantau. Devadattastu svādhyāyena viśiṣṭaḥ.	Devadatta and Yajñadatta are good looking presentable and well-born. But Devadatta is the better of the two in the recital of the Vedas.

[*The hero as a young farmer*].

Nadyantaṃ Devadattasya kṣetram....	Devadatta's farmland stretches up to the river.
Devadattena pāṇinā krītam[3].	It was bought by Devadatta by his own hand.
Devadattasya dhānyaṃ vyatilunanti.	They are mutually reaping Devadatta's paddy crop.
Lūyate kedāraḥ svayaṃ eveti yatrāsau Devadatto dātrahastaḥ samantato viparipatan dṛs'yate.	The waterlogged field appears to have been automatically reaped as Devadatta with a sickle in hand, is seen moving simultaneously in different parts.
Svāduṃkāraṃ yavāgūṃ bhuṅkte Devadattaḥ.	Devadatta is eating barley gruel with gusto.
Kārayati kaṭaṃ Devadattaḥ.	Devadatta is having a mat made for him.
Ucchrayati kaṭaṃ Devadattaḥ.	Devadatta is weaving an upright screen of straw.
Prakṛtaḥ kaṭaṃ Devadattena.	Devadatta has finished well the screen of straw.

3. Cf. data canena kṣetra brahmaṇasa Vārāhiputrasa Aśvibhutisa hathe kīṇita mulena kāhapaṇa-satehī catuhi [Nasik Cove Inscription of Nahapāna].

[*The hero indisposed*].

Na Devadattaṃ pratibhāti kiñcit. Bubhukṣitaṃ na pratibhātī kiñcit.	Nothing appeals to Devadatta. Nothing really appears good to a hungry fellow.
Dadhitrapuṣaṃ pratyakṣo jvaraḥ.	A dish of sour curd and cucumber in an immediate cause of fever.
Evaṃ hi kaścit kañcit pṛcchati kiṁavastho Devadattasya vyādhir iti. Apara āha apakṣīyata iti. Apara āha sthita iti.	Thus one man asked another: How goes Devadatta's malady? Another said: It is going drawn. Another said: It is the same.
Bhakṣayati piṇḍīṃ Devadattaḥ.	Devadatta takes pills (or lump of food or date).

[*Devadatta's Married Life*].

Darśanīyāṃ manyate Devadatto Yajñadattāṃ....	Devadatta regards Yajñadattā as a handsome girl.
Upāśleṣi Kanyā Devadattena.	The girl (*i.e.* bride) was embraced by Devadatta.
Pitāmahasyotsaṅge dārakam āsīnaṃ kaścit pṛcchati kasyāyam iti Sa āha Devadattasya....	O some one asked about an infant boy sitting on the lap of the grandfather: Whose is this boy? He replied: Devadatta's (son).

[*An Outsider's Admiration for Pāṭaliputra where Devadatta lived*].

Pāṭaliputrasya vyakhyānī Sukauśalā....īdṛśā asya prākārā iti.	Sukauśalā is loud in her praise for Paṭaliputra. Such are its the city walls.
Anuśoṇaṃ Pāṭaliputram.	Pāṭaliputra is sprawled along the Sone.
Paṭaliputrakāḥ prāsadāḥ, Pāṭaliputrakāḥ prākārāḥ....	The palaces of Pāṭaliputra and the ramparts of Pāṭaliputra!
Sāṃkāśyakebhyaḥ Pāṭaliputrakā abhirūpatarāḥ....	The citizens of Pāṭaliputra are better looking than those of Sāṃkāśya.

[*Invitation from country is sent for the honoured Brahmins of the City*]

Kaścid ukto grāme bhikṣām cara Devadattaṃ cānayeti.	Some one was asked in the village: Beg alms and bring Devadatta.
Abrāhmaṇo'yaṃ yas tiṣṭhan mūtrayati. Abrāhmaṇo'yaṃ yo gacchan bhakṣayati. Gauraṃ -śucyācaraṃ piṅgalaṃ kapilakeśaṃ dṛṣṭvādhyavasyati brāhmaṇo' yam iti. Tataḥ paścād upalabhyate nāyaṃ brāhmaṇo 'brāhmaṇo' yam iti.	A non-Brahman is one who urinates standing. A non-Brahman is who eats walking. When one sees a person fair complexioned, or brown-skinned, good mannered, tawny-haired, one considers him as a Brahman. Then it is determined that he is not a Brâhman but a non-Brahman.

[*Devadatta is specially invited*].

Devadattaṃ me bhavān upadiśatviti.	Do please describe Devadatta to me.
Sa ihasthaḥ Pāṭaliputrasthaṁ Devadattam uddiśatī. Aṅgadī Kuṇḍalī kirīṭī vyūḍhorasko vṛttabāhur lohitākṣas tuṅganāso vicitrābharaṇa īdṛśo Devadatta iti.	He, a resident here, describes Devadatta living in Pāṭaliputra: Wearing armlets, ear-rings and a diadem, broad chested, round-armed, red-eyed, sharpnosed, fine-dressed—such a one is Devadatta.
Prāsado Devadattasya syāt....	Devadatta certainly has a palace for his home.
Devadattasya gāvo'śvā hiraṇyaṃ ca āḍhyo vaidhaveyaḥ.	Devadatta possesses cattle, horses and gold; he is rich, the son of a widow.
Āmantrayasvainaṃ.	Do invite him here.

[*Devadatta meets the messenger*].

Devadatto' haṃ bhoḥ.	Hello, I am Devadatta.
Ayuṣmān edhi Devadatta bhoḥ. Devadatta bhoḥ. Devadatta kuśalyasi. Āgaccha Devadatta grāmam odanaṃ bhokṣyase.	Be long-lived, O D'evadatta !Hello Devadatta. Devadatta, how do you do. Come, Devadatta, to the village and you shall eat a rice dinner.

Grāmāntaraṃ gamiṣyāmi panthānaṃ me bhavān upadiśatu.	I shall have to go to an outside village; would you kindly direct me the way.
Sa tasmā ācaṣṭe. Anuṣminn avakāśe hastadakṣiṇo grahītavyo 'muṣminn avakāśe hastavāma iti.	He told him: At such a place a turn to the right is to be taken and at such a place a turn to left.
Upadiṣṭo me panthāḥ.	The route is pointed out to me.

[*A wayside observation*].

Odanaṃ bhojako vrajati.	Here goes a fellow to a dinner of rice.

[*At the house of the host*].

Putreṇa sahāgato Devadattaḥ....	Here comes Devadatta with his son.
Kuto bhavān.	Where do you come from?
Pāṭaliputrāt.	From Pāṭaliputra.
Āścaryam idaṃ vṛttam odanasya ca nāma pāko brāhmaṇāṇāṃ ca prādurbhāva iti.	Strange it is that the cooking of the dinner is no sooner finished than the Brahmans make their appearance.
Ṛddheṣu bhuñjāṇesu daridrā āsate. Brāhmaṇeṣu taratsu vṛṣalā āsate.	The poor wait when the rich dines, (just as) the lowly wait when Brahmans cross the ferry.

[*In the dining hall*].

Dadhi brahmaṇebhyo dīyatāṃ takraṃ Kauṇḍinyāyeti. Vyañjanāni punar naṭabhāryāvad bhavanti.	Serve curd to Brahmans and whey to Kauṇḍinya. The side dishes however (to be served as freely) as the wife of a dancer.
Tiṣṭhatu dadhy aśāna tvaṃ śākena.	Let curd wait, do take a helping of vegetables.
Alavanaḥ sūpaḥ. Alavaṇaṃ śākam.	The soup is not salted. The vegetable dish too is not salted (to taste).

Śālīn bhuṅkte mudgaiḥ.	He is eating rice with lentil (broth).
Bhuṅkte Devadattaḥ....	Devadatta is eating.
Apītaṃ kṣīraṃ Devadattena....	Devadatta has not sipped cream.
Māṃsaudaniko 'tithiḥ....	A guest should be served with meat and rice.
Abhokṣyata bhavān māṃsena yadi matsamīpam āsiṣyate.	You could have satisfied yourself with meat had you only had taken your seat by me.
Abhijānāsi Devadatta yat Kaśmīreṣu vatsyāmah. Yat tatrāudanāni bhokṣyāmahe.	Do you recollect Devadatta the tunic when we had lived in Kashmir and the rice dishes we had partaken there?
Abhijānāsi Devadatta Kaśmīrān agacchāma tatra saktūn apibāma.	Do you remember Devadatta that we had been to Kashmir and had drunk gruel of parched grain there?

[*The guests chatting*].

Vṛṣalarūpo'yam apyayaṃ palāṇḍunā surāṃ pibet.	That fellow there looks like a wicked one. Probably he drinks wine with onion.
Corarupo'yam apyayam akṣṇor añjanaṃ haret.	That man there looks like a thief. He can steal the collyrium point from one's eyes.
Dasyurūpo'yam apyayaṃ dhāvato lohitaṃ pibet.	Yonder man has the look of a robber. It is likely that he can drink the blood of a fleeting victim.
Daśápuruṣānūkaṃ yasya gṛhe śūdrā na vidyeran sa somaṃ pibet....	He only may drink Soma if for ten generations in the family there had never been a Śūdra (servant).
Ā Pāṭaliputraṃ vṛṣṭo devaḥ.	There has been good rains as far as Pāṭaliputra.

[*Some one tells the story of Indra and the Old Maid*].

Vṛddha kumārīndreṇoktā varaṃ vṛṇīṣveti. Sā varam avṛṇīta putrā me bahukṣīraghṛtam odanaṃ kāṃsyapātryāṃ bhuñjīrann iti. Na ca tāvad asyāḥ patir bhavati kutaḥ putraḥ kuto gāvaḥ kuto dhānyaṃ. Tatrānayaikena vākyena patiḥ putrā gāvo dhānyam iti sarvam saṃgṛhītaṃ bhavati.	Indra asked the Old Maid: Beg a boon. She begged: May my sonseat rice served with plenty of ghee and cream on a brass platter. She had not even a husband, so how could there be sons, cattle and paddy for her. By this single request a husband, sons, cattle and paddy all are secured.

[*The guests are given the dinner's fee in cash and kind*].

Devadattāya gaur dīyatām Yajñadattāya Viṣṇumitrāya.	A cow may be given to Devadatta as well as to Yajñadatta and Viṣṇumitra.

[*On the way back*].

Darśayati rūpatarkaṃ kārṣāpanam, Paśyati rūpatarkaḥ kārṣāpaṇam.	A man is showing his coin to the coin expert. The latter examined the coin (whether genuine or dud).

[*Devadatta holds a social dinner party*].

Devadatto bhavantam āmantrayate.	Devadatta invites your honours.
Kiṃ Devadattaḥ karoti.	What is Devadatta doing,
Pacatīti.	He is cooking.
Devadattasya samāśaṃ śarāvaiḥ odenena ca Yajñadattaḥ pratividhatte.	Yajñadatta arranges Devadattas social dinner by feeding rice as well as by earthen bowl hampers (to be taken home[4]).
Āhara Devadatta śālīn Yajñadatta enān bhokṣyate.	Bring, Devadatta, more rice. Yajñadatta shall eat them.

1. In Bengal it is called 'chādā'.

[*Devadatta is killed. The culprit is caught*].

Na hi Devadattasya hantari hate Devadattasya prādurbhāvo bhavati.	Indeed if the killer of Devadatta is put to death Devadatta would not appear again.

[*At Devadatta's demise Yajñadatta lost heart*].

Devadatta-Yajñadattābhyām idaṃ karma kartavyam. Devadattāpāye Yajñadatto'pi na karoti.	This job was to have been done by Devadatta and Yajñadatta. But on Devadatta's death Yajñadatta would not do it.

XI—Dravidian Section

(35) Some Jaina Contributions to Tamil Literature

by

Prof. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar

University of Madras

Apart from the doubtful and conflicting tradition that Candragupta Maurya and Bhadrabāhu came to the Kannada country in South India, there is no reliable historical evidence to support the theory as we have shown elsewhere (MAURYAN POLITY). The age of the Sangam is roughly settled to be from the 5th century B. C. to the 5th century A. D. In this we cannot speak definitely of a Jaina settlement in the Tamil country, though it may be accepted that there were a few Jaina, practically wandering monks, whose teachings might have appealed to some. But the establishment of the institution of the Drāviḍa Saṅgha in 470 A. D. marks a definite landmark in the history of Jainism in South India. Patriotic motives were perhaps the reason that influenced some Jain enthusiasts in the Tamil country to attribute the authorship of the *Tirukkural* and the *Śilappadikāram* and even the celebrated work on grammar, *the Tolkāppiyam*, to the Jains. But for reasons which we cannot repeat in this article we are afraid that the arguments put forward in favour of the theory of the Jain authorship of these three works in Tamil are too fragile and slender that we cannot agree to them.

But when we come to the time of the works called *Padinenkilkanakku* or the eighteen minor diadactics we can speak with some definiteness about of the authors of these eighteen minor works. Even here the question is not above dispute but still, a certain amount of acceptance from scholars may be counted. Of these eighteen, one or two seem to be by Jain authors. In this series again the *Kural* figures. There are also *Nāladiyar* and *Paḻamoḻi*. Every work of the series is separated by a long distance of centuries; for instance, the *Kural* is a first century or second century B. C. composition, and *Nāladiyar* is a work of the eighth century A. D. written under the auspices of

Muttaraśar who ruled in the Chola country. Though *Nāladiyar* from the nature of its composition and its contents seems to be based upon works in Sanskrit and would apply to every religion as common, still there is a theory that the work was by some Jain monks. A tradition says that Vajranandi who was a Jain established the Jain Sangha at about 470 A. D. and *Nāladiyar* was its first production. Be it noted the work is not by one author but by various authors some of whom were Jains. If we put this construction *Nāladiyar* may be one of the Jaina contributions and to make it appeal to the Tamil public the authors have contrived the ethical teachings to be based upon the well-known *Kural*.

Another work that can be attributed to the Jains in gener al is *Paḷamoḷi*. *Paḷamoḷi* literally means old words. It is a book of proverbs containing wisdom and truth and consists of 400 venbas. It is supposed to have been written by a Jain king, Munruturai Ariyanar who was also a poet.

But we are on firm field when we come to works like *Jīvakacintāmaṇi*, which is grouped under the five Mahākāvyas. The composition has been accepted as a Tamil literary monument. Even Kamban is said to have praised the beauty and literary diction of this famous Kāvya. In this the author sketches the life of Jīvaka of the Purāṇas. The story of Jīvaka is not a new thing. It is found mentioned in the Mahāpurāṇa among others, and the Mahāpurāṇa was composed by Jīnasena who was the spiritual adviser of Amoghavarṣa of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty. Therefore the Mahāpurāṇa must belong to the eighth century A. D. and the Tamil classic *Jīvakacintāmaṇi* must certainly be later. The work itself is divided into 30 chapters or *ilambakam*. The author is one Tiruttakkadeva and mentions the career of the hero from his birth down to his nirvāṇa.

Among the minor kāvyas there is what is known as Yaśodhara Kāvya. Though we cannot know anything about the author, still it has been accepted that he was an ascetic of the Jaina sect. About the date of this composition we can get a clue from the story itself. The author must have been later than Madhvācārya who advocated *piṣṭa-paśu* in the place of a live animal for a yāga. The Yaśodhara Kāvya seems to reject even this substitute. Incidentally it refers to some of the Jaina precepts and all we could say about this is that it is a literary work, sometime after the reformation effected by Madhvācārya.

There is another work called Cūḍāmaṇi again by a Jaina poet, named Tolamolitevar. He is profusely quoted by Amṛtasāgara the author of *Yāpparungala kārikai*. The one beauty of the *Cūḍāmaṇi* is that it maintains the poetic excellence of the *Cintāmaṇi*. The story deals with one Tivittan, a Puranic figure considered by the Jains as one of the nine Vāsudevas. We need not go into the details of the

story; but it may be pointed out that there are some details about Jina dīkṣita.

Another work as this category is *Nīlakeśi* evidently by a Jaina philosopher. From what appears *Nīlakeśi* refuted the Buddhist work Kuṇḍalakeśi, unfortunately lost to us. The story contained therein is more imaginary and was intended to demonstrate the feebleness of the opponent like the Buddhists and the powerfulness of his own religion, Jainism. The fundamental principles of the Jaina religion and philosophy are narrated throughout this book, elevating the doctrine of *ahiṃsā* and vindicating the reality of the soul against materialism.

There is another work called *Perungadai* in Tamil perhaps after the *Bṛhatkathāgunādya.* The author is said to be one Konguvel evidently a prince of Kongudesa. It relates to the life of Prince Udayana whose story is well known to the students of the Purāṇa. A good portion of this story relates to Vāsavadattā, Udayana's queen of whom the great dramatist, Bhāsa has written a *nāṭaka,* entitled *Svapnavāsavadatta.* The author is said to be a Jain by persuasion, and some of the Jain teachings appear in the course of this long poem. Between this epic and the *Jīvakacintāmaṇi,* there are many resemblances which may be noted with profit by students of Tamil literature.

Another important classic of the Tamils is *Merumandiram.* One Vāmana Muni is said to be the author of this work. We have heard of one Vāmanamuni already as the commentator of the *Nīlakeśi.* If both are the same then Vāmanamuni must have flourished in the 14th century during the time of Bukkarāyar. The story itself centres round Meru and Mandira, evidently a Purāṇic story. This Purāṇic tale is also found mentioned in the Mahāpurana as having taken place during the time of Vimalatīrthaṅkara. The story is framed in such a way that Jaina philosophical doctrine could be expounded with case. The story ends with the two princes Meru and Mandira worshipping the Tīrthaṅkara and attending his dharmopadeśa. They attained finally godhood by performing yoga.

Another great work of the Jains in the Tamil land can be said to be the *Śrīpurāṇa.* The Śrīpurāṇa is written in Maṇipravāla style, Tamil and Sanskrit being combined. One of the most popular works among the Tamil Jains is the Śrīpurāṇa and it is considered to be a sacred work being based upon Jinasena's Mahāpurāṇa. The authorship of this work is not known. The peculiarity of this work is that it deals with the history of the 63 sacred persons including the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras, the 12 cakravartins known to Jain literature, 9 Vāsudevas of Jain tradition, 9 Baladevas of Jain faith and 9 Prativāsudevas. The interesting thing here is Jarāsanda of Magadha is looked upon as one of the Prativāsudevas while Śrī Kṛṣṇa is one of the nine Vāsudevas

and his brother Balarāma a Baladeva. The book is looked upon with veneration by all Jainas in Tamil India.

In addition to their contribution to Tamil literature the Jains have also contributed to prosody and grammar by writing *Yāpparungala Kārikai* written by one Amṛtasāgara, perhaps a contemporary of Guṇasāgara who has written a commentary upon this work. Amṛtasāgara is also celebrated as the author of the extent *Yapparungalavirutti*. *Neminātham* is a grammatical work in Tamil by one Guṇavīrapaṇḍita. The introductory verses to this work indicate that there was a Jaina temple at Mylapore which was destroyed by the raging waves. In this connection we have also to mention the noteworthy book *Nannūl* which is again a work on Tamil grammar. The author of this work was apparently a Jain. The book is being used as an authoritative work on grammar. One of the commentators of this work is said to be Mylanātha and his commentary has been made available to the public by the late Dr. V. Swaminatha Iyer. Unlike the *Tolkāppiyam* this work deals with only two sections *Eḷuttu* and *Śol*.

After the settlement of the Jains in the Tamil country and their conversion of a number of people to their fold, they took to Tamil language and literature as a hobby and finally became great Tamil Pandits making their influence felt in every branch of Tamil literature. They were not content with grammar and prosody alone. Even in the field of Tamil lexicography they had left their deep impress in Tamil literature, the three *Nighantus* or lexicons are named *Divākaram Pingalandai* and *Cūḍāmaṇi*. Some Tamil scholars are of opinion that the authors of the three works were Jainas by faith. In the *Cūḍāmaṇi Nighaṇṭu* reference is made to Guṇabhadrācārya, a disciple of Jīnasenācārya by its author. There is also a reference to two other Nighaṇṭus evidently the *Divākaram* and *Pingalandai*. In that case it is probable that the three Tamil Nighantus are the works of people whose religion was Jainism.

It is also claimed that the Jains were anxious to show themselves proficient in astrology and astronomy also. The *Jinendramālai* is considered to be one of the works on astrology and it is often quoted by Tamil astrologers especially in *Āroodam*.

Thus we have made a rapid survey of the real contribution made to Tamil literature by the Jains in the course of a thousand years which followed the foundation of the Jaina Sangha at Madura. It is true that after the foundation of this Saṅgha and the propaganda carried on not only by the Jains but also the Buddhists provoked the wrath of the reformers of Hindu Dharma which resulted in a number of Nāyanmars and Ālwars decrying these two as hetorodox sects and elevating both Śaivism and Vaiṣnavism as the established religion of the land. This propaganda by members of the orthodox faith lasted for

more than 500 years in which period with the support given by Śri Śaṅkara who hailed from a village in Kaladi in Malabar, the Tamil people were able to convert even princes from their ways of thinking and persecute the heterodox people wherever they were found. Notwithstanding the persecution which was carried on in a large scale the Jainas were able to hold their heads and became identified with the Tamil people in their outlook on men and matters. Hence they were tolerated and their settlements were not much disturbed. By taking more and more to literary pursuits they won the love and esteem of their fellow men in the Tamil land and made a permanent name for themselves.

(36) The Religion and Philosophy of Cilappatikāram

by

M. A. Durāi Rangaswamy, M.A., M.O.L.

University of Madras.

Cilappatikāram is the earliest of the epics in the Tamil Language now available for study. It ushers in a New Era in the poetic life of the Tamilians. This epic of "the (New Order of the Anklet)" is unique in many respects and a deeper study of this valuable work is bound therefore to yield a rich harvest of the poetic enjoyment in those eternal values which the poet holds forth there with all his religious fervour, as full of philosophical significance.

The story of the epic is indeed a very simple one. The actual historical facts forming the back bone of this story can be easily picked up. A happily married couple Kōvalan and Kaṇṇaki, an interlude of a dancing girl Mātavi, the resulting poverty of Kōvalan, his trek to distant Madura with Kaṇṇaki to build up a trade and a home, his execution on a false charge of theft, the death of the Pāndya King and Queen and the Great Fire of Madura, the last three events so happening in succession close upon the execution of Kōvalan that the superstitious people began to connect them as miracles of chastity. The people in those days of credulity and blind faith must have woven a pattern of divinity with the warp and weft of those miracles; and story must have, within a few days, spread all through the Tamil Land with all the incidental exaggerations and embellishments unhampered by any modern spirit of scepticism. Our poet, a contemporary of these events as he himself narrates in this epic itself, takes up the story and gives it a poetic form and shape full of philosophical significance for him.

The Patikam or the introduction enumerates the principles or canons which form as it were the motive force of this epic that the great always worship the chaste women, that the Dharma or the Principle of Righteousness is verily the Death unto those Kings straying away from the Rule of law, and that the omnipotent Fate forces us to reap its consequences[1]. Here is the Religion or cult of Pattini or the Woman of Chastity to purify our domestic and social life or Imam or Kāmam. Here is the philosophy of Justice to purify our Political life or Artha or Poruḷ. Here is also the metaphysics of Fate to shape our

1. Patikam: 56-58.

Spiritual life or Dharma or Aram. These events are woven together as a beautiful pattern though one may take out mentally at the different strands for study.

The statement about Fate is rather too crude to do justice to the poetic treatment of the plot of this epic. But this epic is by the way, unique in being dramatic as well. But if every event is explained completely and successfully by the principle of Fate, where is the place for human or spiritual principle, the development of drama, the interplay of personalities, the conflicts and resolutions of life? If one understands Fate in this crude sense there can be no drama. This principle will lay the axe at the very root of the poetic creation.

But fate does set the stage wherein play the human actors. The action is there, subject to all the restrictions and limitations of that stage. The environment is there for us all; our limitations also are there, as a twist, a bend, or a tendency; we are predisposed to act in a particular way. But man is no slave to these-that is his eternal glory. He tries to reshape them and the wonder is that he sometimes succeeds. If Kaṇṇaki, the heroine is the inevitable product of blind fate, what is there divine about her? Any other woman in her place would have suffered and died in one way or other. But it is the glory of Kaṇṇaki that she gives a spiritual form and shape to her suffering and transforms or sublimates it into a Tapas or Spiritual tonic or inner purification. The evils are there to be destroyed in her world. Her domestic life is no more personal to her. Seen from the universal point of view it is the life of her society. Her solution therefore becomes the moral regeneration of society—or social revolution which burns away all the evil in that society as symbolised by the Great Fire of Madura. Herein lies the dynamism of her Chastity.

Fate has set the stage for her in the form of a particular kind of society which is cut in twain—the chaste women and the prostitutes not by profession but by the mere fact of their birth. The emphasis on mere sensual pleasure in both the spheres at home divorcing it from art and other sublimations of passion and at the brothel degrading the arts themselves by their compulsory association with obseene prostitution—that is in short the root cause of the social cancer.

A patron and lover of art like Kovalan can get that artistic enjoyment, in private, only in a prostitute's parlour. But it is both for his fortune and misfortune that his dancing girl is only a prostitute by birth; she is in herself an embodiment of chastity a flagrant negation of the then prevalent social theory of divorce between chastity and art. It is this which makes the complication of the story beyond denouement or resolution. In a moment of jealousy the inevitable concommitant of passion raising up its monstrous head up above his unconscious mind the

hero suspects her[2]—and suspicion is another bedfellow of passion. This creates the occasion for the story to unite him with his wedded love.

The sudden change in the behaviour of Kovalan has shaken Matavi's character to its very foundations. She is baptized a new in the fire of suffering and this transports her to the highest ethical perfection. Her second letter[3] to him is full of the highest ethical flavour. But Kovalan does not realise fully the significance of this revelation of this new Mātavi. That broken heart of his will have to collapse between his all absorbing love for Kaṇṇaki and his all absorbing love for Mātavi. He cannot escape this lifelong torture of the inner conflict except in his death. His death thus becomes the inner necessity of the poetic art and justice of the plot. The tragedy is all the more poignant revealing to us the climax of the social cancer.

The great Pāṇdya ruler famous for his Justice[4] himself catches this infection. In a moment of intoxication because of the heat and confusion of passion, the king spurts out that the thief should be executed and the anklet brought to him.[5] Innocent blood is shed[6] and the king has to raise up once again his fallen sceptre with his very life[7]—as the poet puts it through the mouth of Cenkuṭṭuvan. The society, rotten to the core and fatally infecting even the righteous king, has to be burnt and a new society founded out of the youths, the virtuous, the seers, the chaste women and the innocent of the old society[8]. In the working out of this political and social revolution, chastity is deified[9]—thus all the three principles form an organic whole in this epic.

Fate is here raised to a higher pitch of social elegy and assumes tragic proportions. It does not face us at every turn as minor injuries. Here it is something so great that it demands a social revolution. A universal significance is thereby given to it. This incarnation of Fate in society is absolutely human in that it is the ever growing result of the actions of generations of men. The very social regeneration brought about by Kaṇṇaki, emphasises the affirmative aspect which is the source of our feeling of reconciliation. The necessity which we have so far seen in the plot is yet of one substance with the actors.

2. Cilap 7:52.
3. Ibid. 13:87-92.
4. Ibid. 15: 3.
5. Ibid. 16: 131-154.
6. Ibid. 16-214.
7. Ibid. 25: 98-99.
8. Ibid. 21:53-57.
9. Ibid. 25: 114.

Kōvalan is through and through emotional in spite of his erudition in many languages, his artistic training and his higher ideals and self sacrifice[10]. He is a man of emotion not a man of calculated action. Even acts supreme examples of sacrifice, love and culture—are emotional rather than otherwise. Here we have in him the unbalanced personality tilted too much to the side of emotion and his sufferings flow from this imbalance, his poverty,[11] or rather the one sided development of his personality, his very forgetting Kannaki and his meeting with the goldsmith[12] instead of with a merchant of his caste as originally proposed by himself.

Kaṇṇaki on the other hand is an active personality with no emotional outbursts. She calculates like a lady of the merchant class not for making money but for showing consideration to all[13]. She is almost expressionless :[14] she speaks in monosyllables and forced smiles[15]. Her cold exterior is her fault. Here is also an imbalance of personality where everything is titled to the side of action and calculation, nothing being found on the side of blind emotion. She is an embodiment of love and sympathy. She does not die to escape this imbalance. She is cured of this imbalance by the force of events which bring out an emotional outburst in her. She is thus made whole and perfect.

Mātavi, till Kovalan deserts her has not known what suffering is, it has been all smooth sailing, playing on the surface water of the sea of life. Suddenly she stands on the quicksand of life. She realises her position; instead of being swallowed up she swims on to the sturdy rock of ethical perfection. An iota of the ethical seriousness which she shows later on[16] would have saved her and Kovalan, if it had become visible in the first part of her life.

The Pāṇḍya king is really a great soul but it has also not reached its equillibrium. His is a ruffled surface of the sea with the ebb and flow of conflicting emotions. Perhaps his very experience of royalty has given him the shaking that his personality is still oscillating up and down without settling down to rest. He has not reached the inner peace. In

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10. Ibid. 15: 21-94.
11. Ibid. 9-7.
12. Ibid. 16: 108.
13. Ibid 16: 71-83.
14. Ibid. 9: 72-73.
15. Ibid. 16: 78-80.
16. Ibid. 13: 87-92.

spite of his honest attempts his good intentions do not hold the upper hand except at the time of his death[17]; but that is no success.

The Cera king Cenkuttuvan is a great person of actions. Whereas Kaṇṇaki was an introvert, he is an extrovert. He would have died a fighting cock but for the timely inspiration of Matalan who reveals to him a new way of life of peace and contentment[18].

Matalan and our poet Ilanko are the only people who have achieved the equanimity of temperament, serene peace and harmony of all conflicts, the one through his objective journey through life and the other through the subjective experience of poetry. It is the absence of this harmony but a conflict of overwhelming imbalance that had led to all the catastrophe.

The political revolution after that conflict of two minds—Kaṇṇaki and Pāṇḍya is based on the principle of equality or the intrinsic worth of human being as such. The whole edifice of the state crumbles down when it sets at naught the life of a human being however humble it may be. For establishing this principle therefore the poet must bring into conflict not a seer or a sage but a stranger and foreigner, poor and helpless. This therefore necessitates that the hero of the story standing as against the ruler, should be a common man.

The epic is unique among the epic of the world in being the story of no king or seer. The kingdoms may be many but humanity is one. The Tamil country enjoys a fundamental unity of culture, language and civilisation within its limits, a unity of the common man within the trinity of the crowned kings. Kaṇṇaki and Kovalan are born in the Cola Capital, they move to the Pāṇḍya capital and they are deified in the Cera capital. Thus in spite of the political divisions there is a continuity in the life of the common folk. The life of any Tamil king would not have given room for revealing this fundamental unity of the Tamil land and universality of justice. This is another reason for our poet choosing the hero and heroine from among the common folk.

There is a third reason as well. This epic is the deification of the chaste woman, of chastity pure and simple without the extraneous glamour of Royal birth or fabulous wealth or miraculous spirituality. Even the rich Kaṇṇaki has to be brought to the verge of poverty in a distant foreign land absolutely helpless-for that, she has to loose her lord—her only prop-reaching the very depth of despondency. It is by the very artistic necessity of the scheme of things as conceived by the poet in this view that the epic of the common man took a shape and form even in that age of monarchy.

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17. Ibid. 13 : 87-92.
18. Ibid. 28 : 110-234.

The deification of Kaṇṇaki is not a one day miracle but the gradual unfoldment of her character from an ordinary simple care free girlhood to perfection through the ordeal of suffering and conflicts. The blow of separation and neglect by her lover falls suddenly and unexpectedly after a continuous period of the happiest wedded life. She keeps up, of course, with great difficulty a show of contentedness. This attitude of withdrawing into herself has developed a sturdy independence of standing on her own legs. Tamilian conception, which Valluvar has given expression to, of chastity which believes[19] in its intrinsic strength refusing to bow down before gods for any help guides our Kaṇṇaki all through the dark days of solitude and suffering.

Such a great endurance of suffering as this without any murmur and such a great consideration for others as to screen her own sufferings successfully from their view lest their mental peace should be disturbed —this is according to Valluvar the very quintessence of Tapas or Sacrifice.

The ascetic Jain nun observing our herione day in and day out all through the journey to Madura[20] with her miraculous powers and with her ever watchful fault finding eyes[21] at the end of her continuous vigil, exclaims to the shepherdess to whose loving care she entrusts Kaṇṇaki, that Kaṇṇaki is the only god the nun has seen and that no other god she has seen[22]. Here is as it were, the prophecy of deification to come. There stands the goddess in the making.

When Kovalan and Kaṇṇaki pass through a desert haunt of hunters who celebrate the annual festival of their Mother Goddess, one of them, inspired by the Goddess in her trance praises Kaṇṇaki as the idol of Tamil land and the unique gem divine of this mundane world[23]. That is how Kaṇṇaki who has reached a certain level of perfection appears to the eyes of ethical sages and inspired seers.

Valluvar delineates three stages of moral development, the stage of revenge (Orukkam neri)[24], the stage of forbearance (Porukkum neri)[25] and the higher stage of forgetting (Marakkum neri)[26]. Kaṇṇaki

19. Kural: 55.
20. Cilap. 10:64-101.
21. Ibid. 60:219-235.
22. Ibid. 15:153-154.
23. Ibid. 12:46-50.
24. Kural 314;
25. Ibid. 151;
26. Ibid. 152.

even at the starting point is beyond the stage of vengeance. She has not any harsh word for Kovalan or Mātavi.

When Kovalan lies executed, Kaṇṇaki undergoes a revolution within herself[27]. Her speech is a volcanic eruption. She rushes like a tigress to the citadel of the victorious Pāṇḍya and denounces him in his very presence by contrasting his rule with the righteous rule of the Cola king[28]. The successful vindication and the death of the Pāṇḍya do not cool her righteous indignation. She pounces as it were on Madura the cursed city[29]. All this is but nature red in tooth and nail.

This exemplifies the stage of vengeance which instead of preceding the stage of forbearance, succeeds it in this epic. But it is a passing phase.

Even here in the path of retribution, there is the underlying spirit of reformation. The fire of Madura is symbolic of the passing away of the old order of corruption and passion. Kaṇṇaki hurls away one of her mammalian glands and lo! the city is on fire[30]. That gland, the symbol of the highest and purest love the selfless and all sacrificing love of the mother-degrades in a society obsessed with animal passion into the voluptuous swell exiciting the violent passion of the obscene man. A glorious transformation has to be effected. This erstwhile degraded symbol of obscenity, now burns away the evils and restores morality to its life by its intrinsic implication of motherhood and womanhood. What is burnt is evil. Why cry over it? In this glamour of the all consuming flame one forgets the saviour. Those who have a chance of redemption have to be saved and are saved[31]. The saviour is our Kaṇṇaki.

The volcano cools down. But she leaves exhausted and broken hearted. If she had not collapsed, it is because she had heard the inner voice speaking to her as the very voice of Kovalan of his promised meeting of her in the near future[32].

The mountaineers see her standing under a tree[33]. To them she is the very form of divinity chastened and mellowed, therefore dear and near to their heart[34].

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27. Cilap. 18:30-53.
28. Ibid. 20:50-62.
29. Ibid. 21:31-37.
30. Ibid 21:45-57,
31. Ibid 21:53-55.
32. Ibid 23:184-200.
33. Ibid 25:57.
34. Ibid 25:58-60.

The Cera king Cenkuttuvan who has raised a temple for this Pattini or the chaste, sees a vision[35]. Kaṇṇaki appears in her divine form in that vision and she sings, 'I have become the guest of the king of Heavens. The Pāṇḍya king is faultless; he is my father[36].' Her mortal enemy the Pāṇḍya is thus welcomed as her own father that is the love, the very acme of divinity.

The deification of Pattini is the deification of women and has therefore an eternal value. The cult of Pattini or the chaste is the religion of Cilappatikaram. It is not the ordinary passive chastity as that revealed by the Queen of Pāṇḍya, dropping down dead at the sight of her lord giving up his ghost[37]. It is the dynamic chastity of Kaṇṇaki (as is expressed by the Queen of the Cera) for whom the Cera Queen demands a temple to be raised[38]. It is the dynamism, vindicating the innocence of her lord, revolutionising the society, burning away in the fire of chastity the dress of prostitution and seduction emphasising the necessity for the chastity of man and finally sublimating the lower passion into pure and heavenly gold of virtue and divinity-it is this dynamism that has appealed to the Cera Queen. This is the New Order of the anklet.

The religion of the poet is not a mere scientific adoration of nature as some suggest from a reading of the opening lines; it is something deeper. Some hail him as a Saivite. His brother the Cera king is a Saivite and the poet describes Siva as the Great, unborn as any faithful Saivite could have described[39]. When the father of Kannaki, the father of Kovalan, Mātavi and Manimekalai renounce their worldly life and take to Holy Orders, it looks as though the poet is holding here the scales even. It looks as though for want of a holy order in the Saivite Religion that the poet had made them embrace other religions[40]. Anyhow this shows only the poet's large heartedness.

There is some agreement among scholars that the poet is a Jain. Kovalan and Kaṇṇaki are described by the poet as Śrāvakas[41]. The deification of Kaṇṇaki is in keeping with the deification of every soul on its march to perfection without the necessity for a creator. But this argument loses its force when one realises that the Pattini Cult is

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35. Ibid 29:8.
36. Ibid 29:9.
37. Ibid. 20: 78-81.
38. Ibid. 25: 110-114.
39. Ibid. 26: 54-58.
40. Ibid. 27: 90-108.
41. Ibid. 16: 18.

welcomed by all creeds. The introduction of the character of Kavunti, the Jain nun, is considered by some to have been made with the set purpose of preaching Jain principles. But a thorough study of the epic will reveal that the poet is in search of an electron microscope for observing carefully all the acts, even the insignificant acts, of Kaṇṇaki and the Jain men come in handy for this purpose. But Kaṇṇaki comes out in glorious colours having gone through the ordeals of the Jain nun. Unless understood in this light the enumeration the details of the Jain code of conduct of the Poet's intention, for in no other place the poet has attempted any caricature of any religion.

That is not to argue that the poet is not a Jain. Perhaps he is! But the poet is blessed like Valluvar with the universal consciousness, refusing to be labelled. He is beyond any parochialism even in the sphere of religion. His reference to Śiva makes one believe that he is a Saivite of Saivites; indeed he has identified himsetf with Saivism to that great extent. Every poet identifies himself with the character he delineates. He is the villain one moment, the hero the next, and the heroine the third, emanating form the very fire of his soui and poetry. But very rarely does a poet rise to that level of universal consciousness to identify himself with the religion and religious experiences of all the characters. Our poet is an exception. He describes the dance of the hunters and praises their Mother Goddess[42]. Every syllable of this description and prayer song reveals his inspiring knowledge of their mind and love. No other devotee of the Mother Goddess could have composed a more sincere and poetic prayer as he. In the same way the poet becomes the devotee of Viṣṇu[43], Muruga[44] and so on. Our poet is a great mystic, engaging all these varied experiences as a harmonious unity without any jarring note or external conflict because of his universal consciousness beyond the mine and the thine of parochialism. This is in keeping with his ethical mysticism harmonising all dualities in his monistic vision of poetry.

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42. Ibid. 12: 12-44; 54-74.

43. Ibid 17 full; 11: 35-51.

44. Ibid. 24 full.

(37) THE ĀPASTAMBA DHARMA SUTRA AND THE 'DHARMA' PORTION OF TIRU-KURAL.

by

SRI A. S. NATARAJA AYYAR, ALLAHABAD.

The Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra is one of the most ancient of Dharma Śāstra works in Sanskrit. The Tiru-Kural of Tiru-Valluvar is the first systematic exposition of the 4 ends of life—Dharma, Artha. Kāma and Mokṣa in the Tamil language and is the earliest which has come to us and it remains as the best exposition of the subject in the Tamil language and holds a unique place in the honour and estimation of later generations up to date including kings, poets, scholars and politicians of the Tamil land. The object of this paper is to set forth a few items of comparison between the one and the other.

The date of Āpastamba may be fixed as the 5th century B. C. Mayne's Hindu Law (10th Edition 1938-revised by Srinivasa Ayyangar. 11th Edition 1950-revised by Chandrasekhara Ayyar) summarises the views of scholars as hereunder :—

"Āpastamba like Baudhāyana belonged to the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda and was also probably a native of the *Andhra* country. He refers to Śvetaketu who appears as a Vedic teacher even in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and Chandogya upaniṣad as an Avara (अवर) or a man of recent times. Dr. Bühler, Dr. Jolly and M. M. Kane assign the date of the composition of the Apastamba Dharma Sūtra to the fourth or fifth century B. C. Prof. Hopkins and Dr. Keith suggest the second century B. C. as the more probable date Dr. Jayaswal agrees with Dr. Jolly and assigns the work to the 5th century B. C."

Dr. Bühler in his introduction to the translation of Āpastamba's Dharma Sūtra states (page XLIII) :—"On linguistic grounds it seems to me Āpastamba cannot be placed later than the 3rd century B. C. and if his statement regarding Śvetaketu is taken into account the lower limit for the composition of his Sūtras must be pushed back by 150-200 years".

"The Kural of Tiruvalluvar" says Grierson in his Introductory [concluding] volume of the Linguistic Survey of India "which teaches the Sāṅkhya [Dharma Śāstra and Vedānta] Philosphy in 1330 poetic aphorisms is universally considered as one of its brightets gems. Regarding the date of the Kural it is stated that "the cumulative weight of

evidence is in favour of the last date *viz* 1st or 2nd century B. C." (Studies in Tamil Literature and History by V. R. R. Dikshitar. 1930. University of Madras p. 133).

"It is generally accepted as belonging to a period anterior to the 2nd century A. D. Some scholars place it in the 1st century B. C." (Kural selections Books I and II with English translation by C. Rajagopalachariar—Rochhouse and Sons—Madras 1950).

Much light on the relative posteriority of Āpastamba is thrown by T. P. Palaniappa Pillai in his article on Tiru Valluvar (Vol. X. 1950) of the Journal of Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute. Tirupati pp. 19-30 at p. 27.

"The ancient Sanskrit Literature shows that Kāñcī (Conjeevaram) was a great seat of Sanskrit learning in the Draviḍadeśa in the early centuries of the Christian era. A clan of Āndhra Bhṛtyas of the north came to Tamil Tondaimandalam, settled as conquerors, held power at Kāñcīı and grow in importance as the Pallava Tondayar Kings for many centuries. These copper plates show that the Kings of this line establishing a powerful state of Kāñcī introduced the Aryan lines of administration modelled on the Kauṭalyan Artha Śāstra, performed Vedic sacrifices, spread Aryan ideas and pushed on agriculture in this part of the country. Born and bred up in the Tamil land, blossomed and brightened ripe in Tamil culture, nurtured also in the rich Sanskrit culture of Artha Śāstra, Ānvīkṣikī Vārtā Sāmkhya and *Dharma*, he (Tiru Valluvar) had endeavoured to radiate his vast knowledge of the ancient lore and of the world and wrote his unsurpassed work—the immortal Kural for the betterment of his Tamil land."

Thus it may be taken as established that the great Kural had before it the Sanskrit works on Dharma Śāstra and Artha Śāstra for models. This is accepted by Parimelazhagar, the most erudite commentator on Tiru Valluvar who in many portions of his commentary has indicated how the ideas of the Sanskrit works agree with the conclusions of Tiru Valluvur evidently forming the basis for Tiru Valluvar. If Parimelazhagar's views could be adopted then the author of the Kural must have been familiar with Sanskrit Literature and especially the Dharma Śāstra and Artha Śāstra Literature. "If this position can be accepted it is reasonable to assume that Tiru Valluvar follows mainly in his Arattuppal—(Portion on Dharma) the most popular Dharma Śāstra of Manu, in his Portutpal—(Portion on Wealth) the well-known Artha Śāstra of Kauṭalya and in his Kamattuppal (Portion on Pleasure) the Kāma Śāstra of Vātsyāyana. To these may be added portions of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahā Bhārata and other allied literature" (Page 133 of V. R. R. Diksshitar's Studies in Tamil Literature and History 1930. University of Madras—Chapter on Tiru Kural pp. 125-176).

Among modern scholars there is practical unanimity about the indebtedness of the Kural to the Sanskrit Dharma Śāstras and Artha Śāstras.

Prof. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar States in his "Evolution of Hindu Administrative Institutions of South India" (1931 University of Madras Sir William Meyer Lecture 1929-30. Lecture 2. Kural Polity).

"Apart from this question purely of diction the parallelisms in subject matter are so many and so frequent that it would be taking too much upon ourselves to assert that in the subject matter the work is quite independent of Sanskrit. We have no right to assume that a commentator is a fraud who reads his ideas into the Sūtras composed centuries before his time. These remarks are offered here as is often asserted that Parimelazhagar's profound learning in Sanskrit is what is responsible for the affiliation of the ideas of the Kural to Sanskrit works. Ignorance of Sanskrit and the necessarily imperfect exposition of the Kural are not certain features of higher authority. It is knowledge of what Sanskrit has to say and a comparison of the two in the contents that really would lead to anything and take justifiable inference rather than the ignorance that would shut its eyes to all possible sources of light from elsewhere. [For the opposite view see "Sudies in Tiru Kural" by R. P. Setu Pillai with a foreword by K. Subramania Pillai 1923].

Though the parallelisms have been admitted still they have not been exhaustively worked out. V. R. R. Dikshitar in his essay "Studies on Tamil Literature" notes a few. The first systematic exposition of the comparison is by Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastry, Head of the department of Sanskrit, Annamalai University in his commentary on the Kural (Arattuppal-Balar Urai). The parallelisms of the Dharma portion as the most important portion of the work have now been the subject of a special work entitled "108 verses of Kural". (72 verses relate to Dharma, 34 to Artha and 2 to Kama) published with a Srīmukham from H. H. Jagadguru Śaṅkarācārya of the Kāñcī Kāma Koṭi Peeṭham (B. G. Paul & Co., Madras 1950).

Now a few points of comparison between Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra and the Tiru Kural Dharma portion are set down below.

I. Among the Dharma Śāstra writers, Āpastamba is the foremost who lays special emphasis on. "The agreement of those who know the Law as the authority (for the duties)" "धर्मज्ञसमयः प्रमाणम् (I. 1. 1. 2) as the only source of Dharma besides the Vedas as the ultimate source of Dharma. The next Sūtra states वेदाश्च and Bühler translates it: "(and the authority for the latter) are the Vedas alone."

That this is Āpastamba's considered conclusion is clear from other portions of his work. In I. 7. 20. 7. he states: यं तु आर्याः क्रियमाणं प्रशंसन्ति स धर्मः, यद् गर्हन्ते सो धर्मः ।= But that is virtue the practice of which wise men of the three twice born castes praise; what they blame is sin.

The definition of these Āryas or the qualities adorning the Aryan have been explicitly set forth in two places in the middle and end of the work in the same language—I. 7. 20. 8 and 9.. II. 11. 29. 13 and 14.

कृच्छ्रा धर्मसमाप्तिः समाम्नातेन । लक्षणकर्मणा तु समाप्यते । अत्र लक्षणम् सर्वजनपदेषु एकान्तसमाहितम् आर्याणाम् वृत्तम् सम्यग्विनीतानाम् वृद्धानाम् आत्मवताम् अलोलुपानाम् अदांभिकानाम् वृत्तम् सादृश्यम् भजेत् । एवम् उभौ लोकौ अभिजयति

13. It is difficult to learn the sacred law from the letter of the Vedas only; but by following the indications it is easily accomplished.

14. The indication for those doubtful cases are: He shall regulate his course of action according to the conduct of what is unanimously recognised in all countries by men of three twice born castes who have been properly obedient to their teachers who are aged, of subdued senses, neither given to avarice nor hypocrites. Acting thus he will gain both worlds.

The reason for confining Dharma to this source is very piquantly put I. 7. 20. 6. न धर्माधर्मौ चरत आवाम् इति । न देवगन्धर्वाः न पितरः इत्याचक्षते अयं धर्म अयम् अधर्म इति ।

For virtue and sin (Dharma and Adharma) do not go about saying: Here we are. Nor do Gods Gandharvas or Manes say to men "This is virtue. This is sin."

Following Āpastamba we should hold that Tiru Valluvar has in Chapter 3 dealt with on the greatness of ascetics as the ascetic alone is a धर्मज्ञ (Araveran verse 10) and as his word (collectively or individually) is the source of Dharma. [We may omit the 1st 2 Chapters on God and Rain as introductory].

In mentioning this source as the only source of Dharma it was unnecessary to mention the more remote source of Dharma *viz.* the Vedas. This treatment by Tiru Valluvar is not accidental but deliberate following Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra's cardinal doctrine of the single source of Dharma in the customs of great men. Control of senses is dealt with in verses 4, 5 and 7. Their qualities are described as the hill ascendant on which they sit (verse 9). The mercy to all creation is noted in verse 10 and their general greatness in verse 6.

II. The definition of antaṇar in the last verse of Chapter 3 as:— "The Brahmins are the people who know Dharma as they show the quality of mercy kindness to all creatures".

This is an exact replica of Āpastambas I. 8:23. Sūtras 1 and 2.

आत्मन् पश्यन् सर्वभूतानि न मुह्येत् चिन्तयन् कविः। आत्मानं चैव सर्वत्र यः पश्येत् स वै ब्रह्मा नाकपृष्ठे विराजति।

Here ब्रह्मा means a Brāhmaṇa translated as ,antaṇar' in Tamil. The Sūtras are translated by Bühler as:—

"That Brāhmaṇa who is wise and recognises all creatures to be Ātman, who pondering thereon does not become bewildered and who recognises Ātman in every created being shines forsooth [surely] in heaven."

III. In the same Chapter 3 treating of the greatness of ascetics we have a verse which refers to the very men being endowed with qualities and they are stated as sitting on the hill of qualities. This has evidently reference to I. 8. 23. 6 of Āpastamba where the qualities of the Brāhmaṇas referred to in the 1st Sūtra (I. 8. 23. 1.) are described.

"Freedom form anger, from exaltation from grumbling, from covetousness, from perplexity, from hypocrisy and hurtfulness; truthfulness, moderation in eating, silencing slander, freedom from envy, selfdenying liberality, avoiding to accept gifts, uprightness, affability, extinction of the passions, subjection of the senses, peace with all created beings, concentration of the mind (on the contemplation of Ātman), regulation of one's conduct according to that of the Āryas, peacefulness and contentedness;—these good qualities have been settled by the agreement of the wise for all the four orders; he who according to the precepts of the sacred law practices these enters the Universal Soul."

अक्रोधोऽहर्षोऽलोभोऽमोहोऽदम्भोऽद्रोहः सत्यवचनम् अनत्याशः अपैशुनम् अनसूया संविभागस्त्यागः आर्जवम्, मार्दवम्, शमः दमः सर्वभूतैः अविरोधः योगः आर्यमानृशंस्यं तुष्टिः इति सर्वाश्रमाणाम् समयपदानि तानि अनुतिष्ठन् विधिना सार्वगामी भवति।

This large list of qualities of Āpastamba is condensed in one clause as 'sitting on the (throne of the) hill of qualities v. 9 of Chapter 3. 'He who stands ascendant on the hill of qualities' by Tiru Valluvar.

IV. Again Āpastamba's division of the four Āśramas practically into two lends adequate basis for Tiru Valluvar's division of Dharma into the Gṛhastha Dharma and the ascetic Dharma (lit. Dharma which consists of giving up everything).

Āpastamba's treatment is seen from II. 9. 21. Sūtras 1 to 4. 1. There are 4 orders, the householdership, the studentship, the order of ascetics and the order of hermits in the woods. 2. If he lives in all these four according to the rules of the law without allowing himself to be disturbed by anything be obtains salvation. 3. The duty to live in the teacher's house after the initiation is common to all of them. 4. Not to abandon sacred learning is a duty common to all. Hence leaving out the introductory or common Āśrama of the Brahmacārin the other three are to be divided into two—the Gṛhastha—one who *lives* in the world and on the other hand the ascetic and hermit—those who *leave* the world. These are the two great divisions of mankind which have claimed man's admiration allegiance and worship from the dawn of humanity in all ages. The history of the world could be written in a compendious form as the action and interaction of these two forces on men. This is exactly the problem in the age of Āpastamba and he sets out the same elaborately in 2 sections II. 9. 23. Sūtras 7 to 11 and II. 9. 24. Sūtras 1 to 15. These two sections are very important as setting both the basis of the claims of the respective contending parties. To summarise, the Sanyāsī claimed the support of the texts of the Veda and the power to pronounce benediction (संकल्पसिद्धिः) [inflicting [शाप is included]. The basis of the one is invisible and the basis of the second is visible by its effects being demonstrated and made known to the world. The Gṛhastha also had the Vedic texts to support and appeals to the view that the good done by the sons (*e.g.* in the shape of दान intended for the father's benefit and Śrāddhas after his death) lead them to the places in heaven. He appeals to the son looking alike. Finally Apastamba concludes by giving his judgment in the last portion: "still there is no reason to place one order before the other II. 9. 24. न तु तज्ज्यैष्ठ्यम् आश्रमाणाम् |. On account of the passages of the revealed texts and on account of the visible results—these are the two bases of arguments of each of the two side तस्मात् श्रुतितः, प्रत्यक्षफलत्वात्.

The same judgment would be that of Tiruvalluvar also as he praises both types of Dharma—the Gṛhastha and the Ascetic in the same expatiory words. Compare (1) the verses in Chapter 5, the Householder, especially verse 6. "If the Gṛhastha does perform the Dharma of his station what is there for him to gain by going to the other station of life (the life of the ascetic and hermit). verse 7. The Gṛhastha who acts up to the rules of his order is the best of those who try to ascend up to the feet of the Lord *i.e.*, get Mokṣa. V. 10. He who lives up according to the rules prescribed for the Gṛhastha will be placed among the gods in heaven and (a) the verses relating to the ascetic verse 348. They are the ascetics who have renounced all. Others are confused

and are caught in the meshes (of Saṃsāra)-263. Surely the Gṛhastha forgot तपस् in order to be helpful to those who renounce. [The reference to शापानुग्रह in verse 264 and the संकल्पसिद्धि in verse 265 shows that Tiruvalluvar remembered Āpastamba's case as of the ascetic as put forth by him] and verse 266. Those who perform Tapas are those who perform the Dharma. Others are those who are fond of the results of the sense products and are caught in its meshes.

This treatment of the two types प्रवृत्ति and निवृत्ति is peculiar to Āpastamba and the next great work which treats it likewise is the Bhagavad Gītā. Śaṅkara is his introduction to the Gītā Bhāṣya divides the Ashkas—those endowed with Daiva Prakṛti into 2 classes the प्रवृत्त and निवृत्त and instances Manu and others as belonging to the one and ascetics like Sanaka and others as belonging to the other type. Śaṅkara with his fondness for the Ascetic would place the Gṛhastha as the Āśrama leading to the culmination of life in the ascetic as that Āśrama in which the ज्ञाननिष्ठा stands supreme without being disturbed or lost.

Some critics (The ultra pro-Tamils) find Tiruvalluvar's treatment of Illaram and Turavanam as something peculiar to Tamil genius. In fact it is only the 4 Asramas dividing themselves into camps the Gṛhastha and the renouncer (the Ascetic and the hermit) with the Brahmacarya Āśrama as the foundation for all. Hence Tiruvalluvar treats of Education in the general section on Wealth omitting the special and peculiar features of a Brahmacārin.

V. There is verse 63 is Chapter 7 which has remained an enigma for commentators :—

They (fathers) say that their sons are their wealth; while the wealth of the sons is obtained by their own acts.

This verse is in short the quintessence of the entire Khanda II. 9. 24, Sūtras 9 to 14.

Āpastamba here considers a great question raised on the greatness or importance of the son to the father. The sons look like the father and there are Śruti statements that the father is born as the sons. The sons perform Śrāddha and give Dāna on behalf of the father and the father is benefitted. Therefore the sons are the wealth of the fathers.

But now the conundrum: what about the evil acts of the son? Just as the sons are liable to raise the father by their (son's) deeds are the

sons similarly capable of lowering the father by their evil deeds. Hence comes the rule. The son's evil acts cannot affect the father just as the leaves of the tree when dead do not affect the tree. Again we are reminded that the Seven Rishis stand firm in heaven and could not be affected by their sons' acts. Hence the carefully given judgment is:— The son's good acts do good to their parents and the sons are the wealth of their parents. But the sons in a similar way do not get their live's deserts by the acts of the fathers but should stand on their own acts good and bad. This conclusion is set forth by Tiruvalluvar in the second portion of the verse quoted above. Otherwise it would appear to be an irrelevant insertion of an idea; but reading Āpastamba we can appreciate the force of the remark and the relevancy of the idea.

VI. The most conclusive proof of borrowing is found in the Chapter on Honouring a guest-Chapter 6 of the Tirukural. It should be stated here that of the Dharma Sūtra and Dharma Śāstra writers Āpastamba is most profuse in his treatment of honour due to a guest. Āpastamba has for more than 2 long Khaṇḍas devoted to this II. 3. 6. 3 to II. 4. 9. 4. Āpastamba has a detailed comparison as to how the honour due to a guest is a sacrifice. Giving food in the morning noon and evening are the 3 Savanas. The hosts' rising after the guest's rising is the udavasanīya Iṣṭi. The address to the guest is the Dakṣiṇā. Following the steps of the guest is the steps of Viṣṇu. When he returned after accompanying the guest it amounts to Avabhṛta. The fire in the stomach of the guest is the Āhavanīya; the fire in the house is Gārhapatya; and the fire at which food for the guest is cooked is Dakṣhiṇāgni.

Not content with this Āpastamba describes the degrees of kindness shown to a guest. Food mixed with milk produces the reward of Agniṣṭoma, food mixed with clarified butter procures the reward of Ukthya, food mixed with honey the reward of an Atirātra, food accompanied by meat the reward of a Dvādaśa, [and generally water, off spring and long life]. It is this detailed two fold comparison of honouring a guest to a Vedic sacrifice which should have impressed Tiruvalluvar and not the mere mention of अतिथिसत्कार as one of the 5 sacrifices due by a householder. It is this two fold comparison which is summarised in verses 87 and 88 and in the same order also.

We cannot compare what kind of sacrifice it is. The fruits of the sacrifice are dependant upon the degree of honour shown to the guest.

The ordinary comparison with a sacrifice is used is the next verse 88, verse 8 of Chapter 9:—

"Those who do not undertake the sacrifice of Honouring the guest would repent—Alas we have amassed wealth with difficulty and all to no purpose".

Thus I have shown how Tiruvalluvar has followed Āpastamba in the main fundamentals of his treatise on Dharma. This essay would enable us to conclude that the civilisation of the two portions of India the north and the south, the Sanskrit and the Tamil language areas is identically the same and upon this rocky foundation a glorious future awaiting us will be built".

ओम् तत् सत्

XII—Philosophy and Religion Section

(38) The Cult of Jagannātha, Its Lunar Origin

by

Prof. B. Kakati, M.A; Ph.D. (Cal.)

Gauhati University.

1. The present temple was built at about 1100 A. D. by Ananta Codagaṅga. It contains four chambers: (1) a hall of offerings; (2) a hall for musicians and dancing: (3) a hall of audience where pilgrims assemble to have a sight of the image: (4) the Sanctuary itself.

2. The image is in triple form. The idols are fashioned only from the waist upwards. They have no hands and feats; no nose, no eyes.

3. The image is replaced once in seventeen years. When two new moons occur in Āṣāḍh (June—July) which is said to happen once in seventeen years, a new image is always made. According to another account the new image is made every third year. The new image is made of *Neem* tree by common carpenters. A small box containing the spirit is said to be taken out of the old image and put in the new. The box is said to contain quick-silver. Another account says that the relics represent the bones of Kṛṣṇa.

4. Offerings of cooked food are made to the image. The customs regarding the consecrated food are remarkable. Even an outcaste can put the consecrated food into the mouth of a Brahmin. It is to be taken squatting on the ground. It is said to be prepared by Lakṣmī.

5. All classes of men have equal access to the temple. Only the lowest and most impure castes are excluded from the precincts.

The entire worship of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā during the period from Snāna Yātrā to Ratha Yātrā is performed by the *daitas* who are decendants of the Śabaras. During Ratha Yātrā, the Śabaras have to touch the rope before others can draw the car.

6. Within the temple enclosures there are also temples dedicated to Lakṣmī and Vimalā. The temple of Vimalā is one of the fifty one Mahāpīṭhas of Satī, Jagannātha himself being regarded as the Bhairava. On the 8th day of the bright half of Āśvina, a goat is sacrificed before the goddess Vimalā.

7. There are obscene figures on the walls of the Jagannātha Temple as also of other temples of Orissa. They are extremely erotic and have nothing in common with the pictures of the Rāsa—dance or the stealing of the milk-maids 'clothing' of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. They are embodiments of erotic realism.

The Yoginī Tantra notes certain relaxations of the social and moral code in Orissa. It has been said that in Odra, in the land of Puruṣottama, no impurity attaches to accepting cooked rice from any body. The Brahmins are not to be separately treated in the matter of touching or not touching. No fault attaches to free sexual intercourse or free drink (amongst all orders of men and woman). Marriage of brothers in the reverse order obtains: a younger brother can marry prior to an elder one. Lastly lying with women and union with them is not counted an offence.

8. The following legend about the origin of Jagannātha is recorded in the *Utkala Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*.

"In the earliest stage of its existence, Puri was a forest having the Blue Hill (Nīlācala) in the centre, with an all-bestowing Kalpadruma (tree) on its brow, the sacred fountain of Rohiṇī to the west, and on its side an inimitable image of Nīlamādhava. The existence of the image of Nīlamādhava, was reported to Rājā Indradyumna, a prince of the solar dynasty, who reigned in Avanti in Malava. He sent out Brahmans in different directions in search for the deity; all returned except Vidyāpati who had gone to the east. He travelled for three months before he reached the country of Śabaras, an aboriginal tribe. There he dwelt in the house of a Śabara named Viśvāvasu (sec. 17). The fowler used to go to jungles every day to offer flowers and fruits in secret. One day being moved by the prayers of his daughter he look the Brahmin with his eyes blind-folded, so that he might behold the Lord only at the holy place and that he would not know the way thither. The Brahmin secretly took a bag of mustard seed, dropped it on the way till he reached the shrine. There he beheld Lord Nīlamādhava in the form of a blue stone image at the foot of the all bestowing Kalpadruma. The Brahmin saw a crow falling there from the tree and going to heaven. He also tried to climb the tree and fall there to achieve the eternal bliss, but a voice from heaven cried—"Hold Brahmin, first carry to thy king the good news that thou hast found the Lord of the World". The fowler returned with flowers and fruits collected and spread them out before the image, but alas! the god would not come according to his wont to partake of the offering. Only a voice was heard saying:—"Oh my faithful servant, I am worried of the jungle flowers and fruits and crave for *cooked rice* and sweets. No longer thou shalt see me in the form of thy blue god. Hereafter I shall be known as Jagannātha, the Lord of the World". The Brahmin was kept captive for a long time, but at last moved by the tears of his daughter, the Śabara allowed him to depart. The Brahmin returned to tell the King his discovery. The king rejoiced

at the good news and started with a large army of wood-cutters to find out the blue image of the Lord, but the Lord was angry at the king's pride, and a voice was heard from heaven "O king, thou shalt indeed build my temple, but me thou shall not behold".

The blue image had disappeared already. In bitter disappointment, the king performed certain penances in order to propitiate the god and then heard a voice from heaven saying that if he offered a thousand Aśvamedha sacrifices, he would be blessed by the sight of Viṣṇu in the shape, not of blue image, but a log of wood with certain marks on it. Sacrifices were performed. The deity appeared in the form of a log floating in the sea. It was brought to land and installed with great ceremony in the enclosure where the sacrifices had been performed. It is identified to be the present site where the great temple now stands.

The king collected all carpenters in the country to fashion the log into an image of Lord Jagannātha, but when they put their chisels on the wood, they broke into pieces. At last the Lord appeard in disguise of an old carpenter and gave out his name as Ananta Mahārāṇa and promised to make the image within twenty one days. He was shut up in a room with the log of wood. Before the expiry of the allotted time, the king grew anxious, as no sound was heard from within, and opened the door but found no body in, but three unfinished images. The images were brought in cars and placed on the throne and consecrated by Brahmā". (C. M. Acharya: *Orissa Review*, 1949).

9. There are also other traditions relating to the origin of Jagannātha. They are as follows:—

"When Lord Śrīkṛṣṇa left the world, his earthly remains were placed on the funeral pyre but the navel portion could not be consumed by fire. So it was floated in the sea. It reached Nīlācala. At this time king Indradyumna was practising austerities to have a view of Viṣṇu, who appeared before him in a vision and ordered him to place this navel portion in a wooden image and worship it as Viṣṇu. Brahminism does not advocate the worship of any part of the dead body as Buddhism does. This tradition simply indicates that some Buddhistic story had been later modelled to give it a Brahminic appearance."

The following version of the story of Jagannātha is to be found in the *Vana Parva* and *Musala Parva* of Saraladāsa's *Mahābhārata*. When Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa was killed by the arrow of Jarā, a fowler, Arjuna tried to consume the dead body in flames, but he failed to do so. Consequently it was thrown into the sea and at length it floated in the form of a Dāru (a log of wood) to Nīlasundara on the shores of the sea. Jarā had followed the dead body along the sea coast. Indradyumna son of king Galamādhava constructed a temple and installed the images constructed by Viśvakarmā in disguise. In this version also the uncouth figures are ascribed to the opening of the doors before the stipulated period. (H. Mahtab: *The History of Orissa*, 1949 pp. 160 et seq.).

From these aetiological myths it may be gathered that a certain local god was formerly worshipped in a blue-stone by the Śabaras and that later it was replaced by another made up of three pieces of shapeless woods.

11. In olden times Orissa consisted of three geographical parts: (1) Uḍra, Anḍra or Oḍra (2) Kaliṅga; (3) Utkala. It was first inhabited by the Śabaras, then the Dravidians and lastly by the Aryans. The names of the different parts have all been traced to Dravidian sources: *oddisu* = cultivator (Telugu): *okkalgar-cultivator* (Canarese): *kalinga, kalinji*—cultivator (Mahtab: *History of Orissa*, p. 1). It would thus appear from the place names that when Orissa comes into the light of history with a name, it was already within Dravidian sphere of cultural influence and was known as a land of cultivators. The god of the floating wood on the sea-shore might be an imported one coming along with the Dravidian colonisers. In a land which derives its name from cultivation, the chief god of worship is likely to have been connected with vegetation.

12. The Śabaras are mentioned in the *aryā-stava Harivaṅsa*: II 3) as worshippers of the mountain goddess Durgā (*Śābarair barbaraiścaiva Pulindaiśca supūjitā*). A festival called *Śabarotsava*, connected with the worship of the goddess is also mentioned. (sec. 23).

The original tradition of the Śabaras seems to be retained in the latterday installation of goddess Vimalā (a manifestation of Durgā) within the temple precincts. "According to the Tantriks, Vimalā and not Jagannātha is the presiding deity of Śrīkṣetra. Pandit Vinayaka Misra thinks that the existing forms of Jagannātha worship is dominated by Tantrikism. On the eight day of the bright half of Āśvina, a goat is sacrificed before the goddess Vimalā (Mahatab—pp. 167-168).

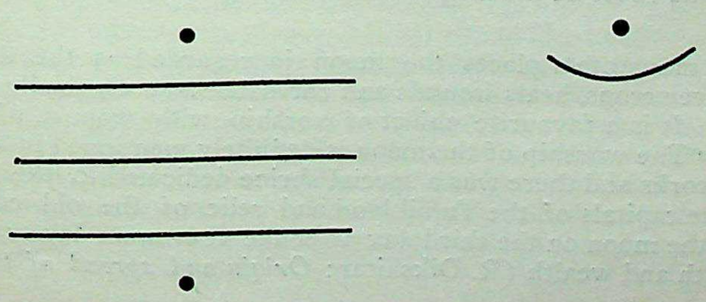
13. Lord Jagannātha, however, receives offerings of cooked rice. In the aetiological land quoted above (sec. 8) he is represented as calling for cooked rice and sweets. The offering of boiled rice is a notable feature of Dravidian worship. The system (of worship, of the village gods of South India) as a whole is redolent of the soil and evidently belongs to a pastoral and agricultural community (Whitehead: *The village Gods of South India* 1921: pp. 99, 142) Jagannātha is worshipped in a triple form. The three images have given rise to all kinds of speculations. The Vaiṣṇavites claim them as representations of Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Subhadrā; the Buddhists, as those of the *Tri-ratna*; and the Śaivitas as those of the trident (tri-śula).

14. Let us examine the Vaiṣṇavite claim as it is the popularly accepted one. The *Utkala Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa* is devoted to the glorification of Jagannātha. Viṣṇu was formerly worshipped in a quadruple form of the Vyūhas. So the *Utkala Khaṇḍa* finds it hard to reconcile the triple form with any known manifestation of Viṣṇu and

adds that it is a four-fold manifestation with the discus *sudarśana*, representing the fourth form (*tadrūpantu turīyakam*) and lying hidden the pillar representing his body (*Utkala* : 19/14 18.)

15. The story of the triple form of Viṣṇu with Subhadrā as the third seems to be unwarranted by any Pauranic tradition and it seems to be agraft upon some originally different legend of origin of Lord Jagannātha. It does not appear that Subhadrā has anywhere been deified. In the *Harivaṃśa* the goddess Ekānaṁśa who was born as Nanda's daughter and was a substitute for Kṛṣṇa on Devakī's lap has been referred to as Balarāma's sister (II. 3/10). She was brought up in the family of the Vṛṣṇis as a child and was worshipped by all the Yādavas as the protectress of Kṛṣṇa's life. On one occasion when Kṛṣna and Balarāma returned in triumph after having killed a demon, they found her in their father's house. Mādhava embraced her with his right hand and Balarāma smelt her on the head and embraced her with his left hand. The women folk saw the sister of Rāma and Kṛṣna standing in between them (*H.V.* II. 101/13—18). This seems to be the only notice of Kṛṣna and Balarāma standing in a family group with a sister. But this sister was Ekānaṁśā, a manifestation of Durgā and not Subhadrā. In the Vaiṣṇavite version of the story Ekānaṁśā has been replaced by Subhadrā and thus all traces of association with any form of Saktism have been wiped out.

16. One early Orissa poet Saraladāsa in the *Vana-Parva* of his *Mahābhārata* says that king Indradyumna on opening the doors found that there were three images of Viṣṇu without hands and feet. They were shining with the halo of the great Buddha. There were no nose no ears and no eyes. There were no fingers and no toes. The great Buddha had appeared in the *form of three lines* (Mahatab: p. 168). "Among the village gods of South India there is one called Gangammā. the water-goddess who is sometimes called Mahālakṣmī and sometimes Chamalammā (Kāli). She is worshipped publicly by a whole village and also in the courtyards of private houses. In the latter case, people clean the wall of the houses outside with cow-dung and make three *horizontal lines* with *kumkuma* (a red paste of turmeric and lime) with a dot above and below and a semi-circle on the right hand side with a dot in the middle, thus :—



The symbol on the right represents the sun and the moon and that on the left is the Śaivite sectarian mark. They sacrifice to these symbols sheep, goats and fowls (Whitehead: pp. 67—68).

17. The three lines represent the original god whoever he might have been. The symbols of the sun and the moon on the right hand side furnish a clue to the meaning of the lines. The dots above and below the lines symbolise the sun and the lines themselves on the left hand side symbolise the moon. The sectarian Śaiva marks in the form of three lines owe their origin to the moon, the moon-god having been merged in Śiva (Somanātha). Lord Jagannātha in original three lines seems thus to have been the moon-god.

The figure of Cangammā in lines and dots is a picture of the combined worship of the sun and the moon. "The Binjhias of Chota Nagpur worship Nind-Bonga as the moon in conjunction with Sing-Bonga or the sun; and in many other cases, the worship of both the luminaries is common (*E. R. E.* V. p. 3).

The sun and the moon are also separately worshipped in Southern India. The sun god is called Bisal-Mariammā. Her shrines are never covered with a roof and one of the symbols representing the deity is a brass pot full of water with a small mirror leaning against it called *Kunna-kannadi i.e.* eye-mirror (Whitewhead: pp. 29, 39). The cult of the moon-god is also common. The Kharias offer to him a black cock under the name Jyolo Dubo; the Binjhias worship him as Nind-Bonga, the Mundas as Chand Omal. The Munda legend tells how on one occasion the moon deceived the sun, her husband and in his anger he cut her in two; afterwards he repented of his wrath and allowed her to shine forth in full beauty amidst her daughters, the stars. (*E. R. E.* II p. 484). The most curious form is the Chauk Chand rite in Bihar. On that day the people fast and employ a Brahmin to worship the moon with an offering of flowers and sweet meats. It is believed that if any one looks upon the moon that day, calamity will befall him. Should any one be unlucky enough to do this, he can repel the dangerous influences by getting himself abused by other people; abuse like mock-fight being regarded as a means of protection against demons. He therefore in order to excite their abuse flings stones on the roofs of his neighbour's house (*E. R. E.*, V. p. 3).

As in many other places the moon is regarded as the deity who presides over crops, heals wounds and cures diseases especially those of the eyes. It is a favourite object of worship with women (*E.R.E.*, II p. 484). "The worship of the moon is definitely mentioned in the early Sangam works and there was a special shrine dedicated to the moon in each of the capitals of the Tamil land and relic of the old cult is the seeing of the moon on the third day after the new-moon day supposed to bring health and wealth (R. Dikshitar: *Oriqin and spread of the Tamil*

1947: 47 to 48). Professor Nila Kanta Sastri, of the Madras University writes to the author in a private communication that there is in ancient Tamil a literary convention in the type of love poem known as Kovai. The idea is this: when a *sakhi* of the heroine wants to find out if the heroine has had carnal connection with her lover one way of finding it out is to ask the heroine to worship the rising moon. If she had known the lover physically she would decline to worship the moon but feel thoroughly confused, because to worship the moon in such a case would be disloyalty to her lover, her prospective husband. If she had no such contact with the lover she would readily join her family in worshipping the moon. The whole theme presupposes the currency of the worship of the moon. It is difficult to say when this literary convention actually came into vogue. It may not be much earlier than the 4th or 5th century A. D.

Barth has the following note:" The *Śaṅkaravijaya* (Chapter XLIV) and the Mussalman writers speak of a sect of moon-worshippers (*Religions of India* p. 253 f.n.).

The term *Viśvāvasu* as the name of the Śabara fowler who used to worship the blue stone in concealment (sec. 8) is derived from the Vedic Soma-myth. *Viśvāvasu*, "possessing all goods" often accompanies the word *Gandharva*. In one hymn it is used alone to designate Gandharva and in the later Saṃhitās, the Brāhmaṇas and the post-Vedic literature, it frequently occurs as the name of an individual Gandharva. Soma is said to have dwelt among the Gandharvas or to have been stolen by the Gandharva Viśvāvasu. In a later text, Soma is besought to elude the Gandharva Viśvāvasu in the form of an eagle. (Macdonell: *Vedic mythology*; pp. 136-137).

About the triple form of the lunar divinity and its association with trees and plants, the following folk-myths prevalent amongst diverse races may be considered.

18. "It is a wide-spread feature of lunar deities that like the Moirai they are three fold or triune. In the language of many uncultured peoples the waxing, the full and the waning moon are denoted by three quite different names. In New Britain the moon consists of three persons, the full moon, called the white woman, or the old woman, and her two sons the waxing and the waning moon. In New Zealand it is related that when some women visited the abode of the moon they found it inhabited by three grey-headed spirits who sat by a fire in which burned three logs. Among the Bataks of Sumatra, the moon consists of three persons, the Lords of the moon. Among the natives of Northern Ashanti it is well known that the satellite is inhabited by three beings similar to men in appearance but provided with enormous ears which completely cover their faces. One of these is white and the other two black They existed before man was created.

In ancient India the phases of the moon were likewise regarded as separate persons. Among the ancient Babylonians the three phases of the moon bore three names—the sickle, the tiara, and the kidney and were identified with three different gods. Similarly among the Nordic races of Europe the moon was a three-fold deity—Mani, the full moon, Nyi, the new moon and Nithi the waning moon. The peasants of Southern France perceive three persons in the moon.

In Germany the moon hare has three legs. In India the chariot of the moon has three wheels In China the moon is inhabited by a three-legged bird (*Mothe:s:* II pp. 603-605).

In the Vedic mythology a three wheeled car belonged only to the Aśvins. But in the Pauranic myths it has been transferred to the moon-god. But in the Vedas, Soma is represented as being closely associated with certain aggregates of three. It is recognised in the *R. V.* as having *three admixtures* (*tryāśir*). It is also described as being pressed *three times* in the day. Soma is also called *trisadastha*, "having *three abodes*." Those three abodes may designate the *three tubs* used at the Soma sacrifice of later ritual. There is also mention of three lakes of Soma which Indra drinks. The epithet *triprṣtha*, "*three backed*" is peculiar to Soma. It probably refers to the three admixtures (Macdonell: V. M. 106-7).

The three phases of the moon conceived as separate persons in the Purāṇas are (1) Anumati (2) Rākā; and (3) Kuhū. Anumati is the 15th day of moon's age on which it rises one digit less than full when the gods or manes receive oblations with favour. It is personified as a goddess. Rākā is the goddess presiding over the actual day of full moon, Anumati being supposed to preside over the previous day. Kuhū is the first day of the first quarter on which the moon rises invisibly (Monier-williams: *SKT. Dictionary*), There is another goddess Sinīvālī presiding over fecundity and easy birth in the Ṛgveda. In the A. V. she is the wife of Viṣṇu. In later Vedic texts she is the presiding deity of the first day of the new moon as Rākā of the full moon (Ibid). Kuhū does not occur in the R. V. and her place is taken by Gungū (*O. S. T. V.* p. 346).

19. So intimately is the moon associated with the growth of vegetation that it is often completely identified with a sacred plant or tree as with the Soma plant in India or the maize plant in America. In the myths of the Iroquois before the moon existed in her present form, the upper world was lighted by a luminous tree the functions of which were taken over by the moon when she descended to light the earth. The Caribs and the Arawaks who regard the moon as the supreme being picture the world as having arisen from a gigantic tree whose leaves and twigs gave rise to all other plants and to all creatures, Such a tree of life resembles the world-tree of Nordic mythology which is usually known as the tree Yggdrasil. It is also known as the tree of Mimir, who appears to have been a Nordic Moon-god........

In South America, the sacred Paschemba palm is regarded as having fallen from the moon and is considered to be identical with it. The natives of the Sunda islands say that their sacred tree had existed before the gods existed. In the Admiralty Islands the Coco-nut palm is identified with the moon. In New Britain the full moon is said to have come out of a sugar cane. Among the Bombala of West Africa the moon-god is worshipped in the form of a tree. The form under which the Great Arabian moon-goddess AL-UZZa was worshipped at Mecca was that of a tree. All Semitic moon divinities were similarly associated with trees and sacred bushes. On some Babylonian cylindans the identification is represented in a very realistic manner; the moon-god with the crescent on his head constitutes the trunk of a tree and leafy boughs and branches are seen growing from every part of his person. In Crete and Archaic Greece lunar deities were similarly represented as trees. (*Mothers* II pp. 629-631).

20. "The goddess Europa was worshipped at Gortyna in Crete during the Hellenic period as a sacred tree. In Polynesia the tree of life was a local bread-fruit tree which became a god or a goddess. Out of this magic broad-fruit tree, as legend says, a great goddess was made. A Japanese legend relates that a hero named Manko once saw a beautiful woman sitting on a tree trunk that floated on the sea. Manko had the tree taken into his boat and found that the woman was hidden inside the trunk, (Mackenzie: *Myth of China and Japan:* pp. 134, 135, 152).

In the Ṛgveda, both Soma and large trees receive the epithet *Vanaspati*, "lord of the wood". Soma is so called because he is said to have generated all plants. Large trees are a few times addressed as deities along with waters and mountains. In the later Saṃhitās, the sphere of Apsarases extend to the earth and in particular to trees. They are spoken of as inhabiting banyans (*nyagrodha*) and sacred fig-trees (*aśvattha*) in which their cymbals and lutes resound (Macdonell: *Vedic Mythology* pp. 112, 134, 154).

"A moon girl came into being in Japan; she was discovered by a wood cutter. One day when collecting bamboo he found inside a cane a little baby whose body shone as does a jem in darkness. He took her home to his wife and she grew to be a very beautiful girl. She was called Moon-Ray and after living for a time on the earth returned to the moon. She had maintained her youthful appearance by drinking from a small vessel she possessed, the fluid of immortality (Ibid: p. 150).

21. The cutting up of a log of wood and fashioning it into a goddess is a common practice in South India." When an epidemic of Cholera breaks out, a goddess called Maridiamma is installed. A log of margosa (Neem) wood about 3 ft. high and six inches in diameter is cut and roughly carved at the top into the shape of a head and then fixed in the ground with a pandal of leaves and clothes over it. Then

the procession of the earthen pot half filled with butter, milk and rice is conducted everyday till the epidemic subsides "(Whitehead p. 65). It has also been noted that margosa or neem tree is an evergreen bearing white flowers and is frequently associated with village divinities (p. 37 f.n.).

When the image of Jagannātha is replaced every 17th year, the figures are cut out of a *Neem* tree.

22. A good deal has been said about the catholicity of admission of all orders of men into the temple and the special privileges enjoyed by the Śabaras. All this has been laid at the door of Buddhist influence. But in the worship of the village deities the Pujāris are drawn from all the lower castes indiscriminately, though in any one village the Pūjāris of a particular goddess nearly always belong to one particular caste (Whitehead; p. 43). The privileges enjoyed by the Śabaras are relics of ancient customs.

23. Similarly even without postulating Buddhist influence, the free access of all classes of visitors may be explained. In the Kāmākhyā temple of Kāmarūpa similar practices are in vogue. "Kāmākhyā herself admitted of being worshipped both according to Right hand and the Left-hand methods. Moreover, there was no restriction to foreigners about the mode of Kāmākhyā worship. They could worship according to the practices current in their native localities. In other countries conformity to local customs was enjoined ; but in Kāmarūpa foreigners were exempted from conformity to local rites and ceremonies. Kāmarūpa is the favourite haunt of the Devī. No other place is like it. In other places the Devī is rare but in Kāmarūpa she dwells in every house". (B. Kakati: *Mother goddess Kāmākhyā*: p. 48). In the Kāmākhyā temple people have not only free admission but also own modes of worship.

About the obscene pictures on the walls. In the *Kālikā Purāna* a certain festival in connection with the worship of the Devī has been mentioned. This is called *Śabarotsava*, the festival of the Śabaras. "On the tenth day of the autumnal worship people were enjoined upon to sing lewd songs naming the sexual organs in the company of finely dressed virgins and prostitutes. They were also to throw rice, flowers, dust and mud at one another &c. Failure to join the revelry would bring down the wrath of the goddess upon the delinquents. This was called Śabarotsava (Kakati: *The Mother goddess Kāmākhyā* pp. 47—48).

There are parallel South Indian practices observed in connection with the worship of the village goddess. "Once in every year, festival is celebrated in her honour during the harvest season....and while the services was in progress, naked women had to sing and dance before the deity.... At the close of the festival when the image of the village deity

is carried in a procession to the boundary of the village the Asadis or the outcastes who officiate as priests during the function sing an obscene song in praise of her and indulge in indecent jests at the expense of the chief men of the village........In Kerala it used to be the custom until quite recently to sing obscene songs during the Puram festival (or the festival of Bhagavati) at Shertally. At Cranganore the right of distributing the Prasādam during the Bhagavatī festival is held as a monopoly of the women folk of certain families; and they are obliged to answer question on sex-matters put at the time of distributing the *Prasādam* (N. Venkataramanayya: *Rudra Śiva*, 1941, pp. 59-60).

24. Similar rites or practices are however indulged in all over the world in connection with the worship of mother-goddesses. "The worship of mother goddesses was every where attended by rites which to us are revolting. Herodotus indicates the obscene character of those which prevailed at the Delta region. In Asia Minor, the festivals of the Great Mother and her son who symbolised the generative agency in nature were the scenes of terrible practices. Men mutilated their bodies and women became the "sacred wives" of the god (Mackenzie: *Egyptian myth and legend*: XXXIX).

25. To sum up; from the materials examined above it would appear that almost all aspects of the Jagannātha cult have some correspondences with some features of primitive rites and customs, some of them obtaining even now in South India. In the form in which these rites are observed in connection with temple worship they may be regarded as sublimations. The images of Jagannātha are symbols dressed up as images, and in South India gods or goddesses are worshipped both in images as well as in rude symbols according to the exigencies of circumstances. The symbols consist of a stick, a spear a wooden stake, a stone a post, a clay or a brass pot. The images frequently consist of carving a human head on the top of a wooden pillar. And the figures of Jagannātha are only such carving on wooden pillars.

The process of Vaiṣṇavising the symbols has been noticed above. They have received the group name of Jagannātha, Jagannātha being one of the attributive names of Viṣṇu. As lunar deities, the images should have been linked with Śiva as Somanatha, but the triple manifestation was hard to reconcile with Śiva though a connection with *tri-śūla* has been suggested. From the scanty materials now available, it can not be said how the images came to be associated with Viṣṇu. From popular associations of Jagannātha with the Buddha (sec. 16) it is not unlikely that the images were first taken over by the Buddhist and subsequently reclaimed by the Vaiṣṇavites.

(39) The Distinction between Nirvikalpaka and Savikalpaka Perception in Indian Philosophy.

by

Prof. D. N. Shastri, M.A., M.O.L.

Meerut College, Meerut.

Schools of Indian Philosophy. notably the orthodox realist schools, the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and the Mīmāṃsā, and the Buddhist school of Diṅnāga distinguish between *Nirvikalpaka* and *Savikalpaka, i. e.* the indeterminate and determinate perceptions. Connotations of these terms, of course, differ not only with different schools of Indian Philosophy but sometimes even with the writers of one and the same school. One of the problems of Indian Philosophy which has not so far engaged the attention of scholars is: At what age or in what stages did the distinction between Nirvikalpaka and Savikalpaka in the process of perception arise, and who was or were the pioneers in introducing this distinction.

Of the six orthodox philosophical Sūtras taken in their most probable chronological order, the Brahmasūtra of Bādarāyaṇa does not advance at all any theory of perception, and therefore the question of distinction between Nirvikalpaka and Savikalpaka does not arise. In the definition (or rather description) of perception contained in the Mīmāṃsasūtra of Jaimini, it is stated that "When the senses of a person come in contact with an existent object, a cognition produced therefrom is perception."[1] Here there is no trace of the distinction in question. Similarly in the Vaiśeṣikasūtra of Kaṇāda, which makes a meagre reference to the nature of perception in the course of proving the existence of the soul[2], there is no indication of that distinction. The definition of perception given in the Nyāyasūtra of Gotama[3] contains three adjectives of perceptual cognition, *i. e.* (i) avyapadeśya (unnamable),

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1. Satsamprayoge puruṣasyendriyāṇām budhijanma tatpratyakṣam. Ms. I. i. 4.

2. Ātmendriyārthasannikarṣād yanniṣpadyate tadanyat. Vs. I. i. 18.

3. Indriyārthasannikarśotpannam jñanamavyapadeśyam avyabhicāri vyavasāyātmakam pratyakṣam. Ns. I. i. 4.

(ii) avyabhicāri (uncontradicted), and (iii) vyavasāyātmaka (definite). Of these, the first and third adjectives, *i. e.* avyapadeśya (unnamable) and vyavasāyātmaka (definite) have been interpreted by Vācaspatimiśra as indicating two kinds of perception, *i. e.* the Nirvikalpaka and Savikalpaka.[4] There is little doubt that this is Vācaspatimiśra's own innovation. It was not known to Vātsyāyana, the earliest commentator on the Nyāyasūtra, and not even to Udyotakara. Of course the term avyapadeśya (unnamable) might suggest that perception as defined here is meant to be free from admixture of verbal element, and, therefore, somewhat akin to Nirvikalpaka. But the same cognition is also stated to be 'vyavasāyātmaka (definite) *i. e.* determinate. Vātsyāyana's own interpretation of the term 'avyapadeśya' is that a cognition of an object generated by the sense-object contact is indicated by words such as "colour" "taste", and, therefore, the cognition in question may be taken to be a verbal one. The term avyapadeśya which means "not verbal" has been added to exclude that possibility. He further says that word is not used (as in the case of a verbal cognition) at the time of a perceptual cognition but it is used only at the time of expression of that cognition (vyāhārakāla).[5] Thus the distinction between Savikalpaka and Nirvikalpaka is not known to the Nyāyasūtra. Yogasūtra of Patanjali which is of sufficiently late date, not only does not know this distinction, but uses the term vikalpa in the sense of 'knowledge' caused by mere verbal usage and devoid of any reality[6] which is almost the Buddhist meaning of this term. Sāmkhyapravacanasūtra which is as late as the fourteenth century deserves here no mention, but even the definition of perception as given there makes no reference to the distinction in question.[7] In the Buddhist philosophy there is no reference to it in the writings of Vasubandhu and his predecessors. Jainas simply refuse to accept the existence of Nirvikalpaka.

So far the problem has been dealt with negatively. Let us now consider when there occurs in Indian Philosophy the first indication of the distinction in question. The earliest term used for a sort of first stage of perception *is* 'ālocana' which has been used by Kumārila, in his welknown account of Nirvikalpaka perception.[8] The earliest use, so far I have been able to trace, of the term 'ālocana' in this sense is met wlth in the Sāṃkhyakārikā of Iśvarakṛṣṇa, which is the most authoritative work of the Sāṃkhya school. The term, however, does not occur there in connection with the definition of perception.[9]

4. NVTT. p. 114.
5. NVB p. 109 and 111.
6. YS I. i. 9.
7. SPS I. 89.
8. SV. IV. 112.
9. SK. 5.

Describing, however, the function of senses the author says that with reference to objects colour etc. the function of senses is 'ālocanamātra[10], mere first apprehension or the undifferentiated sensum presented by the senses to Manas, the internal sense (and not the 'mind' as usually but erroneously rendered in English). Further it is said that manas is Saṅkalpaka *i. e.* it differentiates or determines the undifferentiated sensum presented by the senses[11]. On the basis of this, Vācaspatimiśra, the most authoritative commentator on the Sāṃkhya kārikā introduces a full-fledged distinction between Nirvikalpaka and Savikalpaka, as if it were contained in the Sāṃkhyakārikā itself[12]. It is, however, clear that the distinction was not known to Īśvarakṛṣṇa, otherwise some reference to it must have been made in his definition of perception. As a matter of fact Īśvarakṛṣṇa here merely differentiates between the functions of the senses and the *manas*, which is not the same thing as distinction between Nirvikalpaka and Savikalpaka.

The next stage, in which there is clear discernment of an earlier and a later stage of perception, is to be met with in Praśastapāda. His date in relation to that of Diṅnāga has been a matter of hot controversy. Stcherbatsky in one of his early articles tried to prove that Praśástapāda borrowed ideas from Diṅnāga, and unfairly tried to conceal his obligations[13]. Keith also agreed with him[14]. Randle has, however, pointed out that Stcherbatsky later on changed his views, and came to the conclusion that Praśastapāda far from being a borrower from, and posterior to, Diṅnāga was either a predecessor or a contemporary of Vasubandhu, the teacher of Diṅnāga[15]. As we shall see that the problem before us itself throws some light on this controversial point. There are three statements of Praśastapāda in this connection which deserve notice. In the first of them, while describing perception he says: "In the case of three substances (earth, water and fire) which possess dimension called 'mahat' (gross), there arises from such causes as possessing many parts, the manifested colour, light, and four kinds of contact; and from the presence of auxiliaries dharma etc. 'a mere apprehension of the form (Svarūpālocanamātra). From the contact

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10. Rupādiṣu pancānāṃ ālocanamātramiṣyate vṛttih SK 28.

11. Ibid-27.

12. STK. 27 Kārikā,

13. Le Museon Vol. V 1904, quoted by Faddegon, the "Vaiṣeṣika system" p. 27.

14. Indian Logic and Atomism p. 27.

15. Stcherbatsky's Introduction to the German translation (by Otto Strauss) of his work 'Epistemology and Logic as taught by later Buddhists" 1924 quoted by Randle, Indian Logic in the Early Schools p. 29.

of the mind with the soul there arises, on account of qualifications such as (i) Universal, (ii) Particular-Universal, (iii) Substance, (iv) Qualities, (v) and action a qualified perception in the form "A cow which is (i) existent, (ii) substance and earthly (iii) having horns and (iv) which is white, (v) is moving"[16]. Praśastapāda does not explicitly say that the former "mere apprehension" precedes the latter qualified perception. In his second statement in the same context Praśastapāda introduces the two stages in the form of pramāṇa (the means of knowledge) and pramā (the resultant cognition), and says: "When cognition of a substance etc. is the pramā, the form of pramāṇa consists in mere apprehension of the form of Universal and particular-Universal[17]. But in origination of the cognition of universal and particular Universal, the undivided 'mere apprehension' is the pramāṇa[18]. There is no other pramāṇa for this, because it is not in the form of the result (of another pramāṇa[19])." It means that pramā and pramāṇa are identical in this case. The two statements of Praśastapāda taken together imply that in the first instance there is mere apprehension of the Universal and the particular (or the particular-Universal)[20] which is followed by the perception of substance qualified by the universals. Here we have the germ of the later Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika theory of a clear-cut distinction between Nirvikalpaka and Savikalpaka, as we shall see later on. The views of Praśastapāda, however, are in a fluid state. In the first statement quoted above 'mere apprehension of form' refers to the Substance, and not to the universal or the particular-universal (Sāmānyaviśeṣa) as it does in the second statement. In a third statement he introduces another alternative with regard to the distinction between pramāṇa and pramā and

16. Dravye tāvat trividhe mahaty anekadravyavattvodbhūtarūpa prakāśacatuṣṭaya-sannikarṣād dharmādisāmagrye ca svarūpa locanamātram. Sāmānyaviśeṣadravyaguṇakarmaviśeṣaṇāpekṣādātmamanaḥsannikarṣāt pratyakṣam utpadyate sad dravyam pṛthivīviṣāṇī śuklo gaurgacchati. PPS p. 186.

17. Sāmānyaviśeṣeṣu Svarūpālocanamātram Ibid 187. See n 19 below.

18. Avibhaktamālocanamātram Ibid 187. See n 19 below.

19. Tatra sāmānyaviśeṣeṣu svarūpālocanamātram pratyakṣam pramāṇam....pramitir dravyādiviṣayam jñānam. Sāmānyaviśeṣajñānotpattau avibhaktam ālocanamātram pratyakṣam pramāṇam. asminnanyat pramāṇāntaramasti aphalarūpatvāt. Ibid p. 187.

20. The term 'viśeṣa' which since the time of Praśastapāda has come to mean a special padārtha, the ultimate-particular residing in eternal substances, is used confusedly in the Vaiśeṣikasūtras and Praśatapādafhāṣya itself, and even in later works, sometimes in the sense of a particular individual (vyakti), and sometimes in the sense of particular-Universal (Sāmānyaviśeṣa).

says: "True and unnameable cognition of any kind of object resulting from four kinds of contact may be regarded as pramāṇa, and the idea of the pleasant, unpleasant or indifferent nature (of the object cognized) is the pramā"[21]. In this alternative there is no reference to the earlier stage of perception called 'ālocana'. One of the points of controversy between the Buddhist and the orthodox Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika school was that while the former regarded pramā and pramāṇa as identical, the latter insisted that they were two different stages. In the second and third statements quoted above, Praśastapāda tries to establish difference between pramāṇa and pramā. In his second statement he says that the earlier stage of mere apprehension is pramāṇa, and the subsequent difinite perception is the pramā; while in his third statement he says that the definite perception itself is the pramāṇa, and the idea of pleasantness etc. is the pramā. It would appear that the word 'ālocana' in Praśastapāda's work does not stand in a clear-cut way for Nirvikalpaka or inderminate perception as accepted in the later N-V School. This is further indicated by the fact that both Kandalī and Kiraṇāvalī interpret the word 'ālocana' in the first statement as 'nirvikalpaka Pratyakṣa',[22] but in the Second one, the same word has been interpreted by both of them to mean 'contact of the sense with the object'[23]. This shows that confusion regarding the sense of this word already existed in their time. We may, therefore, conclude that Praśastapāda had a vague idea of an earlier stage of perception which he called as 'mere apprehension of form', and also held not quite clearly and positively, that this 'mere apprehension' was that of universal and particular-universal. He had no definite and positive theory of undifferential and indeterminate perception which invariably precedes a determinate perception as accepted in the later N-V School. The fact that Praśastapāda's ideas regarding nirvikalpka are meagre and vague, clearly indicates that he could not be posterior to Diṅnāga.

A clear-cut distinction between Nirvikalpaka and Savikalpaka, not only of sequence in their occurrence and of the degree of their vividness, but real, qualitative and fundamental was made, for the first time in Indian Philosophy, by Diṅnāga, the founder of the Buddhist Logic and Epistemology. He probably belongs to the fifth century, although his date continues to be controversial[24]. According to him there are

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21. athavā Sarveṣu padārtheṣu catuṣṭayasannikarṣādavitathama-vyapadeśyam yajjñānam utpadyate tatpratyakṣam pramāṇam............ pramitir guṇadoṣamādhyasthyadarśanam. pp. 14 p. 187-188.

22. ālocanamātraṃ grahaṇamātram vikalparahitam pratyakṣamiti yāvat. Kan p. 189 ālocanaṃ nirvikalpakaṃ pratyakṣaṃ Sākṣātkāri. Kiv p. 278.

23. ālocanam indriyārthasannikarṣaḥ. Kan p. 198 ālocanaṃ indriyārthasannikarṣaḥ. Kir. p. 268.

24. Winternitz: Indian Literature Vol. II p. 362-63.

two pramāṇas (means of knowledge) :—(i) grahana, the Nirvikalpaka (The sensation or the undifferentiated perception) which alone, according to him, is true and pure perception, and (ii) adhyavasāya, the thought or imagination which covers inference as well as the socalled determinate perception[25] of the orthodox realist schools, *i.e.* all that involves thought-process[26].

Steherbatsky compares these two radically different sources of knowledge as accepted by Diṅnāga to Sensibility and Understanding of Kantian epistemology[27]. Diṅnāga says that sources of knowledge are only two because the reality presented by them is also two-fold. One of the two realities is ultimate particular (Svalakṣaṇa), the point-instant (Kṣaṇa) which is transcendental, the thing-in-itself (Parmārthasat). This is apprehended by grahaṇa, the nirvikalpakapratyakṣa, the pure sensation. The other reality is that of thought-contents, a generalized entity (Sāmānyalakṣaṇa) which is constructed by our imagination (Kalpanā). The second reality is only empirical, phenomenal (Samvṛtisat). This is comprehended by our thought-process which means inference in a broad and general sense. This includes determinate perception of the realist school also. The latter, according to Diṅnāga is only a pseudo-perception, which appears to be a pure perception simply because it follows in the wake of the true perception, the Nirvikalpaka[28]. Thus the reality (prameya being of two types, the pramāṇas (means of knowledge) are also only two[29]. The nature of reality being radically different, the pramāṇas are also radically different. It means that they operate only in their own respective spheres. The nirvikalpaka apprehends only the direct reality, the ultimate particulars (Svalakṣaṇas). It can never cognize the indirect, the constructed or the generalized reality. (Sāmānyalakṣaṇa). Similarly the adhyavasāya or inference or thought comprehends only the latter reality, and does not operate in apprehending the former *i.e.* the direct reality. The phenomenon of each of the two pramāṇas operating only in its own sphere is technically called pramāṇavyavasthā. On this point, the realist N-V school joins issue with the Buddhist.

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25. Savikalpaka pratyaksa.

26. tasya (pratyaksaṣya) viṣayaḥ Svalakṣaṇam....anyat sāmānyalakṣaṇam 'So' numānsya Viṣayaḥ N.B. 1.

27. Buddhist Logic Vol. I, p. 69 ff.

28. Pratyakṣapṛṣṭhabhāvitvāt.

29(i) atra pramāṇam dvividhaṃ. Kutaścet, dvilakṣaṇaṃ prameyaṃ Svasāmānyalakṣaṇābhyām bhinnalakṣaṇaṃ prameyāntaraṃ nāsti. PS p. 4.

(ii) tasya (pratyakṣasya viṣayaḥ) Svalakṣaṇam.......anyat sāmānyalakṣaṇam So'numānasya viṣayaḥ. NB. Ch. I. P. I.

According to the former the different pramāṇas (means of knowledge) operate in the sphere of one another, *i.e.* the same object at one time may be cognized by perception, and another time by inference or any one of the pramāṇas. The N-V theory is technically called pramāṇa-samplava. It is now clear how Diṅnāga drew a fundamental and radical distinction in the nature of Nirvikalpaka and Savikalpaka. They are not two kinds of perception as accepted by the realist. But they are two types of knowledge quite different, not only in their nature and essence, but also in the sphere of their operation. The orthodox realist schools never accepted that kind of distinction between the two, but the qualitative and essential difference in the nature of two kinds of perception as accepted by the later N-V school was undoubtedly influenced and adapted from the theory of Diṅnāga as we shall presently see. This brings out the full significance of the controversy between the Buddhist and the realist orthodox schools.

Amongst the orthodox writers, the earliest use of the term Nirvikalpaka in the sense of an earlier stage which invariably precedes Savikalpaka or determinate perception, is met with in Kumārila's Ślokavārtika. The date of Kumārila is 700 A. D. The knowledge called 'ālocana' which is used, as we have already seen, in Sāṃkhya Kārikā to denote the functions of the senses, and by Praśastapāda in the sense of 'mere apprehension of the form' is definitely declared by Kumārila to be 'nirvikalpaka', which according to him is the first apprehension caused by the pure object, and similar to that of children or the dumb in which particularity or Universal is not experienced, but only the individual, as the substratum of them, is apprehended[30]. He further says: "after that (*i. e.* the Nirvikalpaka perception) an object is determined by its attributes like universal etc., and that too is a perception[31]." The last words, 'that too is a perception' are obviously addressed to the Buddhist who does not accept the determinate (Savikalpaka) knowledge as perception. The theory as put forward here has clearly the stamp of Diṅnāga upon it, which is discernible even after its orthodox adaptation. Otherwise what can be the sense of the words 'caused by the pure object', According to the realist even the determinate perception is caused by the pure object, for even the attributes, universal, etc. are objectively real, and even in the determinate perception there is no admixture of any mental element. The adjective 'pure' before the object can have significance only in the theory of Diṅnāga. It seems, therefore, one of the instances of an inadvertent borrowing from Diṅnāga. In Kumārila's description of Nirvikalpaka, there is, however, no sharp distinction based on the qualitative and *essential* difference between the two kinds of perception

30. Asti hyālocam jñanaṃ prathamaṃ Nirvikalpakam, bālamūkādivijñānasadṛśam Śuddhavastujam; na viśeso na sāmānyaṃ tadānīmanubhūyate tayorādhārabhūtā tu vyaktirevavāsīyate SV. IV 112 and 113.

31. Tataḥ paraṃ punarvastu dharmair jātyādibhiryayā bhuddhyāvasīyate sāpi pratyakṣatvena sammata Ibid IV. 120.

which was propounded by the N-V school. Kumārila says that Nirvikalpaka is like the apprehension of children and the dumb. This appears to be like an answer to a school of grammarians who held that all ideas were necessarily and invariably associated with words. To them Kumārila says that there is no word-element in the Nirvikalpaka stage. The real point, however, with regard to the transcendental nature of Nirvikalpaka as brought out by Diṅnāga, namely that we are unconscious of its existence (which was accepted by the later N-V School)[32] is missing in Kumārila. His theory is, thus, not fully developed as that of the later N-V School, but Kumārila amongst the orthodox writers is the first who definitely recognized an earlier stage in the process of perception, and designated it by the terms, 'Nirvikalpaka'.

So far as the N-V school is concerned, the earliest introduction of the Nirvikalpaka theory is met with in the Nyāyavārtikatātparyaṭīkā of Vācaspatimiśra, unless he may be held to be posterior to Jayanta, the author of Nyāyamañjarī who is fully conversant with that theory. Vācaspatī introduces tne theory by declaring that he received it from his preceptor[33], Trilocana. It has been suggested that Trilocana may be identical with Jayanta, for in the introductory stanza of his work, Nyāyakaṇikā, Vācaspatimiśra offers salutation to his teacher who is mentioned as the author of Nyāyamañjarī[34]. But this is not at all plausible. In his lengthy discussion on the meaning of the terms 'avyapadeśya' and 'vyavasāyatmaka' in the Gotama's definition of perception, Jayanta does not seem to be even conversant with the interpretation of these terms given by Vācaspatimiśra of which he would himself be the author if he were identical with Trilocana. As for the salutations to the author of Nyāyamañjarī, coming as it does before a Mīmāṃsā work, that might have been some Mīmāṃsā work quite different from the Nyāyamañjarī of Jayanta. It is well-known that the term 'Nyāya is a common designation of both Mīmāṃsā and N-V school works. Thus in the present state of our knowledge we cannot definitely say who of those two authors, Vācaspatimiśra and Jayanta was earlier.

It was stated that Vācapatimiśra interpreted the words 'avyapadeśya' and 'vyavasāyātmaka' in the Gotama's definition of perception as Nirvikalpaka and Savikalpaka perceptions. According to him the part of the Sūtra:—Indriyārthasannikarṣotpannaṃ jnānaṃ avyabhicāri (*i.e.* uncontradicted knowledge produced by the sense-object contact) is the definition of perception, and the words 'avyapadeśya and 'vyavasāyātmaka' enumerate two kinds of perception, *i. e.* 'Nirvikalpaka' and 'Savikalpaka'. This interpretation is unknown to Vātsyāyana, the

32. Nirvikalpakamatīndriyam.

33. Trilocanagurūnnītamārgānugamanonmukhaiḥ yathāmanaṃ yathāvastu vyākhyātamidamīdṛśam NVTT. P. 114.

34. NK, first stanza.

earliest commentator on the Nyāyasūtras, who is definitely earlier than Diṅnāga. Not even Udyotakara knows anything like this interpretation. Vācaspatimiśra says that those two authors have not given this interpretation because it is so very clear that the students (of Nyāya) would themselves understand it[35]. The fact, however, is that far from being very clear, the term 'avyapadeśya' has been a hard nut to crack. Vātsyāyana's interpretation of this term was not acceptable to Śrīdhara, Udayana or Vyomaśiva, the three great commentators on the Praśastapāda. Each of these gives his own interpretation. Jayanta, in course of a lengthy discussion, has given a number of theories with regard to the meaning of this difficult word[36]. None of them have accepted Vācaspatimiśra's interpretation. In fact, they have not even referred to it. Obviously Vācaspatimiśra's interpretation is his own innovation. It does even violence to the text of the Sūtra where the word 'avyabhicāri' which according to Vācaspatimiśra is a part of the general definiton occurs in between the two words 'avyapadeśya' and 'vyavasāyātmaka' which according to him denote two kinds of perception. The reality in this case seems to be that when under the influence of the theory of Diṅnāga, it became incumbent on the N-V School to adopt the two kinds of perception, Vācaspati thought it fit to bring out those two kinds of perception from the words of the Sūtra itself. Vācaspati's reverence to the founder of the Nyāya school got the better of his habit of making scrupulously faithful interpretations of the text. Thus Vācaspatimiśra or his preceptor Trilocana, from whom he received this interpretation, was the pioneer in introducing the distinction between Savikalpaka and Nirvikalpaka in the N-V School. But if Jayanta, or Vyomaśiva, the earliest commentator on Praśastapāda, be held to be earlier than Vācaspatimiśra (which is quite possible), Vācaspatimiśra, even in that case, would be the first to bring out that distinction within the framework of Gotama's definition of perception, and thus make it an essential doctrine of the N-V School.

According to the latest theory of the N-V School as fixed in a definite and clear-cut manner by Gangeśa, Savikalpaka perception is differentiated and qualified knowledge *i. e.* "Saprakārakam jñanam." It means that in a cognition like 'This is Jar', there are two elements, namely the subject and the predicate, or in the Nyāya terminology, the viśeṣya (that which is qualified) and its attribute veśeṣaṇa. Here 'this' which means the jar, the substance. is the subject or viśeṣya, and jarness' which is an universal is the predicate or attribute. Both factors *i. e.* 'jar and jarness' (ghaṭa and ghaṭatva) are related by the relation of subject and predicate, *i. e.* veśeṣyaviśeṣaṇabhāva. The Nirvikalpaka perception, on the other hand, is "devoid of predication of name, universal etc., and it does not comprehend its object as qualified with

35. Tadetadatisphuṭatvāt śiṣyairavagamyata eveti bhāṣyavārtikakārābhyāmavyākhyātam. NVT. T. P. 114.

36. This has been dealt with by the present writer in a separate paper (unpublished).

some attribute, and therefore it is 'Nirvikalpaka' *i. e.* unqualified or undifferentiated[37]. It means that in the first instance although we have apprehension of both jar and jarness (ghaṭa and ghaṭatva), the two factors are not related as the one which is qualified (viśeṣya) and the other which qualifies (viśeṣaṇa)[38]. Secondly it was held by Gangeśa that "Nirvikalpaka perception is beyond the Ken of conciousness (atīndriya) which means that on account of its being unrelated, its nature is such that we can never be conscious of it[39].

From the time the Nirvikalpaka theory was introduced in the N-V School till its culmination in Gangeśa there arose many views regarding its nature. It is not the purpose of this paper to trace and discuss all those views, but in passing some broad points may be indicated here: (i) Jayanta and Vyomaśiva hold that the main point of difference between Nirvikalpaka and Savikalpaka is that in the former the element of word does not enter, and it is therefore vague and indefinite[40]. This view has an affinity with Diṅnāga, and also with Kumārila who followed the former: Both of them laid stress on the absence of the word-element in the Nirvikalpaka. (ii) Udayana in his Kiraṇāvalī says that in Nirvikalpaka only the individual, the substratum of universal is apprehended, *i. e.* a cow is apprehended without cowness etc.,[41]. (iii) In Vācaspatimiśra and Srīdhara we have a further step. They hold that in the Nirvikalpaka stage both individual as well as its universal are apprehended, but they are not related as subject and predicate[42]. Both of these authors have not clearly brought out, as was done by Gangeśa and the later Naiyāyikas that (iv) Nirvikalpaka is beyond our cognizance, *i. e.* it is 'atīndriya'. These are some of the fine distinc-

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37. Tatra nāmajātyādiyojanārahitam vaiśiṣṭyānavagāhi niṣprakāraṃ Nirvlkalpakam Te. Nirvikalpakavāda, P. 809.

38. Viśeṣyaviśeṣaṇānavagāhi jñānam.

39. Tathā ca prathamato ghaṭaghaṭatvayor vaiśiṣṭyānavagāhyeva jñānam jāyate, tadeva Nirvikalpakam tacca na pratyakṣam. N. S. M. stanza 58.

40. Yatprathamākṣasannipātasamaya eva jñanamanullikhitaśabdakam śabdānusmaraṇe hetubhūtamutpadyate tad avikalpam pratyakṣam. NM. P. 76.

Anythā hi viśiṣṭārthānupalabdhau viśiṣṭasya Saṃketasmaraṇasyānupapatteḥ V. V. P. 557.

41. Gotvādyapratītāvapi tadāsrayasya pratīteḥ. Kir. p. 278.

42. Jātyādisvarūpāvagāhi na tu jātyādīnāṃ mitho viśeṣyaviśeṣaṇabhāvāvagāhi. NVTT. p. 108.

Sāmānyaṃ viśesyaṃ cobhayamapi gṛhṇāti paramidaṃ Sāmānyamayaṃ viśeṣa iti vivicya na gṛhṇāti Kan. p. 189.

tions which may be discerned amongst the principal authors of the N-V School.

Broadly speaking the following conclusions may be summarized with regard to the development of the distinction between Nirvikalpaka and Savikalpaka perceptions in Indian Philosophy :—

(i) In Praśastapāda there is a vague idea of a sort of mere apprehension (ālocana) which is regarded as an earlier stage in the process of perception.

(ii) Diṅnāga is the real founder and first discoverer, in Indian Philosophy, of the fundamental and qualitative distinction in the nature of Nirvikalpaka and Savikalpaka perception.

(iii) Amongst orthodox writers Kumārila is the first to use the term 'Nirvikalpaka' in the sense of an earlier stage which invariably precedes Savikalpaka or determinate perception.

(iv) Vācāspati, or his preceptor Trilocana, seems to be the pioneer in introducing the distinction in question in the N-V School, or at least bringing it within the frame work of the Gotama's definition of perception.

(v) The latest theory of the distinction between Nirvikalpaka and Savikalpaka, as accepted in the modern N-V School, was formulated by Gangeśa.

ABBREVIATIONS.

Kan.	....	Kandalī (Vizianagram Series).
Kir.	....	Kiraṇāvalī (Banaras 1917).
M.S.	....	Mīmāṃsāsūtra.
NB	....	Nyāyabindu (Peterson 1929).
NY	....	Nyāya Kaṇikā (Banaras 1907).
NM	....	Nyāyamañjarī (Banaras 1038).
NS	....	Nyāyasūtra.
NSM	....	Nyāyasiddhāntamuktāvalī.
NVB	....	Nyāyavātsyāyanabhāṣya (Amarendra Mohan Cal. 1936).
NVT	....	Nyāyavārtikatātparyaṭīkā (Amarendra Mohan Cal. 1936).
PP	....	Praśastapāda (Vivianagram Series).
PS	....	Pramāṇa Samuccaya (Mysore 1930).
SK	....	Sāṃkhyakārikā.
SPS	....	Sāṃkhyapravacanasūtra.
STK	....	Sāṃkhyatattvakaumudī.
SV	....	Ślokavārtika.
TC	....	Tattvacintāmaṇi (Cal. 1884).
VS	....	Vaiśeṣikasūtra.
VV	....	Vyomavatī (Banaras 1931).
YS	....	Yogasūtra.

(40) An Aspect of Causality According to Udayanācarya

by

Hem Chandra Joshi, Research Scholar

Lucknow University.

The Nyāya Kusumāñjali of Udayanācārya is a monumental philosophical treatise on Nyāya Theism. In this work, as is well known, the Acārya has set forth proofs for the existence of God or Iśvara. Though the express purpose of the author here is to point out to us that the existence of God or Iśvara can be established on logical grounds, yet many other fundamental philosophical questions of great moment have come up for discussion. One such problem is that of Causality. The problem has been tackled in all its bearings. Not only all the ramifications of the law have been examined but also the validity of the law itself has been first of all questioned. As to the ramifications some are as follows:—

(1) Whether the law subsists between 'jātis' *i. e.* universals or between 'vyaktis' or particulars.

(2) What is the place of efficient and non-material causes in the scheme of the law.

(3) The question of 'Kāryavaijātya' and 'Kāraṇavaijātya'.

(4) The causal function of 'abhāva', and so on.

Let us see how all the questions come up. According to the Naiyāyikas Iśvara along with Time and Space is the 'sādhāraṇa kāraṇa' of all the effects. What is more, the individuals reap the fruits of their actions. But the overlord who determines the reward is Iśvara. Men perform certain sacrifices like Jyotiṣṭoma etc. and as a consequence they reach heaven and, win heavenly joys. Now all this clearly shows the far-reaching importance of the law of causality. And this brings us to a serious consideration of the law.

In this paper, however, only one aspect of the law of causality has been taken up for consideration *viz.* that the causal relation holds between 'jātis' or Universals. In our ordinary conversation we may say that this particular clod of clay is the cause of this particular jar.

But this is not the right way of putting facts. Rather we ought to say that this particular as manifesting the 'mṛd-jāti' or clay-universal is the cause of this particular as representing the ghaṭa-jāti or jar-universal. In the Nyāya terminology we would say that 'mṛjjātīya' is the cause of ghaṭa-jātīya. Now why should we state the relation in this way? The reason is that according to the Naiyāyikas the jātis or universals are eternal while the 'particulars' are subject to creation and destruction. Therefore no law can be established in terms of transient entities. Moreover a 'particular' devoid of any jāti would be simply inconceivable. Thus once it is granted that the law of cause-and-effect holds between 'jātis' there follows, as a matter of course, a very favourable result.

There would be as many Kāraṇajātis as there were Kārya-jātis and thus we can easily say that for certain transcendental effects such as 'enjoyment of heavenly joys' there are such transcendental causes as the performance of Jyotiṣṭoma sacrifice. But such a person who can point out the causal relation between such transcendental facts is Īsvara who is omniscient and without human failings like rāga and dveṣa and whose injuctions are recorded in the Vedas.

Thus having noted the place of Kāryavaijātya and Kāraṇavaijātya in the general scheme of Nyāya philosophy let us turn to the subject of this paper *viz.* that the relation of cause and effect be stated only in terms of jātis. In the first 'stabaka' of the Nyāya Kusumāñjali Udayanācārya has at the outset stated how it is necessary to postulate a law of causation to explain contingency (Kādācitkatva) of things. And having successfully done so he goes on to say that this relation obtains between jātis or universals. To take a concrete case when we say that this clay is the cause of this jar what do we mean? Do we only mean literally that this particular clay is the cause of this particular jar and do not mean anything beyond or do we mean something more? The Naiyāyika says that we do mean something more, We mean that the particular clay and the particular jar in question are causally related only so far as they are characterized by their respective jātis. To him, who looks upon Universal as an eternal padārtha (nityam, ekam, anekānugatam) a bare particular not inhered by a universal is an ontological absurdity. As Dr. Bhaduri puts it in his book Nyāya-vaiśeṣika Metaphysic':—

"A sequence between two particulars cannot be interpreted as a case of causality unless it is at the same time a case of invariable relation between the universals by which the particulars are characterized. In other words, the causal relation between two particulars is not between two particulars as such but between them as with their respective generic characters. The fact is that a particular as abstracted from the universal is only an unintelligible symbol, and so the perception of a particular is necessarily the perception of a particular as qualified by the Universal." (Page 288.)

According to Udayanācārya we find that the effects having a particular jāti are seen to emerge from causes having another particular jāti, for such is the nature of sequence of cause and effect. As for instance, an effect having 'jarness' is always produced out of clay having 'clayness' and not otherwise. Similarly an effect having clothness (paṭatva) is produced out of a substance that has threadness (tantutva) inherent in it. Now this law of precedence and succession between things having 'clayness' or 'threadness and 'jarness or clothness' is violated if we do not accept their relation of causation as refering to 'jātis'. As the Kusumāñjali puts it:—तथापि व्यक्त्यपेक्षयैव नियमोऽस्तु न जात्यपेक्षयेति चेन्न । नियतजातीयस्वभावताव्याघातात्

To make it clear. A particular effect having jāti invariably comes out of another substance having another jāti. That is so because there is an invariable relation of sequence between particulars having specific jātis. That is why it is maintained by the Naiyāyikas that the relation of causation obtains between jātis. And if it is held that the relation holds good between particulars and that it has nothing to do with the universals then this necessary or invariable relation of sequence, which we just noted, is violated and there arises the contingency of either all the effects having all the jātis or all the effects having only one jati. This goes quite contrary to our experience. For if it is held that an effect jar does not come out of something that has 'clayness' inherent in it or in other words if it is said that the clayness' of clay does not determine the effect being a jar and that it is only clay as such that determines the effect in a particular case then we might as well say that a jar could be produced out of anything and everything which is absurd and which leads to the position that the jar will have all the possible jātis inhering in it, an anomaly of greatest magnitude.. And if it were said that the contingency of all the effects having all the jātis does not arise since there is no ground for saying that there are different jātis even as there is no ground for saying that there are different jātis like ghaṭatva and kalaśatva then there arises the difficulty of all the effects having one jāti only, an equally incredible thing. In other words whether we hold that whatever the jāti of the cause, it is its nature to produce an effect of a specific jāti or whether we hold that it is the nature of the effect that it has a specific jāti no matter what happens to be the jāti of the cause, in either case will arise the contingency of either all the effects having all the jātis characterising them or all the effects having only one jāti. In either case the nature of an effect having a specific jāti is impaired.

To this the vyaktivādi may retort by saying that it is not the nature of an effect of a particular jāti to emerge from a cause of one specific jāti only. For instance, fire can be produced from heated grass, flint or from solar rays reflected through a lens. In this case the plurality of causes is evident. So it is useless to argue that in case it were granted that the causal relation holds between particulars as

such there will be violation of nature of effects belonging to a specific jāti. For even if it be conceded that it is the nature of an effect characterised by a particular jāti to emerge from a cause having another specific jāti the concession is invalidated by another fact namely that fire can be produced out of the three alternative causes just mentioned. To meet this objection the mīmāṁsakas may step in and say that the plurality of the causes is only apparent, it is not a fact. The cause of fire is only one, *viz.* the śakti or power favourable to the production of fire, which is shared by all the three things. The flint, the heated grass and the solar rays reflected through a lens are not the causes of fire but are vehicles of śakti favourable to the production of fire and thus the rule of the cause and effect belonging to their respective specific class is not compromised. The Naiyāyika or for the matter of that Udayanācārya has his own explanation to offer in this case. But first he explodes the one given by the mīmāṁsakas. The difficulty in accepting the mimāṁsaka explanation is as follows:—

In case things having different class-character are thought of as capable of producing effect of one specific jāti then we cannot infer the existance of one of the alternative causes by seeing the effect. For instance we cannot infer the existence of grass, flints or solar rays reflected through the lens by seeing fire. In other words we cannot determine whether in this particular case of fire which of the three causes produced the fire. Similarly in the absence of one of the alternative causes the non-existence of the effect also cannot be inferred. And this is surely a great predicament. As the Ācārya puts it:—

यदि हि विजातीयेष्वप्येककार्यकरणशक्तिः समवेयात् न कार्यात् कारणविशेषः क्वाप्यनुमीयेत। कारणव्यावृत्त्या च न तज्जातीयस्यैव कार्यस्य व्यावृत्तिरवसीयेत।

Why does this difficulty arise at all? It arises because if flint is non-existent there may be the possibility of the fire having been produced from grass or from solar rays reflected through a lens, or may be from some other thing which may have the fire-producing power but which we may not be aware of. To obviate this difficulty the mīmāṁsaka says that power is not such a thing as would exist anywhere and everywhere, thus impairing any chance of inference based on causal relation being valid. In fact the causal relation is postulated only after such relation has been ascertained on unbreakable grounds. (यावद् दर्शनव्यवस्था भविष्यतीति चेत्) In reply Udayana asks: But how is the causal relation to be ascertained? Causality is to be ascertained on the strength of the ascertainment of śakti: But according to the mīmāṁsaka the śakti itself is a super-sensible entity. What we actually perceive is the mere antecedent and not the basis on which we can postulate śakti. Thus the postulation of śakti leads to further problems instead of solving the original problem. This sets aside also the

explanation that explains the emergence of an effect from one and subtle jāti.

(एतेन सूक्ष्मजातीयादिति निरस्तम्).

The mīmāṁsaka had so far tried to explain away the problem of plurality of causes by pointing out that grass, flint etc. are not the alternative causes but rather the alternative vehicles for the power favourable to the production of fire. This explanation having been shown to be fraught with difficulties he now makes an attempt to save his position by saying that the cause of fire in this case is only one *viz.* the atoms of fire. Grass flint etc. are nimitta causes. So the difficulty pointed out by the vyakti-vādin that here is a case of an effect emerging from causes having different jātis or difficulties pointed out by the Naiyāyika are not palpable. For what determines the (jāti-bheda) difference in the Kāryajāti is the jāti of the material cause and not the nimitta and asamavāyi causes. But this is also fraught with insuperable difficulties. If the nimitta or asamavāyi causes do not matter it is meaningless to consider them as causes. Their very causality is set at naught. It is not that the presence of nimitta and asamavāyi is antecedent to the production of the effect but the fact is that it is only when the nimitta and asamavāyi are present along with the samavāyi that the effect comes into being. That is in the absence of the nimitta and the asamavāyi the effect is not produced at all. In other words the nimitta and the asamavāyi as much determine the characteristics of the effect as the samavāyi. In fact the whole collocation of the causal items is equally significant. Had it been that the samavāyi-kāraṇa were only the determining fact in settling the kārya jāti then it would have been impossible to account for the fact that guṇa and karma having different jātis inhere in the same dravya. As Udayana says:—

कार्यजातिभेदाभेदयोः समवायिभेदाभेदावेव तन्त्रम्, न निमित्तासमवायिनीति चेन्न तयोरकारणत्वप्रसंगात् । नहि सति भावमात्रं तत्, किन्तु सत्येव भावः । न च जातिनियमने समवायिकारणमात्रं निबन्धनम्, अपि तु सामग्री । अन्यथा गुणकर्मणामेकोपादनकत्वे विजातीयत्वं न स्यात् ।

Finding himself under a predicament the Mīmāṁsaka might modify his statement and say that what he says about the material cause determining the nature of the effects refers only to the effects that are dravya and not those that are guṇa and karma. That is, in case of effects that are dravya their jāti is determined by their material cause. But the Naiyāyika says that even this much cannot be granted for both milk and curd as effects have the same material cause but their jātis are different. The atoms constituting milk and those constituting curd are same yet because of difference in nimittakāraṇa the effects differ in jāti having said so much, says Udayana, one can easily understand

that the invariable concomitancc between two things cannot be established in the Apohavāda view also. For according to this view invariable concomitance can be established only on the basis of causal relation or the relation of 'tādātmya', of which the latter itself is based on the former. And thus causal relation between two things cannot be established if we accept the Apohavāda view. According to Apohavāda 'fire' means something that is different from non-fire'. Now the cause of smoke would be something different from that which is non-fire which does not necessarily mean fire. For example, stone may be looked upon as 'not fire' and something from 'not fire' *i.e.* stone may as well be a brick; and to say that smoke is produced by a brick is on the very fare of it absurd. Thus according to this method causality cannot be ascertained and explained in case of a single cause, not to speak of alternative causes. Such being the position, an Apohavāda cannot ascertain invariable concomitance between two things. This leads to the most lamentable position of their being deprived of the use of inference as a pramāṇa.

To sum up, therefore, if we accept any of the three views regarding causality just mentioned *viz.* vyaktivāda, śaktivāda and apohavāda, there follows inevitably the breakdown of the nature of the cause and effects belonging to their respective jātis. And as to the objection raised by the vyaktivādin that the break down of the nature of things is already a fact which is indubitable, the Naiyāyika says that there is no such breakdown. The effect 'fire' produced from grass is different from the one produced from flints and so on. Just as there is difference in the modes of producing fire there is also difference in the fire thus produced. Fire is produced from heated grass by blowing, from drills by drilling and from solar rays reflected through a lens. As the modes of producing fire from heated grass etc. are specified so the fires thus produced are specific in character, or what we may call, they are characterized by an 'avāntara-jāti. Therefore a difference in the subsidiary cause leads to difference in the species of the kārya also. And if we postulate śakti in grass etc., as the mīmāṃsakas have a wont to do, we must extend the postulation of śakti to blowing and drilling etc. also and the contingency would thus arise that fire will have to be looked upon as capable of being produced from flints by blowing and from grass by drilling. As a recent commentator of the Nyāyakusumānjali puts it—

अतः सहकारिवैलक्षण्यवत् कार्यवैलक्षण्यमपि युक्तम् अन्यथा शक्तिस्वीकारे तृणादाविव फूत्कारादावपि सा कल्प्या। एवं च निर्मन्थनविशिष्टात् तृणादप्यग्न्यापत्तिः।

So though the atoms of fire are the cause of the generic fire, grass etc., are the cause of the difference in the species falling under fire. We find that even though there is difference in fire, a lamp illuminates the whole apartment of a mansion, not so the fire from burning wood though throwing out a cluster of flames and still less so the cow-dung

fire. So by experience we infer difference of species in the fires produced by different modes. The syllogism can thus be stated :—

The fires produced from grass etc., belong to different species (अवान्तरजाति)

For they have been produced from different causes just as fires produced from wick—a burning wood and cow-dung are characterized by different jātis or species. (अवान्तरजाति)

For as a rule the effects produced from different causes differ in jātis.

तृणादिजन्योऽग्निररण्याद्यग्निविजातीयः

तद्भिन्नकारणजन्यत्वात् प्रदीपवत्

यो यत्कारणातिरिक्तजन्यः सः तत्कारणजन्यविजातीयः प्रदीपवत्

Thus the relation of cause and effects obtains between jātis. As a rule an effect having a particular jāti has only one cause having another particular jāti. But where there are alternative modes of producing effects having the same generic characteristics such effects will have their own specific jāti (अवान्तर जाति) besides the common genus. One who cannot make out such specific jātis had better infer only the generic cause from the generic aspect of the effect. The Nayāyika does not frown upon such a position :—

यस्तु तं (कार्यभेदं) नाकलयेत् स कार्यसामान्ये कारणमात्रमनुमिनुयादिति किमनुपपन्नम् ।

Here a difficulty may be pointed out that if we accept that the fires produced from heated grass etc., have different species characterizing them then the different smokes-produced by such fires will also have some specific differences which may not be detected. As a result one cannot infer generic fire from generic smoke. Similarly we cannot infer non-existence of generic smoke from non-existence of generic fire. This means that inference becomes imposssible, for the relation of invariable concomitance cannot be established, the relation of cause and effect and identity (तादात्म्य) having become unascertainable. This objection, says, the Naiyāyika, has no force with him. It can only stagger the Bauddha who establishes his relation of cause and effect on the basis of something imperceptible which he calls कुर्वद्रूपत्व and who does not accept the rightful place of अन्वय and व्यतिरेक in ascertaining causal relation. But for the Naiyāyikas the relation of cause and effect holds betweeu universal which itself can be ascertained on the basis of

अन्वय and व्यतिरेक। Even if in any case there is some specific peculiarity in the cause there will have to be postulated some specific peculiarity in the effect also. And if the respective peculiarities are detectable then the inference of specific cause and specific effect is also possible and if otherwise, the inference of cause in general and effect in general is always possible. The presence of an undetected peculiarity does not interfere with the general inference.

Only one possible question in this connection remains to be answered. It is this. If heated grass flints and sun's rays reflected through a lens determine the peculiarity in the fires thus produced, what is it that determines the generic character of fire therein. The Naiyāyika says that in the production of mere fire wind is the incidental cause, the combination of atoms of fire is the asamavāyi cause and the atoms themselves are the material cause. This self-same causal aggregate along with substances possessing weight is the cause of solidified fire. Again the same aggregate having acquired perceptible touch gives rise to burning fire and even so conjoined with water becomes atmospheric fire and with what is earthly becomes terrestrial and on conjoined with both becomes gastric fire. Thus the causes of specific changes should be made out.

कि पुनस्तार्णादौ दहनसामान्यस्य प्रयोजकं । तृणादीनां विशेष एव नियतत्वादिति चेत् । न तेजोमात्रोत्पत्तौ पवनो निमित्तम्। अवयव संयोगोऽससवायी, तेजोऽवयवास्समवायिनः। इयमेव सामग्री गुरुत्ववद्द्रव्यसहिता पिण्डतस्य । इयमेव तेजोगतमुद्भूतस्पर्शमवेद्य दहनं, तत्रापि जलं प्राप्य दिव्यम्, पार्थिवं प्राप्य भौमम्, उभयं प्राप्योदर्यमारभत इति स्वयमूहनीयम्

(41) The Svātantryavāda of Kashmir and the Voluntarism of Schopenhauer

by

Dr. K. C. Pandey,

Lucknow University.

The Voluntarism of Schopenhauer arose under Kantian influence. It accepts the view that the object of knowledge is nothing more than an idea; because the subject, the knowing being, is so conditioned by the forms of knowledge, space, time, causality etc., that it can never know any object as it is in itself, but only as modified by the subjective conditions.

Kashmir Śaivaism agrees with Kant and, therefore, with Schopenhauer that what is known at the empirical level is only a phenomenon or idea. For, like Kant, it also admits that the knowing subject can know the given, not as it is in itself but as it appears through the limiting conditions: (I) temporal relation (Kāla) (II) causal relation (Niyati) (III) relation to personality (Rāga) and (IV) relation to other phenomena (Vidyā).

Significance of the Ideas.

A natural question that every one asks is whether this world is merely an idea or whether it is also something else, something more than an idea, and if so, what? This something that we seek for, as the question implies, must be completely and in its whole nature different from idea; the forms and laws of the idea must, therefore, be foreign to it. It cannot be arrived at under the guidance of the laws, which are the forms of the principle of sufficient reason.

This something, the noumenon, as opposed to the phenomena, in Kantian philosophy, is called the thing-in-itself. Schopenhauer agrees with Kant that the thing-in-itself is objectively unknowable. But when Kant asserts that it is simply inferred, Schopenhauer differs on similar grounds as those on which Kashmir Śaivaism differs from the Anumeyārthavādi Bauddha, who holds that the objective world is a matter of

inference only. He asserts that we are immediately aware of it in our action and emotion and that it is Will.

On this point also Kashmir Śaivaism agrees with Schopenhauer. For, it admits that the principle of freedom (Svātantrya Śakti[1], Vimarśa, or Spanda) is immediately present to us in states of intense emotion such as those of anger or fear, in which all external affections of mind disappear.

The Will as the Inner Being of Everything.

Schopenhauer's view that the world apart from being idea is, in its inner nature, Will, is based on the analysis of voluntary action as follows:—

The body is given in two different ways to the subject of knowledge, who becomes individual only through identification with the body.

(I) It is given as an idea in intelligent perception as an object among objects and subject to the laws of object.

(II) It is also known in a quite different way as that which is immediately known to every one and is signified by the word *Will*.

For, every act of Will is also at once and without exception a movement of the body. The act of Will and the movement of the body are not two different things objectively known, which the bond of causality unites, but they are only given in two entirely different ways: (I) immediately and (II) in perception for the understanding. Thus, the action of body is nothing but the act of Will objectified *i. e.* passed into perception.

Here again there is agreement between Schopenhauer and Kashmir Voluntarism. For, the latter also holds that action is nothing but the Will[2] externalised. (Cikīrṣā bahiṣparyantatām prāptā kriyā ityabhidhīyate).

He enters into lengthy arguments to establish that not only our action but also the whole body itself is nothing but objectification of *Will*. He accordingly suggests that the double knowledge, which the

1. S. Dr. 11 and S. K. 39.

2. I. P. V. Vol. II. 183.

individual subject has of the nature and activity of his own body and which is given in two different ways, be used *as a key* to the nature of every phenomenon in nature: and that if we follow the analogy of our own bodies in judging what the objects are apart from being mere ideas, we have to admit that just as in one aspect they are ideas, just like our own bodies, so, in another aspect, they, in their inner nature, must be the same as that in us, which we call *Will*. For, besides Will and idea nothing is known to us. If, therefore, we wish to attribute the greatest known reality to the material world which is known to us as a mere idea, we have to give it the reality, which our own bodies have for each of us. For, we can nowhere find another kind of reality which we can attribute to the material world.

Thus, if we hold that the material world is something more than our own idea, we must say that it is, in itself, in its inmost nature, that which we find immediately in ourselves as *Will*.

On the basis of analogy of what goes on in a human being, when the body performs an action, Schopenhauer recognises the inscrutable forces, which manifest themselves in all natural bodies, as indentical in kind with that which in human being is *the Will* and as differing from it only in degree.

Schopenhauer holds that the fourth class of idea, in which there is no antithesis of subject and object, which comprehends only one object, the immediate object of inner sense, *the Will*, and which is experienced as identical with the knowing subject, *is the key* to the knowledge of the inner nature of the first, comprising those complete ideas of perception, which form a part of our experience, which are referable to some sensation of our bodies and which are capable of being perceived under the forms of space and time.

In the case of man this *inner being* is called character. But in the case of stone it is called quality. In both the cases, however the inner being is the same. When it is immediately known *it is called Will*. But when it is a mere presupposition *it is called natural forces*.

This *inner being* is the strongest in the case of man. For, in man the subject in volition becomes the object of knowledge only to inner sense. In stone the objectivity of Will is the weakest, because there is no awareness of Will, because the Will is blind. Thus the Will in Schopenhauer's system denotes that which is the inner nature of everything in the world and the one kernel of every phenomenon.

Schopenhauer holds that the thing-in-itself is not altogether directly unknown and is not simply inferred, but that it is immediately known

and that it is *Will*. The Will, as thing-in-itself, lies outside the principle of sufficient reason in all its forms and consequently it is groundless in itself, though all its manifestations are entirely subordinated to the principle of sufficient reason.

In self-consciousness the Will is known directly and in itself. In this consciousness, therefore, lies also *a consciousness of freedom*. It is free from all multiplicity, though its manifestations in time and space are innumerable. It is one, not in the sense in which an object is one. For, the unity of an object can only be known in opposition to a possible multiplicity. It is not one in the sense in which a concept is one; the unity of a concept originates in abstraction from multiplicity. But it is one as that which lies outside time and space and is the possibility of multiplicity.

Philosophical Wisdom

He asserts that the truth 'the world is my idea' holds good for everything that lives and knows, though man alone can bring it into reflective and abstract consciousness. The philosophical wisdom is nothing but bringing this truth into reflective and abstract consciousness.

This is another point of agreement between Voluntarism of Schopenhauer and that of Kashmir. For, according to the latter, the liberation in life (jīvanmukti) is nothing but the realisation that 'the entire universe is my manifestation[1], (Sarvo mamāyam vibhavaḥ).

Fundamental Difference Between Voluntarism of Kashmir and that of Schopenhauer.

Schopenhauer holds that, in general, nature signifies that which acts without the assistance of the intellect and that nature is identical with what we find in ourselves as *Will*. The possibility of this fundamental knowledge depends upon the fact that in us the *Will* is directly lighted by the intellect, which appears in us as self-consciousness. If the Will were not lighted by the intellect, we could just as little arrive at a fuller knowledge of the Will within us as without us and would have stopped at inscrutable forces of nature. We have to abstract the Will from intellect if we wish to comprehend the nature of Will in itself and thereby penetrate to the inner being of nature.

Schopenhauer holds that *unconscious Will* constitutes the reality of things, and its development must advance very far before it finally

1. I. P. V. Vol. II. 266.

attains in animal consciousness to the idea and intelligence. He starts by doing away with the presupposed simplicity of our subjectively conscious nature, the ego, the soul. He shows that the intellect is physically conditioned, that it is the function of the brain, the material organ and, therefore, depends upon it. Without the material organ, he holds, the intellectual function is as impossible as grasp without the hand. Intellect, therefore, belongs to mere phenomenon. The Will, on the contrary, is bound to no special organ, but is everywhere present as that which moves and forms. It constitutes the metaphysical substratum of the whole phenomenon. The intellect as a mere function of the brain is involved in the destruction of the body. But the Will is not. The two are heterogeneous. This heterogeneity of the two and the subordinate nature of the intellect explains why man in the depths of self-consciousness feels himself to be eternal and indestructible; but can have no memory beyond the duration of life.

Schopenhauer's Will, the metaphysical substratum of the whole phenomenon, is an abstraction from that identity with which alone he can justify the use of the word 'Will'. He was under the influence of the result of the researches of the scientists, both his predecessors and contemporaries. He wanted to identify the presuppositions of the various sciences, with something that was immediately known to him at the empirical level. He accepted the Kantian doctrine that pure consciousness of the subject in total isolation from the object is impossible. His system arose in antagonism to that of Hegel. He had a positively low opinion of Hegel. For such reasons he could not admit the ulimate reality to be mind or thought. He, therefore, abstracted Will from mind. He calls this originally blind force, Will, because he holds that it is identical with what we are immediately aware of in voluntary action and emotion.

The Kashmir Voluntarism, on the other hand, arose at a time, when the beautiful land of Kashmir was the land of Yogins. Every one of the main writers on this system was a Yogin. To them the self-consciousness in isolation from the object was the most indubitable experience. They knew that a great Yogin could create the objective things by sheer force of his Will. Howsoever ridiculous such a possibility may appear to modern minds, with materialistic bent, the Kashmir Voluntarists admitted it and they had reason to do so.

They, therefore, did not feel complelled to abstract the Will from self-consciousness. They admit the Will to be an aspect of the mind. This view is in consonance with the experience of Will, as even Schopenhauer admits. This is the aspect of the mind, which constitutes the metaphysical substratum of the whole phenomenal world. This Free Will is essentially Universal Self-consciousness. It is the starting point of the concretisation of the Universal Mind as Self-luminous and

Self-conscious Reality. It differs from the Universal Self-consciousness in so far as the Universal Self-consciousness is free from objective reference, does not involve the antithesis of the subject and the object, the Free Will has the objective reference. The object, however, to which the Will is related is the Universal 'this' which is its own manifestation and lacks all determinacy exactly as does the mental picture in the mind of a great artist at the time of inspiration. It is like the imperceptible stir in calm water before the rise of waves. It is like the internal stir that precedes the perceptible movment of a physical organ. It is that aspect of the Universal Mind, which is responsible for the objectification of what is identical with it.

Immanent and Transcendental knowledge.

Time, space and causality are the forms of human intellect, by virtue of which, the one being of each kind (the idea), which alone really is, manifests itself as multiplicity of similar beings, constantly appearing and disappearing in endless succession. The apprehension of objects by means of and in accordance with the forms of intellect is immanent knowledge. But that apprehension of objects which transcends these forms is transcendental knowledge. According to Kant, the transcendental can be attained in abstract, through the criticism of pure reason. But German voluntarism holds that in exceptional cases this transcendental knowledge may be got intuitively.

The transition from immenent knowledge to the transcendental takes place suddenly. The knowledge is always in the service of Will. But in exceptional cases it breaks free from the service of the Will. This happens when the individual subject ceases to be individual, when he becomes the pure willless subject of knowledge. When he no longer traces the relations in accordance with the principle of sufficient reason but rests in fixed contemplation of the object free from all relations to other objects, when he *rises into the object*.

Aesthetic experience as Transcendental Knowledge.

Schopenhauer seems to come nearer the Kashmir Voluntarism in his treatment of the problem of Aesthetics. He asserts that if man, relinquishes the common way of looking at things, gives up tracing the relations of things in accordance with the principle of sufficient reason, if he does not relate the object of knowledge to his own Will, if he ceases to consider, the when, the where, the why and the whither of things and looks at simply and solely the what: if he does not allow abstract thought to take possession of his consciousness: but, on the contrary if he sinks himself entirely in the presented and lets his whole consciousness be filled up with quiet contemplation of it; if he forgets even his individuality and exists only as a pure mirror of the object

so that the the perceiver and perception become one: if the object is free from all relation to what is not itself, to what is outside itself and if the subject is free from all relation to Will then that which is so known is no longer the particular thing as such, but it is the Idea, the eternal form, the immediate objectivity of the Will at this grade, and therefore, he who is sunk in this perception is no longer individual but he is pure willless, timeless and spaceless subject of knowledge. The aesthetic experience is, therefore, nothing else than apprehension of relationless object, the Idea, by pure subject.

In aesthetic experience the subject, which passes into the object, that is free from all relations, becomes one with the object: for the whole consciousness is nothing but perfectly distinct picture of the object. In it the subject and object are no longer distinguished. They interpenetrate each other completely. Similarly the knowing and the known are undistinguishable.

(42) Karma-Yoga Tradition

by

Sri Prahlad C. Divanji, Bombay.

I.—Statements in the Gītā as to the previous history of the Karma-yoga doctrine; II.—Those as to its early history corroborated by accounts in the Matsya Purāṇa and Yogavāsiṣṭha; III.—Partial clarification of its subsequent development in the Gītā itself and corroboration thereof by accounts in other works; IV.—Other accounts in the Upaniṣads of Brāḥmanas approaching Kṣatriyas for instruction in the Adhyātmayidyā; V.—Concluding remarks.

I.—*Statements in the Gītā as to the previous history of the Karma-yoga doctrine.*

The *Bhagavadgītā* contains in its third chapter[1] a statement that the Lord had formerly communicated to the people in this world instruction to keep faith in two ways of approch to himself, namely by the Jñāna-yoga of the Sāṁkhyas and the Karma-yoga of the Yogins. Then as for the latter, which has been elaborately expounded in the said chapter, there are statements in Chapter IV[2] as to its divine origin, subsequent traditional transmission amongst the royal sages, its decadence after a long period and revival thereof by Śrī Kṛṣṇa when he imparted knowledge thereof to Arjuna. It is an interesting point for investigation, whether and if so, how far those statements receive corroboration from the other extant works in Sanskrit on the Adhyātmavidyā. Having kept it in mind for some time during the course of my studies I have come across some similar statements in several works bearing on that point and therefore I propose to place the result of my critical examination thereof before this learned audience for its consideration.

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1. B. G. III. 3.
2. The said stanzas run thus:—

इमं विवस्वते योगं प्रोक्तवानहमव्ययम् । विवस्वान्मनवे प्राह मनुरिक्ष्वाकवेऽब्रवीत् ॥१॥
एवं परंपराप्राप्तमिमं राजर्षयो विदुः । स कालेनेह महता योगो नष्टः परंतप ॥२॥
स एवायं मया तेऽद्य योगः प्रोक्तः पुरातनः । भक्तोऽसि मे सखा चेति रहस्यं ह्येतदुत्तमम् ॥३

II.—*Those as to its early history corroborated by accounts in the Matsya Purāṇa and Yogavāsiṣṭha.*

2. The first statement in the fourth chapter of the *Gītā* is that the Karma-yoga had in a previous age been expounded by the Lord, *i. e.* the Prajāpati, to Vivasvat. Allied to it the *Matsya-Purāna*, which, as narrated by Sūta, purports to reproduce that which had been narrated by Keśava or Nārāyaṇa in the form of a miraculous fish to Manu Vaivasvata a hundred years prior to the Great Flood, contains a chapter[3] in which there is a eulogy of the Karma-yoga as being superior to a thousand Jñāna-yogas and further statements that knowledge had arisen from the Karma-yoga, that it is therefore the "Parama Pada", that Brahman (the Veda) had arisen from Karma-jñāna and not "jñāna" (knowledge) from "Akarma (inaction), that therefore one with mind composed attains the knowledge of the constant essence while engaged in action, (for verily) the whole of the Veda and the conduct of those who know it have Dharma as their source. This Dharma is further said to consist predominantly of 8 "Ātmaguṇas" (qualities of the heart or moral virtues) namely:—(1) compassion towards all beings, (2) forgiveness, (3) protection of the weak, (4) absence of jealousy towards others, (5) internal and external purity, (6) maintenance of an attitude of pleasantness towards actions (duties) coming up without being striven for, (7) absence of stinginess in spending wealth for the needy and (8) absence at all times of covetousness towards the wealth and wives of others[4]. It is thereafter added that the said qualities had been called "Ātmaguṇas" by those well-versed in the Purāṇas, that the cultivation thereof itself constituted "Kriyā-yoga" which acts as the means for the attainment of the Jñāna-yoga, that no one is found to attain knowledge without the help of Karma-yoga and that therefore one should by effort discharge the duties prescribed by the Śruti and Smṛti[5]. The next 13 stanzas explain what those duties are and what are the effects of their discharge and the last, 26th stanza, winds up the topic by saying that whoever is devoted to the vedāntaśāstra and the Smṛti is ever afraid of neglect of duty and is intent on the practice of the Kriyā-yoga has nothing left to acquire in this or the next world.

3. Reading the whole chapter through one finds that there is the same emphasis in it on adhering to the life of a householder and continuing to discharge one's appropriate prescribed duties and promise that one who does so attains knowledge for the attainment whereof the Jñānayogins resort to a life in action, as in the 3rd, 4th, 5th and the 18th chapters of the *Bhagavadgītā*. That the subject-matter of this

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3. Mat. Pu. LII. 5-7.

4. Op. cit. 8-10.

5. Op cit. 11-12.

chapter in the *Purāṇa* is not based on the *Gītā* is clear from the subsequent chapter because it is stated therein[6] that in the other Kalpa there was only one Purāṇa, whose extent was "Śatakoṭi", that Brahmā had first recollected it and that it was thereafter that the Vedas came out of his mouths. It is also stated there that assuming the form of Vyāsa in each Dvāpara yuga the Lord abridges the Purāṇa so as to bring its extent to "Caturlakṣa" and divides it into 18 Purāṇas for use in this earthly region, although in the Devaloka it continues even now to have its original extent, and that is the reason why it is said that there are 18 Purāṇas here at present. Besides the difference in the sources of the tradition we also notice that whereas according to the Gītā it was his father Vivasvat who had imparted the knowledge of this Yoga to Manu, according to the *Matsya* it was Keśava or Nārāyaṇa himself who had done so and secondly, that the special necessity and efficacy of singular devotion and self-surrender to Vāsudeva, which is set forth in the Gītā at more than one place[7] while emphasising the performance of disinterested action and the cultivation of moral virtues is conspicuously absent from the passage from the *Matsya Purāṇa.* These points of difference suggest to my mind that the authors of the two works had access to the same tradition of Karma-yoga but through different sources containing two different versions thereof.

4. This Yoga had been taught by Manu to Ikṣvāku according to the passage in the Gītā Chapter IV quoted in foot-note 2. Corresponding to that assertion I have found in the Nirvāṇa-prakaraṇa of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* an account by Vasiṣṭha of a "Manu-Ikṣvāku Saṁvāda[8]. It is a short account in 99 stanzas as contained in the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press edition.

It is remarkable as to its extent that the Devanāgarī transcript of the Śāradā script version of the same work (Ms. No. 8771 at the S. A. A. Library, Srinagar) contains the dialogue in Sargas 122-29, the total number of stanzas wherein is 356. As to the importance of the dialogue in the work it is also remarkable that Gauḍa Abhinanda had considered it so important that whereas he has made out an abridgement of the work, the total number of stanzas wherein comes to 5013, as printed in the N. S. P. edition, 1937, including some not forming part of the text at all (e. g. the first 4 of Chapter VI 16) and those not found in the N. S. P. edition of the bigger work (e. g. the next 30 in the same chapter and Sarga) as against a few more than 29,000 in the latter, he has in Chapter VI. 13, containing the said dialogue, included no less than 98 stanzas, appearing to have been taken from a different version of the work than that on which the N. S. P. edition of the bigger work is based.

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6. Op. cit. L III 3-11.

7. B. G. III. 30-32; V. 29; VI. 29-32, 47; VII. 12-30 VIII. 3-15; IX. 10-34; X. 1-11; XI. 52-55; XII. 6-20; XIV. 26-27; XV. 14-20; XVIII. 48-62.

8. Yogavāsiṣṭha VI/1. 117-22.

5. Although these 3 sources differ amongst themselves as to the wording of several stanzas common to them they agree in the main as to the substance of the dialogue. In all it begins with an introductory remark by Vasiṣṭha that Ikṣvāku, the propositus of Rama's family, from whose name the dynasty ruling at Ayodhyā was known as the "Ikṣvāku dynasty", furnished a good illustration of the statement in the last stanza of the previous Sarga, namely that the greatest remedy for one who desires to attain adequate peace of mind and to cross the occean of rebirths, which is a mine of long-continued miseries, is to think over the problems, "Who am I" "How must this universe have come into existence" and "Who may be free from it?" It thereafter goes on to state that Ikṣvāku, having once failed to solve them although he did think over them in solitude, put the same questions to Bhagavān Prajāpati Manu, who had come to his court from Brahmaloka. The latter's answers are, as could be expected in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, that all this phenomena, which appears to the senses and the mind to exist, does not in fact exist and is like a will-o'-the-wisp or a mirage, that which is beyond the organs of perception is indestructible, that is what really exists here and that is the real self, the "Ātman" of the perceiver. The rest of the episode consists of explanations of the possible doubts, arising from the answers which are in direct contradiction to the experience of an average human being based on and of an advice to cultivate an opposite tendency of the mind step by step sensual perception. The last stanza winds up the discourse by the concluding remark of Vasiṣṭha that saying so Bhagavān Manu repaired to his home in the Brahmaloka and that Ikṣvāku also having had recourse to that way of looking (at the phenomena) became steady.

6. Reading the episode as a whole the first difference, between the Karma-yoga as expounded in the *Bhagavadgītā* and the teaching here of Manu, that catches the eye is that whereas the former is based upon a realistic view of the phenomena the latter is based on an extreme idealistic view thereof appearing to have been based on the *Kārikā of Gauḍapāda* interpreted in terms of Kaśhmīr Śaivism which is based, on the Mālinī Tantra, and which is the view consistently advocated as the true one throughout the work. This should not however frighten us away and would not justify us in concluding that except for the occurrence of the same names of the participants in the discourse there is no common ground between the two. For seeing whether there are any such grounds we must read carefully the latter part of the episode consisting of the last 60 stanzas, wherein the remedy for the eradication of the false sense of reality of the diversity of the sense-objects has been mentioned and an advice given as to how to train up the mind to adopt the right attitude towards the said objects. When that part is closely examined we find that except for the substitution of the Cit i. e. Ātman, in place of "Ahaṁ" or Vāsudeva" or "Bhūta-Maheśvara" etc. indicating the highest essence, which is the same as the "Cit" of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, there is no difference between the practical side of the teachings in both the works. And that is what should be the case because the teaching

of Vasiṣṭha was intended to better equip Rāma for the life of a householder of the ruling class, which he begins to lead subsequent to this initiation, made at the age of 16 years before he commenced his career under the guidance of Viśvāmitra. Owing to the limit set upon the papers to be read at such gatheirngs I cannot enter into a detailed comparison of the similar passages in the two works after quoting them in *extenso*. However for the knowledge of those intending to thrash out the point for their satisfaction I mention the passages in the foot-note below.[9]

The statement in the concluding stanza as to Ikṣvāku having become steady on adopting the changed outlook towards the sense objects as advised is also significant and negatives the possibility of his having retired to a forest and implies that he continued even thereafter to attend to his duties as a king, just as Arjuna began to fight on hearing the advice of Śri Kṛṣṇa and Rāma showed his readiness to accompany Viśvāmitra for the protection of his sacrificial ground and subsequently adopted the life of a house holder.

7. It is very doubtful whether for this account the author of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* had depended upon a tradition derived from another earlier source because it is quite clear that he had drawn largely upon the *Mahābhārata* and the *Mārkaṅḍeya, Viṣṇu and other Purāṇas* for the names of the characters in the nearly 4 dozen Ākhyānas and Upākhyānas contained therein, upon the *Mālinī and other Tantra works* besides the *Gauḍapāda Kārikā* for its main doctrine and even on some classical works such as the *Meghadūta* and *Vairāgya-śataka* for the models of his descriptions etc., and above all, there are scores of stanzas and half and quarter stanzas in the *Arjunopākhyāna*[10] which appear to have been borrowed from the *Bhagavadgītā*, as shown by me at length in my paper on "Yogavāsiṣtha and Bhagavadgītā" read at the first Delhi session of the I. P. Congress in December, 1936. On the other hand there are certain episodes such as that of the Akāśaja in the Utpatti-prakaraṇa which appear to have been the inventions of the author, and some such as that of Śikhidhvaja in the Nirvāṇa, whose characters, though appearing to be historical, cannot be traced to any known source. I have however mentioned this dialogue between Manu and Ikṣvāku because its contents seem to support the statement of the author of the *Gītā* that the Karma-yoga tradition had been transmitted by Manu to Ikṣvāku.

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9. Cf. B. G. IV. 20-21 and L. Y. V. VI. 13. 99-100; B. G. XII. 15 and L. Y. V. VI. 13. 103; B. G. III. 27-28 and L. Y. V. VI. 13. 51-52; B. G. IV. 41-42 and L. Y. V. VI. 13. 53; B. G. XVIII. 14-16 and L. Y. V. VI. 13. 76; B. G. XVI. 14-16 and L. Y. V. VI. 13. 85; B. G. XI. 54. and L. Y. V. VI. 13. 109 and so on.

10. L. Y. V. VI. 5 which is an abridged version of that contained in Y. V. VI/1. 52-55.

III.—*Partial clarification of its subsequent development in the Gītā itself and corroboration there of by accounts in other works.*

8. The first stanza in chapter IV of the *Gītā* narrates the transmission of the Karma-yoga tradition for two generations only. The second therein says only roundly that the said Yoga thus handed down from generation to generation was known to the royal sages but that after the lapse of considerable time the tradition about it was broken, and the third says that it was revived by Śrī Kṛṣṇa when he imparted the knowledge thereof to Arjuna because he was his devotee and friend. It is therefore a point for investigation who were the royal sages who had kept alive that tradition for a long period after the death of Ikṣvāku. As to that the *Gītā* itself contains at another place[11] a statement that "Janaka and others" had attained "Saṁsiddhi" by Karma itself. We cannot however get from that much definite information even as to one individual because "Janaka" was the family name of the kings of Videha from Mithi onwards according to Pargiter[12], who relies for that statement on *Vāyu* 89. 23 and *Brahmāṇḍa* III. 64.24, and cites the instances of several named individual kings of that dynasty who have also been called by the generic name "Janaka" there and in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*[13]. We also know that the father of Sītā, whose personal name was Sīradhvaja has been called "Janaka" several times in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. With regard to all the kings of Videha having their captial at Mithilā, founded by the said Mithi[14], the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* says[15] that all those kings of Mithilā were well-versed in the "Ātmavidyā" (Science of the Self) and free from the "Dvandvas" (pairs of opposites such as attachment and hatred) through the grace of the Yogeśvaras. The Yogeśvaras there referred to are the 9 of the sons of Ṛṣabha, the Ādinātha or first Tīrthaṅkara of the Jainas, whose names were Kavi, Hari and others as given in another Skandha of the same *Purāṇa*, where it is also stated that the king of Mithilā whom they had instructed in the *Bhāgavata* Dharma was Nimi, son of Ikṣvāku[16]. Here then we have a part corroboration of the statement in the *Gītā*. It cannot be said to be a complete one because Nimi, though a son of Ikṣvāku, had not come to know Karma-yoga from his father but from the Yogeśvaras, who were Kṣatriyas who had devoted their lives to the realisation of the true self of man and to the good of mankind by imparting knowledge there-

11. B. G. III. 20.

12. Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p. 96, f. n. 5.

13. Op. cit. f. n's 6-13.

14. Bh. Pu. IX. 13. 13.

15. Op. cit. IX. 13. 27.

16. Op. cit. XI. 2. 15-27 read with IX. 13. 1.

of and of the means for its realisation to the deserving. That it was Karma-yoga, not Jñāna-yoga which emphasises the necessity of physical renunciation, which they had expounded to the King is evident from the nature of the questions and answers recorded in the *Bhāgavata*[17], and from the concluding remark of the sage Nārada, who had narrated the dialogue, to the effect that on hearing the exposition of the Bhāgavata Dharmas the king accompanied by his family priest adored the sages and that thereafter the Siddhas disappeared into an inner plane while those present there were looking on and that the king having followed the Dharmas (rules of conduct) attained "Paramā Gati[18]". The general statement that the Kings of Mithilā were all well-versed in the Ātmavidyā is also borne out to a certain extent by the occurrence of dialogues on philosophical topics between Janakas of the names of Karāla, Vasumāna, the father of Devarāta, Devarāta, Dharmadhvaja and a king of Videha who had become the instructor of Śuka Yogī, because before retirement he had been advised by his father to go and meet the king, given in the Mokṣadharma of the *Śānti-parvan*[19]. From amongst those, two of the Janakas whose personal names have not been given but who appear to be the father of Devarāta and he himself, who were contemporaries of Yājñavalkya, are mentioned in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣat*[20]. And Pargiter mentions[21] that there are stories about several of the Janakas in the *Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas, Viṣṇu, Garuḍa and others.* From these sources then it is clear that proficiency in the Adhyātmavidyā had been inherited by the descendants of at least one of the sons of Ikṣvāku.

9. It is not clear to me who except two were the other Aikṣvākas who exerted themselves to keep alive the tradition and who were the other Kṣatriya rulers meant to be understood to be included in the same category as the Janakas. The one exception from amongst the Aikṣvākas is that of Bṛhadratha, in the *Maitrāyaṇī Upaniṣat*[22], wherein there is an account of the teaching imparted to him by the sage Sākāyanya and the other is that of Rāmacandra to whom, according to the *Yogavāsiṣtha*, the sage Vasiṣṭha, who was his contemporary, had expounded the Adhyātmavidyā.

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17. Op. cit. XI. 2. 15 to 5. 42.

18. Op. cit. XI. 5. 43-44.

19. MBH. XII. 3. 130, 137, 138, 146, 148 153-54.

20. Bṛhad. An Upa. III. 1-9; IV. 1-4.

21. AIHT. p. 95. f. n. 5, p. 96 f. n's 5-13.

22. Mai. Upa. 1-5.

IV.—Other accounts in the Upaniṣads of Brāhmaṇas approaching Kṣatriyas for instruction in the Adhyātmavidyā.

10. It is remarkable that the instructors of all the Videhas except the first were Brāhmaṇa sages, there being Vasiṣṭha in the case of Karāla, Bhṛgu in that of Vasumāna, Yājñavalkya in those of Devarāta and his father, Pañcaśikha in that of Dharmadhvaja and Vyāsa in that of his contemporary Janaka. It is therefore not proper to take their instances as supporting the statement in the *Gītā* as to the tradition having been carried on by the Kṣatriyas amongst themselves. There are however some instances in the *Upaniṣads* of the opposite character *i. e.* to say, instances of Brāhmaṇas, versed in the Karmakāṇḍa but totally ignorant of Brahmavidyā and Adhyātmavidyā approaching royal sages for instructions on topics connected with the latter on the ground that they had been thinking about them. Thus for instance, there is that of Pravāhaṇa Jaivali in the *Chāndogya* and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*[23], that of Aśvapati Kekaya in the *Chāndogya*[24], that of Ajātaśatru Kāśya in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and *Kauṣītaki*[25] and that of Citra Gārgyāyaṇi in the latter[26]. These are no doubt stray instances and it is not possible to determine with any degree of confidence in which age those Kṣatriyas lived and whether or not they were in any way related to one another and who were their ancestors. What they however help to determine is that whereas many of the Brāhmaṇas, though learned in the Vedas and accquainted with the sacrificial rites, were not able to solve the problems of metaphysics which others put to them or which arose in their own minds, Kṣatriyas were able to do so at some period in the development of philosophical speculation. The fact that Uddālaka Āruṇi, who later on evolved[27] the famous Mahāvākya "Tat tvam asi", which is one of the four such formulas on which the Vedānta doctrine of the identity of the individual with the supreme soul is based, who also established the equally important Vedānta doctrine that which exists could not have been produced from that which did not exist and that the reverse of it only can be true[28], and who acquired the miraculous power implied in the account of the Man-

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23. Chān. Upa. I. 8-9; V. 10. Bṛhad. Ā. Upa. VI. 2.

24. Chān. Upa. V. 11.

25. Bṛhad. Ā. Upa. II. 1-3; Kauṣī. B. Upa. IV.

26. Kauṣī. B. Upa. I-II.

27. Chān. Upa. VI. 8-15.

28. Op. cit. VI. 2.

tha doctrine[29] was once ignorant of the reason for and course of transmigration and of the Pañcāgnividyā[30], which formed part of the Karma-yoga and had therefore to go to Pravāhaṇa Jaivali to learn it, and also of the true nature of the Vaiśvānara[31], for learning which he had to go to Aśvapati Kekaya. Above all, it is very significant that Jaivali reminds Gautama Uddālaka before instructing him that the said Vidyā had never before been communicated to the Brāhmaṇas, the Kṣatriyas alone having command over it in all the regions[32].

V. Concluding remarks.

11. It is thus apparent from the above investigation that the assertions contained in stanzas 1-3 of chapter IV of the *Bhagavadgītā* as to the origin and transmission of the Karma-yoga doctrine for a long period amongst the Kṣatriyas alone are borne out substantially by the ancient Paurāṇic and Vedic literatures. The further assertion therein that some time prior to the time of Śrī Kṛṣṇa or to that of the composition of the *Bhagavadgītā* the tradition had become interrupted also appears to have been borne out by the fact of some of the Janakas and Bṛhadratha being required to take instructions therein from Brāhmaṇa sages. Lastly, the inference of Garbe[33] that this break must have occurred between the times of Buddha and Patañjali cannot be deemed to have been born out by the said evidence because King Bṛhadratha, who was instructed by Śākāyanya, after he had renounced his kingdom according to the *Maitrāyaṇī Upaniṣat*, [34] must be the well-known founder of the Bṛhadratha dynasty and because even the last of the Bṛhadrathas, of whom Jarāsandha, contemporary of Sri Kṛṣṇa was one had preceded the advent of the Saiśunāga dynasty on the throne of Magadha, and Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru of Magadha were the contemporaries of Lord Buddha. [35] The said inference also appears to be not well-founded when we remember that the time of decadence of the doctrine, which the author of the *Gītā* has been referring to, is one prior to the age of Śrī

29. Bṛhad. Ā. Upa. VI 3.

30. Chāṅ. Upa. V. 3-10.

31. Op. cit. 11-24.

32. Op. cit. 3. 3.

33. Introduction to the German translation of the Gītā, translated into English by N. B. Udgikar, p.33.

34. Mai. Upa. I. 1.

35. History of Indian Literature by Winternitz, Vol. I, pp. 474, 524; Outline of Ancient Indian History by R. C. Majumdar, p. 92.

Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas, who obviously lived long before Lord Buddha. That time therefore goes beyond 11th to 15th B. C. at least. Which it must have been cannot be determined without going at length into the history of the Bhāgavata religion, whose origin goes back to the age in which were composed some of the hymns in the 10th Maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda, as shown by me in my paper on that subject and on the origin of the Jain religion[36].

36. Annals of the B. O. R. I. Vol. XXIII. pp. 107-25.

(43) Vṛtti or Psychosis

by

Dr. P. T. Raju, Ph.D., Sastri,

University of Rajputana.

The present paper deals with the doctrine of psychosis, as upheld by the advaitins. *Again,* it deals, not with all kinds of psychosis, but only with that involved in ordinary perception. Psychosis further is to be understood in the sense of the normal function of mind, not in that of the abnormal. In short, this is a paper on epistemology.

In spite of a healthy realistic epistemological attitude on the whole in their doctrine of illusion, the advaitins give also a psychological explanation of perception. They are not prepared to treat the object of illusion as a mere object of imagination, not even as an object remembered, but as an object having a peculiar kind of existence called the *anirvacanīya* or inexplicable. Yet they say that, in perception, the *vṛtti* of the internal organ (*antaḥkaraṇa*) goes out to the object and takes its form, which is known as the object. Again, when the question is raised about the relation between the *vṛtti* that assumes the form of the object and the object whose form is assumed by the *vṛtti* they say that it is *tādātmya,* which, when properly translated, would mean identity in self or essence. Hence it becomes difficult to understand how a psychological process can be identical, even in essence or *ātmyam,* with the object, which we regard as physical. Hence some amount of psychologiom appears to have entered the epistemology of the advaitin, which one may find unjustifiable.

But this unjustifiability is only apparent; for no one would say that the problem of truth does not have its psychological side as well. Perception involves the workings of the senses and mind; and so the admission of the role of these psychological processes would not turn one's epistemology into psychology. The advaitins themselves are not willing to turn their epistemology into psychology, as shown by their theories of illusion.

What could they mean then when they say that the *vṛtti* takes on the form of the object? Are we to understand that there is an object with all its qualities existing independently of the *vṛtti,* and is contacted

by it for taking the form? Indeed, the advaitins are not clear on the point. Yet their realism obliges them to say that there is an object independent of the *vṛtti.*

Should we then interpret the *vṛtti* as taking an *objective form* rather than the *form of an object?* In the former case, the form is psychological but with an objective intent; and in the latter case, there is already an object with a form of its own to be assumed by the *vṛtti* different from the object and its form. We know that the qualities supposed to belong to the objects do not *completely* belong to them and that the qualities, though attributed to the objects and not to the mind, are not *completely* independent of the mind. So if the object with its qualities is, in a sense, a product of the mental process or *vṛtti,* it would be less untenable to say that the *vṛtti* assumes an objective form than to say that it assumes the form of an object inclusive of its qualities. For, if the object, in some sense, is a product of the *vṛtti,* in that sense it cannot be independent of the *vṛtti* and so far it would be unreasonable to say that the *vṛtti* assumes the form of the object, which is other than itself.

But if the form of the object is not other than the *vṛtti,* the very foundation of realism would be lost. If this objection is true, we should have to say that the object with its form exists independently of the *vṛtti* and the *vṛtti* assumes the form of the object.

How then is realism to be defended, while admitting the role of *Vṛtti*? The advaitin's answer can be found in their doctrine of the dream. In the dream the *vṛtti* divides itself into the subject and the object. The subject possesses the dream body, and through it sees the dream object. And so long as the subject passes through the dream, he does not feel that it is a dream and a mere fabrication of mind. But when he comes down to the waking state, he realizes that both his dream body and his dream objects were the products of his mind, that is, of its *vṛtti.*

The importance of dream for epistemology has not yet been fully recognised. The feature of dream that is of significance in this connection is that, though the objects are products of the *vṛtti,* so long as the dream lasts they are not experienced as imaginary and subjective, but as independent of the dream subject and affecting it in spite of itself. That they are not independent of the mind is realized by us only when we come out of the dream. Nay, there is something more; not only the dream object but also the dream subject is a product of the *vṛtti*; and both are the products of the same *vṛtti* splitting itself into the subjective and the objective poles of dream experience. And this fact is realized by us when dream is transcended. Tne dream is subjective not from the stand-point of the dream subject but from the standpoint of that of the waking consciousness. the mind of the waking subject then is the unity of the dream subject and dream object......

Can we explain waking experiences also in a similar way? The advaitin holds that we can and should. Just as the underlying unity of the duality of the dream subject and dream object is realized by us in the *vṛtti* of the waking subject, the unity underlying the duality of the waking subject and its object can be realized at a still higher level, which has therefore to be postulated. A spontaneous *vṛtti* breaks itself up into the subjective and objective poles of experience at the waking level also. Just as the underlying unity of the dream duality cannot be generally realized at the dream level itself, the unity underlying the duality of the waking consciousness cannot generally be realized at the waking level itself. This is an implication of the *vṛtti's* spontaneity. That is, if the subject of the waking consciousness knows that its mind is creating the form of the object, then the object will cease to be a perceptual object and becomes an imaginary one. When we say that the *vṛtti* belongs to the subject, we do not mean that it is worked *by* him deliberately, but that it works *through* him.

The *vṛtti* and the *antaḥkaraṇa* to which it belongs are generally regarded as belonging to the body, the subject, the person or the centre of experience. But there are serious ambiguity and vagueness in all these expressions. The very word *antaḥkaraṇa* is misleading. It means the inner sense: but inner to what? we tend to jump to the conclusion that it is inner to the body. It was this tendency that led to the location of the mind in the pineal gland, the heart etc. For a similar reason the Naiyāyikas treat mind as atomic, capable of flying with infinite speed from sense to sense within the body. But we should not forget that, according to the advaitin, mind is *vibhu* (all-pervasive) and not limited to the body. Then how can an all pervasive entity be inner to the body? It would be truer to say that the body is inner to the mind or *antaḥkaraṇa*. Here again we have to say that just as a self-same mind comprehends both the dream subject and the dream object, a self-same mind comprehends both the subject and object of the waking consciousness also.

It is this spontaneity of the *vṛtti* and transcendence by th e *antaḥkaraṇa* of the physical body, with which the subject is generally associated, that enable the advaitin to retain the objectivity of the object of perception and its independence of the subject associated with the body. That is, the subject associated with the body is not free to give whatever form it likes to the object, the form is given to the subject by the *vṛtti* working *through* him. The objective existence of the object is forced on him: he has no control over its existence; otherwise, perception would not be different from imagination.

We have next to ask the question if the *vṛtti* working through a certain individual divides itself into the subjective and objective forms, and then appears to the individual as an object, why is that object seen by another individual as the same object seen by the first individual? To answer this question. we have then to postulate not only a unity underlying any subject and its object but also a unity underlying such unities.

Such a unity of unities is postulated by the Advaita in accordance with the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad.* It is the cosmic person, which again has, like the individual, the three states of waking, dream and deep sleep, called respectively Virāt, Hiraṇyagarbha, and Iśvara. Virāṭ is the cosmic unity working through the individuals in their waking state; Hiraṇyagarbha is the same working through the centres in their dream state; and Iśvara again the same working through the centres in their deep sleep, in which all the *vāsanās* and *saṃskāras* lie latent.

We may summerize as to how the advaitin retains his realism, while yet treating the objects as due to *vṛtti.* First, though the *vṛtti* belongs to him, it is not worked by him, but works *through* him So it is different from imagination, which is worked by him voluntarily. *Vṛtti* forms images, if by images we mean the forms possessed by the objects. It has, therefore, something in common with imagination. In fact, imagination also is a form of *vṛtti.* But the peculiar objective attitude we have in perception is lacking in imagination. In imagination, we do not feel that the object is forced upon us; but rather we create the object with our imagination, which is a voluntary power. The *vṛtti* of perception assumes a peculiar individuated form, not at the choice of the individual; but even in spite of him. Secondly, even the spontaneous *vṛtti* of the individual assumes not merely an *objective form* or a form towards which the individual adopts an objective attitude, but also the *form of an object*: which means that there is a factor controlling the activities of even this spontaneous *vṛtti,* and is supplied by the principles of Virāṭ, Hiraṇyagarbha and Iśvara.

So far as the spiritual atmosphere of the Advaita is concerned, the above account of the *vṛtti* is consistent and reasonable. But one may ask: Why should the spontaneity of the *vṛtti* of the individual be explained in terms of spiritual entities like Virāṭ, Hiraṇyagarbha and Iśvara? One may as well say that this spontaneity is natural or due to Nature. But then this is a question of the spiritual versus the naturalistic views of the universe; and to answer it we have to go beyond the scope of the present paper.

XIII.—Technical Sciences Section.

(44) Indian Art and Ideology

by

Sri Asit. K. Haldar

The historians and art-critics of the West had to acknowledge that "Indian art had fallen into undeserved neglect in the Victorian Era' and a true appreciation of its spiritual meaning was due to the work of three pioneers—E. B. Havell, Anand Coomarswamy and Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore. As regards the apathy of the early European art-critics, Professor Wilkinson writes: "the main reason for this is simply that Europe would not lift its heavy eyes and look beyond its borders". (*vide* 'Indian Art'-essays by H. G. Rawlinson, K. de B. Cordington, J. V. S. Wilkinson and John Irwin. 1948). Another reason for such misunderstanding, he points out, "it was difficult for the European to see with Indian eyes without Indian guidance. Indian paintings were accordingly under-estimated and misunderstood."

Dr. Coomarswamy and Havell were hardly understood by our Indian scholars of old generation and they never could take their works as authoritative versions. Among a few others, who took up their pen in India, were those who looked at it as a part of the national awakening and as such found an opportunity to make themselves known by advocating renaissance in Bengal. They in fact looked at the outer fringe of Indian art and began writing on it in a scholarly manner without understanding much of its inner meaning and ideology. This accounts for the utter negligence by our countrymen of the good work done by Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore and his pupils for over quarter of a century. We now notice that some of our modern artists, (like the artists of the early Victorian Era) have again begun to brush aside the traditional art of India to achieve something new by deliberately imitating the Surrealist or Dada School of Art in modern Europe. Tradition to these artists means imitation of the past and as such intrinsic value of the past experience lost all significance to them. When we praise Kālidāsa we should know how much he was indebted to Vālmīki for producing his epoch-making 'kāvya'. Indian art which continued for over two thousand years, up to the early 19th century in Cochin, Travancore and also subsequently thrived in the folk-art of Bengal up to the beginning of the 20th century, received a great blow and lost its distinctive ideology and dignity in the hands of our so-called

modern artists and art-critics. After Havell and Coomarswamy, we have unfortunately got no one to throw more light on the meanings and vitality of traditional art and possibilities of its adoptation to suit the modernist's outlook.

If we, on the other hand, trace the development of European art, we would see that it continued for a long time (after Gothic and Byzantine period) developing realistic aspect of pictorial composition in a most scientific manner with multifarious Christian romantic conception. With the advent of photography and the two successive wars, the ideology of European art, painting and sculpture lost all its charm due to the scientific approach in all sphere of life's activity. Europe left its pure form of art of painting long ago in Gothic and Byzantine art. A modern European art-critic, Maurice Dennis describing the ideology of some of the modern art of Europe unwittingly defined pure form of traditional Indian painting and said, "a picture is a plane surface covered with colours assembled in a certain order." Indian art does not differ fundamentally, but only when he advocates that it should not convey any emotion, romanticism or traditional bias. According to another art-critic of the West, Claude Journot, "the painters of Europe have tried new experiments, taken lessons from the East and from Africa and turned towards the middle ages."

According to Indian conception, a painting 'citra' literally means a creation which evokes surprise ('āścarya'). Therefore it never meant to be a photographic likeness of Nature. Moreover to understand art of both Oriental and Occidental countries in their true perspective, we should know about their historical development and ideologies. Art developed along with the increase of interest in life and growth of culture. Art, like religion, therefore can never be devoid of life's ambition and as such it is impossible to make it secular. Fundamental differences of Oriental and Occidental art therefore lies in their respective approach. Secular and personal art can only appeal to cliques and like fashion can disappear, but a hieratic art unites a whole race in one spiritual foundation. In this respect what Hindu-Buddhist and Christian art did to Asia and Europe can well be ascertained through their continual achievements of several centuries. The inner significance of the religious form of Oriental art can be explained through their multifarious examples. Hokusai, a great Oriental artist (of Japan) explaining the function of an artist said that he must identify himself with his subject which he paints in a spiritual sphere; and it should be an insult to credit him with observation; for to observe, implies a separation from that which is observed. It is likewise a test of art, that it should enable spectator to forget himself and to become its object, as he does in dreams. But this procedure is not really a short one. "Only when", he said, "I was seventy-three had I got some sort of insight into the real structure of Nature; at the age of eighty shall have advanced still further; at ninety I shall grasp the mystery of things; at a hundred I shall be a marvel and at a hundred and ten every blot and every line

from my brush shall be alive." This mystic experience bears the 'reality'-the Eternal truth, which has been explained in Hindu-Buddhist philosophy. Oneness of things was felt in 'ākāśa'- (space) and in 'sṛṣṭi'-(matter). Artist can feel oneness with the object he depicts in his works, provided he can understand the symbolism and ideology which framed the whole structure of our ancient Indian philosophy.

Indian artists never ventured to copy Nature realistically and therefore sometimes invented awe-inspiring symbols which a man could hardly visualise through his senses. In 'Bhagavad Gīta', the Viśva-rūpa, is an artistic conception of the 'Virāṭa-Puruṣa'—the infinity, ever-expanding all permeating force,—the abstract and absolute truth. Symbols are concrete expressions, much easier to disseminate the spiritual value in human mind. The ceremonial symbols of Paurāṇic types were evolved to convey more meaning in a greater vividness within a simple structure. Indian mythology with artistic symbolism can claim much scope for concrete interpretations, of human mind. Rossetti or Blake, however strong they may have been in their allegorical conceptions, they had to invent deliberately symbolism of their own to express respective mental images through paintings. But an Indian artist can express such allegorical meanings in their work provided he can utilise symbolisms after understanding them from common ritualistic objects, expressing multifarious aspects of manifestations of divine spirit. These symbolisms had sound meanings and were understood by the man in the street; but due to our secular form of general education and also for the unwillingness on the part of the orthodox priests to explain, their inner significance remained a closed chapter for us. Otherwise infinite variety of allegorical and abstract form of original paintings, with the back-ground of high-class scientific education of the artists were possible. If we have to live as a nation, we shall have to thrive just as other nations of the world with their respective cultural heritage and are genuinely proud of their distinctive art tradition and its ideology. Some of them are making experimental efforts to bring about a solution for a secular form of art. In all these diverse outlook of the nations blossom variety of art-forms, just as the flowers of different land thrive in their own particular soil. Such unity in diversity can be traced all over the world in music, painting, dancing sculpture, architecture and also in languages, physiognomical character and dresses. We all can tolerate and understand their value and respect them. Similarly our own distinctive culture, which has got a great traditional background, cannot be ignored.

All ceremonial symbols convey more meaning in a concrete way and with greater vividness than in any other verbal formulae. Symbols are languages much easier to understand and learn in order to express the spiritual reality through them. Some aspect of the divine can be clearly defined. In India such symbols (Māṅgalika) are to be found in abundance. 'Śaṅkha' (conch) 'Cakra' (wheel) and 'Padma' (lotus) and 'Vajra' (thunder) are constantly employed in both art and religion. Of

all symbols the wheel of a chariot, which is the emblem of all progress, took great significance in both art and religion. The kings and priests were called 'Chakravarti'. Sorrows and pleasure of life have been constantly compared to a wheel movement. The chariot stands for the psycho-physical vehicle as which or in which according to our knowledge of 'who we are' we live and move. The steeds are senses, the reins their controls, the mind the coachman and the spirit (Ātman) the charioteer (Sārathi). Lord Kṛṣṇa preached 'Bhagavad Gītā' standing on a chariot. Buddha turned his wheel of Eternal Law Divine (Dharma). In early Indian art when making images of Buddha was forbidden, the wheel took its place to symbolise his dynamic teaching. Aesthetic and religious experience burst forth with an exuberance of manifestations through the symbolic representation of the wheel in ancient India. The "Svastika" symbol (though invented much earlier than Hindu Buddhist civilisation) took root in art and religion as it also came from the wheel pattern. In this pattern the infusion of 'Puruṣa' (energy) and 'Prakṛti' (matter) is expressed in two opposite curvatures out of which all creation was possible. In another way, the constitution of worlds and individuals is compared to a wheel in India. We therefore find that early Indian art, in caves and temples, human figures and numerous scenes of life carved and painted, bore this effect of the wheel, and a rythmic and dynamic wave persisted. It can easily be traced in the composition of sculptural panels and in paintings. A warm current of mystical consciousness, the forces of the 'wheel of life', can be observed in all Buddhist Hindu art. The 'wheel-order' is evident in the circular composition, the gestures of the 'Kṣaṇa-bhaṅga' and 'Ati-bhaṅga' poses of the human figures of Ajanta, in the Bagh caves, Sanchi and Bharut paintings and sculpture. The curve of the limbs and poses of the figure apparently indicate the wheel-movement which was ultimately adopted in all Hindu Buddhist art of the Asiatic countries: Khotan, Miran, Tarfan to China, Java, Cambodia and Japan, through the infusion of the Mahāyana Buddhist religion, in early days.

In this way, Indian artists were rich in symbolical motifs in art and not isolated examples like Rossetti, Blake and few others to evoke symbolical and spiritual meaning deliberately. Artists of India could therefore afford to be visionaries and mystics. The central abstract and spiritual aspect of all undifferentiated creatures of this earth have been defined by them through multifarious symbolism. The central philosophical ideals found definite scope in visual art of this country. We can find this ideology of Indian art through the analysis of the inner spirit of human mind and its nature as described by the Indian sages. According to the Hindu religion, which primarily aimed at philosophy the creative power of God Eternity is 'Māyā' ultimately transformed itself into 'Kāma' (desire) and 'Saṅkalpa' (determination), which are essential aspects of all human activities. 'Prakṛti' (Nature) consists of three distinctive forms of virtues (Guṇas) and all human beings are subject to their ifluence; they remain active in the psychological sphere in

'Sattva'-purity; 'Rajas'-activity and passion; 'Tamas'-apathy and darkness.

According to Bhagavad Gītā, Sattva', 'Rajas' and 'Tamas' are nature-born-'guṇas' (virtues), which bind fast in the human body of which 'Sattva' forms its stainlessness, luminous and healthy expression bound by attachment to wisdom. Whereas, 'Rajas' having the nature of passion, is the source of the attachment to the thirst for life, that binds the dweller of the body by the attachment for action; but 'Tamas' born of unwisdom, indolence and sloth. In other words, 'Sattva' attaches to bliss; 'Rajas' to action; and 'Tamas' having shrouded wisdom is attached, on the contrary, to negligence. When the wisdom light streams forth from all gates of the body, then it may be known that 'Sattva' is increasing. Greed, outgoing energy, undertaking of action, restlessness and desire these are born of the increase of 'Rajas'; darkness, stagnation and negligence as well as delusion are born of increase of 'Tamoguṇa'. All artists and poets of our country observed these ideologies in classifying their art and literature. I had the good fortune of meeting the last of the indigenous 'Pat' artists (Folk artists) of Kalighat (Bengal), who used to classify their works in the same manner. All paintings depicting Gods and Goddesses were classified by them as work of 'Sattva-guṇa'. Rajoguṇa type of paintings were generally birds, animals, fish or a lady in toilet, etc.; and 'Tamo-guna' type pictures were unhappy married couple beating each other, a demon devouring a lady and such other hideous scenes. If we analyse the art of Europe through our ideology, all types of Biblical paintings including Madonna can be classed as 'Sattva-guṇa' type of work; all landscape and portraits as 'Rajas' and all ultramodernist's experiments in art in Europe, which contained the element of pride and destruction, can be classed as 'Tamas' art. These reactionary art-forms obviously originated due to the two successive world wars.

We can now, according to the 'Sanskrit Kāvya-Alaṅkāra Śāstra' divide these three elementary virtues (guṇas) in nine different types of Rasas 'Bhāvas'.

Sattva-Guṇa essentially contains the following three virtues:—(1) 'Śānta-rasa' (the quietistic) which brings peace in mind with the philosophical outlook on life; (2) 'Karuṇa-rasa (the compassion) evoked through the death and calamity of the fellow-beings; (3) 'Vātsalya-rasa' (affection for all creatures).

Rajoguṇa contains:—(1) 'Vīra-rasa' (the heroic expression and courage with which people fight for their country, patriotism, charity and all other works containing ethical morals; (2) 'Śṛṅgāra-rasa' or 'Ādi-rasa' (the Tender) which evokes love in man and woman essential for biological reproduction; (3) 'Hāsya-rasa' (provoking laughter and humour).

In *Tamo-Guṇa* we find :—(1) 'Adbhuta-rasa' (surprising and unbalanced element in our mind) ; (2) 'Bībhatsa-rasa'—(the disgusting) ; (3) 'Raudra-rasa' (the fearul expression). These three Rasas are all psychological unsophisticated and primitive expressions of a child or a cave-man. It contained anger, pride and destructive elements. No artist can therefore escape from the above mentioned 'guṇas' and 'bhāvas' whether he prefers modernist ideology of Europe or spiritual abstractness of Indian Art. Vālmīki wrote about them in his epic 'Rāmāyaṇa' explaining the aim and object of his 'kāvya'.

The Artists of ancient India never considered that reality of existence. is based on its apparent seed of origin. It went further to the absolute—the centre-point of the wheel of life. In one of the Ajanta frescoes a wheel of life is depicted in which all aspects of human life and activities are shown between the axles of it.

With the abstraction of various aspects (guṇas) of the life-expression, civilised man invented many symbols and patterns of art. Of course, such symbols depend upon the range, depth and exactitude of his apprehension. He should have an analytical power to discriminate and a trained mind and habit to hold the sequence of individual definitions in thought and imagination, compare them with each other, determine just where and how they focus sharp and clear meanings, ideals and attitude. The following chart may further explain it :—

- **Mind-perception (Cittarūpa)**
  - Visible expression (Rūpa)
    - Consciousness (Bodha)
    - Awareness (Jñāna)
    - Impression transmitted (Abhivyakti)
  - Emotional expressions (Bhāva)
    - **Creative awareness (Sattvaguṇa) (Sṛṣṭi) Brahma (Red)**
      - Quietism (Śāntarasa)
      - Compassion (Karuṇarasa)
      - Affection and sympathy (Vātsalya)
    - Active, preservative and multiplicative awareness (Rajoguṇa) (Sthiti) Viṣṇu (Blue)
      - Heroic and Patriotic (Vīrarasa)
      - Tender (Sṛṅgārarasa)
      - Comic (hāsyarasa)
    - Destructive and chaotic unawareness (Tamoguṇa) (Pralaya) Maheśvara (white)
      - Surprising and unbalanced (Adbhutarasa)
      - Disgusting (Bībhatsarasa)
      - Fearful (Rudra)

Sattva: Imagination, *i. e.*, bringing the image within. A very sensitive person can only possess such a faculty of experiencing para-normal phenomena and realise the supreme truth of "Self" (Ātmā). Psychic phenomena—phenomena of the soul are revealed to him.

All works of art done out of imagination, subjective, objective or abstract which bring peace.

Rajas: Focussed towards worldly activities and bringing materialistic gains.

All works of art with commercial objectives: landscape and portrait paintings included.

Tamas: Representing unbalance of mind: vague, inchoate representations.

All art of primitive immature imagination, and perception.

(45) The Origin and Evolution of Geya Nātakam.

by

Mr. P. Sambamurti

Concerts heard in India can be classified into:—

1. Those belonging to the realm of pure music; and

2. Those belonging to the realm of applied music.

In the former, music is enjoyed for its own sake, irrespective of the ideas contained in the sāhityas. A kṛti like *Koluvaiyunnāde* in *Bhairavi* rāga is enjoyed because of its admirable musical construction and the tāna style of development. When Vīṇā or Nāgasvaram is played we enjoy the music in all its fullness. Instrumental concerts are concerts of pure music. Gānarasa or aesthetic pleasure is the feeling experienced on such occasions. In concerts of applied music, the music serves as a vehicle for the effective portrayal of the ideas contained in the sāhitya. The music in combination with the sāhitya produces the desired rasa. In applied music, music is used for a specific purpose. Music herein is only a means to an end and not an end by itself. Through instrumental music, solo or orchestral, it is possible within certain limits to create the nava rasas and feelings like loneliness, forest life, detachment from the world, affection. mystery, repentence, tenderness and devotion. The Gēyanāṭakam or opera belongs to the sphere of applied music.

Concerts belonging to the sphere of applied music are many. The Kathā Kālakṣepam of the South corresponds to the Kīrtan of the North; this and the Bhajana provide examples of concerts of sacred music. In the purāṇa paṭhanam, the verses are sung to wellknown rāgas like Kēdāragaula and Ānandabhairavi and they have a mass appeal. The Nṛtya Nāṭakam inclusive of the Bhāgavatamelanāṭakam, Kuchipudi Nāṭakam, Kuravanji Nāṭakam, Yakṣagāna and Kathakaḷi come under applied music. Bommalāṭṭam (Puppet Show), Nizhalāṭṭam (Shadow Play), Terukkuttu (Vīthi Nāṭakam or the Street Drama) are instances of folk plays wherein music plays a prominent part. In

Kummi, Kolāṭṭam, Pinnal Kolāṭṭam, Kaikoṭṭikali, gobbi, garba and Rāsa some of the finest specimens of folk music can be heard. Recitals of Ballads, Warsongs and performances of martial music come under concerts of secular music.

Concert Parties are of the mobile or stationary type. A Nāgaswaram Party performing before a Deity in a temple procession, a tēvāra bhajana gōṣṭhī following the deity on such an occasion, a military band performing while marching are instances of mobile concert parties. A party of musicians performing in a concert hall and a dance performance in a theatre are instances of concerts of stationary type. Bhajanas when performed in mandirs or temples on Ekādaśī and other sacred days furnish examples of stationary concert parties. Bhajana parties going along the streets singing sacred songs furnish examples of mobile concert parties. These are concerts which can be given in open air and concerts for which a hall with good acoustics is required. The Saṅgīta Mahal in Tanjore is an ideal concert hall. When one performs there, he is reminded of the pleasant acoustics of the famous concert hall Gewandhaus in Leipzig in Germany. There are open air theatres in Ginjee and other places in South India.

The Nāṭakam or Drama, Nṛtya Nāṭaka or Dance Drama and Gēyanāṭaka or opera are popular in all civilised countries. In the nāṭaka, the interest is principally in speech and action. In the Geyanāṭaka the interest is in speech, action and music. In the Nṛtya Nāṭaka the interest is in speech, action, music and dance. Music is an integral part of the Geyanāṭaka just as dancing is that of the Nṛtya Nāṭaka.

Nāṭakas and Nṛtya Nāṭakas have been in existence from ancient times. They were staged either in properly constructed theatres or in threates improvised for the purpose. In a drama, the presence of music is just incidental. On account of its literary value, a Nāṭaka is also read and enjoyed. Recitals of Nāṭakas are also given. In the Gēyanāṭaka, the music forms a vital part of the play. The fullest enjoyment comes only when we witness an opera properly enacted and with proper musical accompaniments. On account of their musical and literary value sometimes even recitals of Gēyanāṭakas are given. Not infrequently a Bhāgavatar takes up an opera and gives it as a musical discourse. His problem is simplified since the required songs and verses are there ready for him. In the history of Indian Music, Gēyanāṭakas come after the Nṛtya Nāṭakas, though strange it may seem. Gēyanāṭaka as an art form can emerge only when the art of music has been developed to a high degree of perfection. The art of dancing loomed large in ancient times. The terms Saṅgīta in early times connoted Gīta, Vādya and Nṛtya. It is only in later times, that

with the development of Music we fined the art of dance treated separately and Saṅgīta taken to mean Gīta and Vādya. Almost all the standard works written on music till the beginning of the 14th century had chapters on dance. The later works written on Saṅgīta dealt with music alone and not with dance.

The nucleus of Gēyanāṭaka is seen in the Gīta Govinda of Jayadeva. The Aṣṭapadī hymns of Jayadeva constitute ideal dance lakṣyas. Even now aṣṭapadis form the stock repertoire of prominent dancers. Works on the model of *Gīta Govinda* like the *Śivāṣṭapadī* of Sri Chandrasekharendra Saraswatī and the *Rāmāṣṭapadī* of Rāmakavi were written in later times.

The first work approximating to a Gēyanāṭaka to be written in Sanskrit is the *Kṛṣṇa Līlā Taraṅgiṇī* of Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha (17th Century). In this work, the songs intended for being danced to are few. Such songs have invariably sequences of jātis or rhythmical Mnemonics. The works of the later composer, Meraṭṭūr Venkaṭarāma Śāstri (18th and early 19th Century) are all dance dramas. The great composer Tyāgarāja (1767—1847) attended these dance dramas staged in Meraṭṭūr and later developed the pure Gēyanāṭaka. The Gēyanāṭaka reached perfection in his *Prahlāda Bhakti Vijayam* and *Nowkā Charitram*. The former in an opera in five acts and the latter an opera in one Act. The ślokas, padyas, Cūrṇikā and the darus (Varnana daru, Svagata daru and Samvāda daru) figuring in these two operas make them highly enjoyable.

The *Nandanār Charitram* of Gōpāla Kṛṣṇa Bhāratī is a typical opera in Tamil. Works like the *Rāmanāṭakam* of Aruṇāchala Kavirāyar (1711-1776) and *Bhārata Nāṭakam* of Muthurāmakkavirāyar may be produced as operas.

The Gēyanāṭaka is an indivisible music drama. Shorn of its music, the play will lose much of its charm. There is no prose. Beautiful songs and verses abound in them. Every character sings and acts his or her part. As the creation of rasa is important, only rakti ragas capable of producing emotional effects are used in Gēyanāṭakas. The tālas used in them are of the simpler variety. Rare rāgas, complicated tālas and difficult saṅgatis have no place in Gēyanāṭakas. The pātra pravēśa darus of Bhāgavata mēla nātakas are absent in Gēyanāṭakas.

Whereas in Gēyanāṭakas, classical music of a vivid character with an occassional sprinkling of folk tunes is used, in Yakṣagānas Kuravanji Nāṭakas and Terukkūttu, folk tunes predominate. The sāhityas of songs in Gēyanāṭakas are simple and straight. Their meanings are readily understood. The choral accompaniment is a

necessity in nṛtya nātakas but not in Gēyanāṭakas. A properly constituted orchestra, capable of producing tone-colour effects can provide an excellent accompaniment. Mukha gītas (overtures) can usefully be composed for Gēyanāṭakas. To write a good Gēyanāṭaka one has to be a poet, composer, dramatist, student of psychology and human nature, possess gifts at melody—making, have capacity for effective characterisation and conceiving musical dialogues and soliloquies and finally possess the sense to perceive how the whole thing will shine when produced on the stage. This accounts for the paucity of Gēyanāṭakas.

(46) AIDUKA

by

DR. PRIYABALA SHAH

The word Aiḍūka is explained in Amarakośa as कुड्यं……एडूकं यदन्तर्न्यस्त-कीकसम् (2-2-4) that which has bones in its interior. Monier Williams Sanskrit—English Dictionary equates Aiḍūka with Buddhaiḍūka and compares it to a Buddhist Stūpa. The late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal also in his "History of India (150 A. D. to 350 A. D.)", while discussing the passages from Mahābārata (Vanaparva Ad. 190) mentioning Aiḍūka takes it to mean a Buddhist Stūpa.

This identification, however, cannot be accepted in the light of the description of Aiḍūka given in Viṣṇudharmottara (Khaṇḍa III, Ad. 84). This Purāṇa (circa 500-700 A. D.) after describing different deities as various aspects of Vaiṣṇavī Trimūrti in the preceding adhyāyas, devotes a whole adhyāya to its description. This description, which I shall discuss later on, leaves no doubt that Aiḍūka was a Brahmanical structure of worship. It would, therefore, be interesting to find out the origin or proto-type of Aiḍūka in Vedic literature.

The explanation of the mistaken identification of Aiḍūka with a Buddhist Stūpa must be sought in the probable similarity of their shape. The origin of stūpas is traced to the tumuli or sepulchres raised over the dead and containing the relics of the dead. (History of Indian and Indonesian art by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, p. 30).

As I mentioned in the beginning, according to Amarakośa, Aiḍūka means a Kuḍya which has bones in its interior. This goes to prove that Aiḍūka and stūpa had similar purpose. We should, therefore, try to find out whether there is anything resembling tumuli or sepulchres in Vedic literature.

In Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, we find discussions about various things pertaining to Śmaśāna or burial mounds. As this is a matter bearing on our subject I quote below relevant passages from that work pertaining to the disposal of the dead.

अथास्मै कल्याणं कुर्वन्ति । अथास्मै श्मशानं कुर्वन्ति । गृहान्वा प्रज्ञानं वा…।

चतुः स्रक्ति । देवाश्चासुराश्चोभये प्राजापत्या दिक्ष्वस्पर्धन्त । ते देवा असुरान्त्सपत्नान्भ्रातृव्यान्दिग्भ्योऽनुदन्त तेऽदिकाः पराभवंस्तस्माद्या दैव्यः प्रजाश्चतुःस्रक्तीनि ताः श्मशानानि कुर्वतेऽथ या असुर्यः प्राच्यास्त्वद्ये त्वत्परिमण्डलानि तेऽनुदन्त ह्येनान्दिग्भ्यः - - - - - ।

अन्तर्धायो हैके निवपन्ति । देवाश्चासुराश्चोभये प्राजापत्या अस्मिँल्लोकेऽस्पर्धन्त । ते देवा असुरान्त्सपत्नान्भ्रातृव्यानस्मा-ल्लोकादनुदन्त तस्माद्या दैव्यः प्रजा अनन्तर्हितानि ताः श्मशानानि कुर्वतेऽथ या आसुर्यः प्राच्यास्त्वद्ये त्वदन्तर्हितानि ते चम्वां त्वद्यस्त्वित्॥

Julius Eggling translates the above passages as follows—

'They now do what is auspicious for him. They now prepare a burial place (Śmaśāna) for him to serve him either as a house or a monument' (K. XIII Ad. 8. B. I. Vol. 44. Page 421.)

'Four-cornered (is the sepulchral mound). Now the gods and the Asuras, both of them sprung from Prajāpati, were contending in the (four) regions (quarters). The gods drove out the Asuras, their rivals and enemies, from the regions, and, being regionless, they were overcome wherefore the people who are godly make their burial places four-cornerd, whilst those who are of the Asura nature, the Easterns and others (make them) round, for they (the gods) drove them out from the regions' (S. B. E. Vol. 44, p. 424).

Now some bank up (the sepulchral mound) after covering up (the site). The gods and the Asuras, both of them sprung from Prajāpati, were contending for (the possession of) this (terrestrial) world. The gods drove out the Asuras, their rivals and enemies, from this world, whence those who are godly people make their sepulchres, so as not to be separate (from the earth), whilst those (people) who are of the Asura nature, the Easterns and others, make their sepulchral mounds) so as to be separated (from the earth), either on a basin or on some such thing'........(S. B. E. Vol. 44, Page 429).

(The translator takes the word 'Camū' to be a shallow stone basin or trough, either solid or consisting of masonry (bricks) in the manner of stone-lined graves).

From the above passages of Šatapatha Brāhmaṇa the following three points may be noted :—

(1) There were two types of Šmašānas, one used by Daivyaḥ Prajāḥ and the other by Āsuryaḥ Prāchyāḥ Prajāḥ.

(2) The Śamśāna or the tumulus of the Daivyaḥ Prajāḥ was four-cornered (चतुःस्रक्ति) while that of Āsuryaḥ Prācyāḥ etc. round (परिमण्डल).

(3) The remains in the Daivyaḥ Prajāḥ type were placed directly on the earth (अनन्तर्हितानि) while those in the Āsurya type in a basin or a Camū (अन्तर्हितानि ते चम्वां)

These points clearly show that the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa recognises two types or varieties of burial mounds-one of the Daivya people and the other of the Āsurya people, easterners etc.

Now the question arises who were the Daivyaḥ Prajāḥ and who were the Āsuryaḥ Prācyaḥ etc. The Daivyaḥ Prajāḥ can be easily identified with the followers of the Vedic cult. But who were the Āsuryaḥ Prācyaḥ etc? Eggling takes Prācyaḥ as distinct from Āsuryaḥ but we can take Prācyaḥ as qualifying Āsuryaḥ also, and can say that they were the followers of non-vedic cults prevalent in the Eastern parts of India. Now it is well known to scholars that there were many such non-vedic sects in Magadha and other eastern parts of India before the time of Buddha and Mahāvīra. In fact they were the forerunners of the later śramaṇa sects, such as Jains, Buddhists, Ājīvikas etc. As Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar says in his work, 'Some aspects of Ancient Indian culture', 'the Śramaṇas were an unbrahmanised non-vedic sect of recluses. It also appears that the people of East India upto the 3rd cent. A. D. had a socio-religious fabric of their own.' (Page 53).

If this identification is correct, we can say that the Śmaśāna or tumulus of Āsuryaḥ, Prācyaḥ etc. was one which was used by the eastern people following non-vedic cults. In fact, we can say that the Śmaśāna of Āsuryaḥ, Prācyaḥ people was one from which the stūpa of Śramaṇas might have developed. This is proved by two details of its description given in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa *viz.* that it was round in shape and the remains in it were placed in a Camū or a basin. The similarity of this type with stūpa is obvious.

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa describes the Daiva variety as four-cornered. Viṣṇudharmottara gives as the basis of Aidūka a Bhadrapīṭha which is also four-cornered. Thus the basic identity of this form with Daiva Śmaśāna is quite clear.

I must, however, confess that I have not suceeded in finding any mention of the word Aidūka in either the vedic Mantras or the Brāhmaṇas. But the philological origin of the word Aidūka would

connect it with the Vedic root ईड् to praise or worship. Aiḍūka can be grammatically explained as ईड् स्तुतौ उलूकादयश्च (१।४।४१) इति साधु। एडूकस्य इदम् इति ऐडूकम्।

I may here mention that the word स्तूप also is derived from a root meaning to praise viz. स्तु. Another interesting point in connection with Aiḍūka and Stūpa is that both Amara and Hemacandra do not give the word Stūpa in their Kośas, while both give identical definitions of Aiḍūka. Dr. V. S. Agrawala, however, regards Aiḍūka as 'an old Prākṛta word for terrace derived from Elūka or Eḍūka meaning 'raised terrace'. In the text of Rāy Paseṇīya Sutta edited with the commentary of Malayagiri, by Pt. Behardas the reading in the text of R. P. is एलुयु while in the commentary of M. is एडुक

It is explained by the commentator as Dehalī—'the threshold of a door or a raised terrace in front of it according to M. Williams. Aiḍūka and Elūya can, no doubt, phonologically be connected but the meaning of Eluya or Eḍuga is not identical with that of Eḍuka as given by Amara and Hemachandra. A word which has a connotation similar to that of Aiḍūka mentioned in R. P. is गोलयसमुज्जय meaning a round casket. The casket contained the thigh-bone of a jina as relic जिणसकहा. It is said in the same text that this समुद्ग is an object of worship for Suryābha god, and other gods and goddesses (R. P. pp. 224-25). So Eluya of R. P., to its author's mind at least, is not the same word as Eḍuka of Amara and Hemacandra. If the Eluya of R. P. were the Prākṛt form of Aiḍūka meaning a receptacle containing a bone-relic, Hemcandra at least should have given the meaning of Dehalī in his Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi or Anekārtha kośa. So I think that in spite of phonological similarity, we should, for the present, regard the Prākṛt Eluya and Sanskrit Aiḍūka as two different words or merely homonyms.

So if we can ignore the absence of reference to the word Aiḍūka in early Vedic literature, we may say that Aiḍūka refers to the tumulus of the followers of the Brāhmanical cult, just as stūpa refers to that of Śramaṇa sects. The word must have come into vogue when these Śmaśāna structures must have become also places of worship.

The Śmaśāna provides another link also. The description in Viṣṇudharmottara which starts with a Liṅga in the centre of its Bhadrapīṭha, as we shall see presently, clearly shows that though the Aiḍūka which finds place for all the principal gods and cosmic elements, is in form basically a liṅga, a symbol of Śiva. The association of śiva with śmaśāna is well known (पितृसद्मगोचरः Kumāra Sambhava Sarga

5 ślo. 77). This association might have been responsible for the use of the word Aiḍūka for a structure sacred to Śiva and as the concept of Śiva developed into a god signifying the whole cosmos and harmonizing all dualities or contradictions, so his symbol liṅga was sublimated from being an image of a phallus into a symbol of the whole cosmos.

Now let us consider the description of Aiḍūka as given in Viṣṇudharmottara (Khaṇḍa 3 Ad. 84). The first thing, that is mentioned, is its Bhadrapīṭha. It (*i. e.* Bhadrapīṭha) is furnished with four beautiful stairs corresponding to the four directions. This bhadrapīṭha is surmounted by two other bhadrapīṭhas. On the third, a liṅga form should be placed. This liṅga should not be accompanied with the Rekhā. In its middle should be raised a four-sided immovable (Dhruva) staff. Above it there should be thirteen bhūmikās *i. e.* floors. On it (*i e.* the thirteenth Bhūmikā) there should be a rounded staff. This should be decorated by a medallion representing in its two halves, the sun and the moon.

The thirteen bhūmikās with the āmalasāraka represent the fourteen worlds. The liṅga represents, of course, Maheśvara. The rounded staff represents Pitāmaha, while the four-sided staff represents the god Janārdana *i. e.* Viṣṇu. The three Bhadrapīṭhas represent the Guṇas probably referring to Sattva, Rajas and Tamas. The guṇas are to be known as the three worlds ' containing the movable and immovable objects (Trailokya-sacarācaram). Below the bhūmikās (floors) but above the liṅga, should be placed in the four directions the Lokapālas carrying śūlas in their hands. Their names are Virūḍha, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Virūpākṣa and Kubera. All of them should have the dress of the sun and should wear armours. They should be adorned with ornaments, Virūḍhaka represents Śakra, the lord of Devas; Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Yama—the leader of the worlds; Virūpākṣa Varuṇa—the lord of waters; and Kubera is the lord of the Yakṣas.

In the first verse of this adhyāya, it is stated that by the worship of Aiḍūka the whole world is considered as worshipped. This probably signifies that Aiḍūka represents some sort of cosmic form embracing all things. This interpretation is supported by the fact that Aiḍūka finds place for all gods and the whole Triguṇātmaka world.]

The vedic origin of Aiḍūka which I have suggested above would justify its inclusion in V. D. because, if it were a Buddhist form, it could not have found a place in it. We, however, find the word Aiḍūka used in the Buddhist Mahāvastu to indicate a Buddhist stūpa. As it happens in the case of other words like Caitya etc. this word and Aiḍūka also must have been used in course of time, in a general sense, as a synonym of stūpa.

It would be appropriate to consider at this point the verses from the Vanaparva (Ad. 90) of the Mahābhārata. They are as follows—

एडूकान् पूजयिष्यन्ति वर्जयिष्यन्ति देवताः ।
शूद्राश्च प्रभविष्यन्ति न द्विजाः युगसंक्षये ॥ ६५
आश्रमेषु महर्षीणां ब्राह्मणावसथेषु च ।
देवस्थानेषु चैत्येषु नागानामालयेषु च ॥ ६६
एडूकचिह्ना पृथिवी न देवगृहभूषिता ॥ ६७

Three points emerge out of these ślokas—

(1) Aiḍūkas and Devatas are contrasted,

(2) Aiḍūkas were more numerous then Devagṛhas or temples,

(3) Aversion is shown to the Aiḍūkas.

Let us take the third point first—

As I said in the beginning, the late Dr. Jayaswala takes these Aiḍūkas to mean Buddhist stūpas. He regards these verses of the M. Bh. as describing religious conditions of India in the Kuṣāṇa age, in which according to him there must have been numerous Buddhist stūpas indicating prevalence of Buddhism and decline of Brahmanism. In fact these verses are supposed to lament this state of affairs.

The first thing to be said against this interpretation is that there is nothing in the verses themselves or their context to suggest a Buddhist or even non-brahmanical reference. Secondly, we might ask what is the evidence to suggest that these verses of the M. Bh. apply to the Kuṣāṇa age? and thirdly assuming that these verses refer to the Kuṣāṇa age, we might say that there is no reason to believe that Brahmanism in its Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava aspects was in decline in that age and that the Buddhist cult had become so powerful as to throw into background the temples of Brahmanical deities by its more numerous stūpas. If anything, there was a revival of vedic cult in the preceding Sunga period and there is evidence to assume that Śaiva-worship and Viṣṇu-worship were as prevalent as Buddha-worship, if not more.

So, in my humble opinion, the aversion to Aiḍūkas must not be explained by interpreting Aiḍūkas as Buddhist stūpas. We might find some reasons for this aversion in their association with inauspicious

śmaśāna,—and in their uncouth shape which would suggest a magnified liṅga or remind one of a Śmaśāna-mound.

There is also another noteworthy point in the description given in V. D. The description of Lokapālas as wearing armours and dresses of northern style and as carrying śūlas would imply that the Aiḍūkas probably were more or less influenced by foreign uncouth styles. It is well-known to scholars that the Indian rulers belonging to foreign tribes followed not any particular cult of India but according to their inclinations worshipped Śiva, Viṣṇu or the Buddha and built temples and stūpas in the styles which appealed to them. So the foreign Śiva worshippers might have built Saiva Aiḍūkas in their own styles. This would explain the disparagement of Aiḍūkas in the M. Bh. It may be that when these verses of Vanaparva were composed this strange aspect of Aiḍūka was repugnant to the orthodox followers of Brahmanical cult and that they were alarmed at the rapid spread of the practice of building Aiḍūkas to the detriment of artistic and auspicious Devagṛhas. But in course of time this aversion might have disappeared and the strange foreign features might have been assimilated or Brahmanized, so much so that by the time of the Gupta age they must have become so important a Brahmanical cult as to deserve a whole adhyāya in V. D. The epithet prajāhitākhya applied to Aiḍūka by V. D. is significant. It means 'having the name of Prajāhita' 'good of the people.' This might suggest that there might have been other varieties of Aiḍūkas and that Prajāhita Aiḍūka was the approved type.

Thus the verses of Vanaparva and the 84th ad. of the 3rd Khaṇḍa of V. D. give us a glimpse in the process of assimilation of religious elements which are in the earlier stages regarded as inauspicious or strange but which somehow become popular and get a place in the Brahmanical cult. It is one more illustration of the assimilative nature of Hindu culture.

Now let us take the first two points *viz.* the Aiḍūkas and Devatās and Aiḍūkas and Devagṛhas. These two points can be treated together. They raise the issue whether the Aiḍūkas were images or temples. In modern terminology whether they are sculptural or architectural? The verses of Vanaparva imply that they were something of both, image and temple. The V. D. gives its description in the last part of Pratimālakṣaṇa, which is followed by Prāsādalakṣaṇa, as if to suggest that Aiḍūka is something of Pratimā and something of Prāsāda.

Now if our theory about the origin of Aiḍūka *viz.* Vedic Śmaśāna or tumulus, is right, we can say that it was primarily an architectural form containing a relic, but as the thing to be worshipped was hidden in the mound, it was the mound which got worship; the mound in the course of time, symbolizing and representing the interred object of worship. But the tendency of Indian religious art has always been to

decorate the plain surfaces of its architecture and this must have worked in the case of earlier plain Aiḍūka mounds or tumuli. We see from the description of V. D. that images and symbols of all sorts of gods find place on Prajāhita Aiḍūka. But its primary form seems to be a square with a flag-staff in the middle and an āmalasāraka and a disc at the top.

The fact that the first thing to be placed on the Bhadrapīṭha is Liṅga, suggests that Aiḍūka must have first passed from its original tumulus stage to the stage of being associated with Śiva. I am almost tempted to suggest that the worship of Śiva in the form of Liṅga has something to do with Aiḍuka, and though the phallus theory is generally accepted, I would venture to suggest that the word Linga should be interpreted as a Cinha (एडूकचिह्न) and that Aiḍūka with or without Liṅga was the Cinha of the god of Śmaśāna.

According to Dr. V. S. Agrawal 'an actual specimen of eḍūka monument having three terraces and Śiva liṅga at its top has been unearthed at Ahichchatrā in Bareli district during the recent excavations of the department of Archaeology.

(47) "A Study of Textiles and Garments as Depicted in the *Kharoshṭhī* Documents from Chinese Turkestan."

by

Sri Ratna Chandra Agrawala, M.A, Banaras.

The discovery of *Kharoshṭhī* documents by Sir A. Stein at Central Asian sites (Niya, Endere and Loulan) some fifty years ago ushered a new era in the history of the region. These documents[1], mainly written in *Prākṛt* of N. W. F. Provinces, are a store house of information regarding the political, social, administrative, economic and religious conditions of Chinese Turkestan in the first three centuries after the death of Christ. "It seems strange that ruins far away in the barbarian north, overrun by what Hindu legend vaguely knew as the 'mythical ocean of sand' should have preserved for us records of everyday life older than any written document (as distinguished from inscriptions) that have as yet come to light in India itself[2]."

The documents at our disposal are mainly of a secular nature, dealing mostly with disputes and decisions concerning lands and property, complaints to the king by ordinary people, deeds of purchase and sale, collection of royal taxes, agreements between private individuals, presents, sending of royal envoys and messengers, instructions from the king to the state officers and some occasional references to the Buddhist monks and the saṅgha. The whole record is available to us in the shape of small wooden tablets, some leather fragments, silk pieces and a few paper manuscripts too.

I. *Materials of Textile goods.*

(i) *Wool* i. e. *uṃna* (or *oṃna*, doc. 318) or *urna* doc. 345) = skt. *ūrṇā*, Iranian *varna* or *varnava*, Avestan *varənā* [Bailey, BSOS, *XI*, p. 793].

(ii) *Hemp* i. e. *shamna* (doc. 318) = N. Pers. *san* (Burrow, BSOS, *VII*, p. 787), skt. *śaṇa*, Hindī *sana* [cf. *sāṇiya* in *L A I*,

1. Numbering 782 in all. Of these 764 were published in three volumes. [See abbreviation 7] of *KI*, and 18 in BSOS, IX, p 111-25.

2. A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, (1907), Oxford, p. 369.

p. 128; *śāṇī* and *śāṇa* in *A Skt-English Dictionary*, 1899, Oxford, p. 1063 by Monier Williams].

(iii) *silk*. The documents refer to different varieties and colours of silk as:—

(a) *Paṭa*. Interpreting the word *paṭa* as a "roll of silk" [*Trans; Language*, p. 102], Burrow refers to similar views of Dr. Lüders [Textilien in Alter Turkestan, APAW, 1936, p. 24 ff]. But, Prof. F. W. Thomas (BSOS, XI, p. 546-7) interprets the same as "perhaps a muslin cloth" (cf. Act. Or. *XII*, p. 62 note 5), similar to Tibetan *kha-btags*. The Nānāghāt cave Inscription of Nāganikā too refers to 300 *paṭas* [Sircar D. C, *Select Inscriptions* I, 1942, Calcutta, p. 188]. A first century A. D. silk strip from Tunhuang with a *Brāhmī* inscription on it records a *paṭa* forty *gishṭi*[3] in length [Stein. A, *Serindia*, 1921, Oxford, p. 701-4]. A *Kharoshṭhī* note on a silk piece found in the Lop Nor region and deciphered by Sten Konow [*Sino-Swedish Expedition reports*, vii, ; cited in BSOS, *XI*, p. 549] actually reads *paḍa*.

(b) *Yirka* or *śirka* of doc. No. 697, interpreted by Stein (as cited in *KI, III*, p. 308) as representing chinese word from which were derived greek σηρικον and our silk, is still quite obscure.

(c) *Prigha* (doc. No. 316, 318).

Dr. Lüders, *op. cit.*, p. 30 (as cited by Burrow in *Language*, p. 108 and by Dr. V. S. Agrawala in IHQ, 1951, *XXVII*, p. 15-7) identified *prigha* with skt. *pṛṅga* of Mahāvyutpatti (232. 26) and explained it as "flowered silk". Dr. W. B. Henning [*Transactions of the Philological Society*, London, 1945, p. 150-7 cited by Agrawala, *ibid*] thinks that *prigha* denotes "a monochrome damask or unicoloured figured silk". He also referred to variants in *Mahāvyutpatti* as *pṛṅga, pṛṅgu* and *pṛṅgā* [cf. *piṃga* of doc. 416, *piṃgha* of doc. 264; *piśaṅga piṅgaiḥ* of Bāṇa's *Harṣa Carita; pṛṅga* of the *Fan-Yuts'ien-tyu-wen* quoted by Agrawala, *op cit.*, p. 15; Paśto *prang*, syric. l. w. *prng*, BSOS, *XI*, p. 782]. Archaeological discoveries in China and Central Asia have brought to light silk damasks in numerous colours of Han age [cf. Andrews. F. H. *Descriptive Catalogue* of *Antiquities from Central Asia*, 1935, Delhi, p. 18, 20].

(iv) *Leather* ie. *chaṃa* [doc. No. 17, cf. O. Stein in BSOS, *VIII*, p. 778]=skt. *charma*. Also according to Thomas (Act. Or. *XII*, p. 46 note 3), *churorma* needs to be compared with skt. *charma* or wool.

3. Some measurement, cf. *aishṭasya paṭa gishṭi shapariśa*.

(v) *Cotton.* The documents do not refer to any word for cotton[4] or some such material though cotton rugs and carpets were found at Niya and Endere [see *Ancient Khotan*, p. 137, 374, 134; *Serindia*, p. 221, 379].

II. Size of Textile goods.

Both monks (doc. No. 489) and laymen were fined in shape of *paṭas*, the number of which ranged from 1 to 15 in case of the former and 30 in case of the latter (doc. No. 345, cf. 41 *paṭas* as price of a woman). Perhaps *paṭas* were of some standard length and fixed price. Our documents [published in *KI, I-II-III*] fail to refer to the size of the *Paṭas* but as stated in footnote 3 above, *shapariśa gishṭi* refers to 40 *gishṭi* as the length of a *paṭa*. F. W. Thomas (BSOS, *XI*, p. 547) equates *gishṭi* with *dishṭi* of our documents while A. Stein [*Serindia*, p. 702-3] takes it to mean 46 spans on the presumption that a silk roll, with a Chinese inscription of first century B. C. on it[5], records the width as 2′ 2″ (Chinese) and length as 40′ (Chinese) and that 46 *gishṭi* were identical[6] with 40 chinese feet. In fact the phrase should be taken as referring to 40 *dishṭi* [=*diṭhi* of doc. No. 589, 592; *tiṭhi* of doc. 415, 437—In *Pāṇini VI*. 2. 31 there is reference to *dishṭi* and *vitasti* together; also *dishṭi* in *Kauśika sūtra* and commentary on *Kātyāyana śrauta sūtra* as cited by Monier Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 480].

Like *paṭas* other textile goods as *kojavas, lastugas, rajis, urnavaramḍe, thavaṃne* or *thavaṃnae. namatas; kavaji* etc., were numbered with the exception of *arnāvajis, lastugas* (doc. 728), *kajahavaṃnaga* and *tavastagas* which were all measured in *hastas*[7] (ie. cubits; One *hasta*=18″).

III. Dyeing and Printing

The science and technique of dyeing and printing must have reached the zenith of eminence as is evident from a combination of colours as:—

(i) *White* ie. *śpeta* (No. 318) or *śpedaga* (*Language*, p. 21), or *śpeti* (No. 83) =skt, *śveta*; Av. *spaetita, spiti*; Mid. Pers. *sped* (BSOS, *VIII*, p. 900); *spytyy* of an unpublished Manichaen Sogdian document (Henning cited by Agrawala, op. *cit.*, p. 16).

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4. Of course skt. word *karpāsa* (=cotton) travelled into Uiger as *k' p' z* (Bailey, BSOS, *XI*, p. 779, also Bailey referring to another word *kapāysa*).

5. cf. BSOS, *XI*, p. 547 even for prices etc., of such rolls.

6. A conjecture indeed; cf. Iranian *distay* [*KI, III*, p. 350].

7. cf. *uṃnamae hasta 5* in doc. No. 318.

(ii) *Pamdura* (doc. 660) is skt. *pāṇḍura* [=white or yellow; cf. Bailey, BSOS, *XI*, p. 781; J. C. Ray in JBORS, *III*, pt *II*, p. 226], Khot. saka *ysiḍai* (BSOS, *VIII*, p. 141, cf. p. 136].

(iii) *Sānapru* (doc. No. 660) or *sanapru* "vermillion", cf. Old Pers. *sinkabrus* [Bailey, BSOS, *XI*, p. 782].

(iv) *Yellow* ie. *pita* or *peta* (doc. 318=skt. *Pīta*, cf. *Trans*, p. 59 note. *Kaṣara* (doc. 606) means the yellow robe of a Buddhist monk. It is identical with skt. *kaṣāya*, Toch. A. *kāshār* [*Language*, p. 82; BSOS, *XIII*, p 389); Agnean *kāshār*, Kuchean *kashāra*, sogdian *karaya* garment etc., as discussed by Bailey in BSOS, *XIII*, p. 130, 389].

(v) *Blue* ie. *nila* (doc. 318)=skt. *nīla*.

(vi) *Red* ie. *rataga* (doc. 318)=skt. *raktaka* [cf. Bailey, BSOS, *XI*, p. 782]. In connecting *rayaga* of doc. 660 with *rataga* we can well account that doc. No. 660 is a record of various varieties of *paṭas* as also opined by Bailey (*ibid*, p. 781).

(vii) *Red Blue* i. e. *nila rataga kigi* in doc. No. 318.

(viii) *Kremeru* (doc. 660).

Bailey (BSOS, *XI*, p. 782) compares the word with Zor. *krmyr*, Pāzand *xermera*, Arm. *karmir* Hebrew *karmīl*, Bud. Sog *karm'yr*, New Sogd. *kirmer* (=red), skt. *kirmīra*[8] and thus opines that it denotes particular colour as "crimson red".

(ix) *Palagavarna* (doc. 660). Varma is skt. *varṇa*, Av. *varənāh* [BSOS, *XI*, p. 782, cf. Tavadia. J.C., *Indo-Iranian Studies*, 1950, Viśvabhāratī, I, p. 72], in the sense of "colour" [cf. also *puṣpa varṇa* in doc. 510, *suvarṇa varṇa* in doc. 511, *khara varṇa* in doc. 318 etc.] *Palaga* has been interpreted to mean "variegated and compared with Mid Ir. *pal* of Zor. Pah., N. Pers. *palang* etc., (BSOS, *XI*, p. 782).

(x) *Ass colour* i. e. *khara varṇa* (doc. 318)='grey' colour.

(xi) *Printed and multicoloured* clothes were also in use as is evidenced by phrases as *chitraga lyokmana* (doc. 318), *chitrapaṭamae*

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8. A demon's name in *Mahābhārata*, *III*. 368 ff. as well; cf. Monier Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 284 also referring to this word in Bāṇa's *Harṣa Carita* in the sense of "variegated colour".

lastuga (doc. 566). In Sanskrit we have *citraka*=painter and *citraga*=represented in picture (Monier Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 227; cf. *Citravastra, citranta* of Indian literature as referred to in JBORS, III, pt. II, p. 227, *vichitra paṭolaka* of *Lalitavistara, PBVB*, p. 95, modern Indian *Chīnṭa*=छींट].

IV. Art of Weaving and Embroidery

The *Kharoshṭī* documents also refer to embroidered garments[9] cf. *sujinkirta vidapa* and similar *lyokmana* of doc. No. 318. The form *sujinakirta* was compared with Arabic *sūsanjird*, N. Pers *sozankard* by Luders (cited in *Language*, p. 131; BSOS, *XI*, p. 535-6) while F. W. Thomas (BSOS, *XI*, p. 535-6) disagrees with Lüders and traces its derivation from skt. words. He refers to *sūcikarman, sūcyāśrayaṃ karma* of *Bṛhat saṃhitā* and Aśvaghoṣa's *Vajrasūci* for the use of *sūci* (=needle).

V. Carpets[10] and Blankets

(i) *Tāvastaga* (doc. 583), *tavastaga* and *thavastae* (doc. 714) meaning "carpet" have all been taken as Iranian words derived from *tāften* [*KI, III*, p. 348; cf. Arm. l. w. *tapast* and *tapastak*=mat; N. Pers. *tabastah*=fringed carpet as referred to by Burrow in *Language*, p. 94 and BSOS, *VII*, p. 512]. Bailey (BSOS, *XI*, p. 793) thinks that *thavastae*="carpet cloth". The documents refer to various sizes of carpets in cubits as 4, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13.

(ii) *Lastuga*, an object nothing very costly (*lahu mansigara matra* in doc. 184) was frequently sent as present. It was also a printed one (*Chitrapaṭamae*) in doc. No. 566. Burrow (BSOS, *VII*, p. 786) connects it with N. Pers. *dastār* (=towel, handkerchief) while D. C. Sircar with skt. *lastuka* (=string, a fillet, a child's top as cited in *Select Inscriptions*, p. 243, p. 243 note 2). But from doc. No. 728, *lastuga*, [as suggested in *KI, III*, p. 366] is stated to have been 7 cubits in length. Hence any identification with a napkin or handkerchief does not seem to be plausible. It was perhaps some shawl or some such object [Act. or. *XII*, p. 66 note 11].

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9. For the discovery of textile pieces woven in "warp rib", chain stitch" "satin twill patterns etc., see Andrews. F. H., *op. cit.*, p. 19, 20; Burlington Magazine, London, July September, 1920, p. 6 ff; *Serindia*, p. 897 ff.

10. For Central Asian carpet industry in ancient days, consult *Ancient Khotan*, p. 134; Mcgovern. W. M, *Early Empires of Central Asia*, 1939, Chapelhill, p. 53; Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

(iii) *Kajahavaṃnaga* (doc. 583) was some table cloth or small carpet, 2 cubits in length. In the existing document it is associated with a carpet 4 cubits long [cf. *Language*, p. 81 about Luder's interpretation].

(iv) *Kojava*[11], *kośava* (also *kuśava* in doc. 345, *Trans*, p. 66 note, *Language*, p. 1) need to be compared with Pālī *kojava*=rug, cover with fleecy hair [cited in Rhys Davids's *Pali Dictionary*, p. 55 s. v. *ka*] or *koyava* of Jain literature (*L. A. I*, p. 129, p. 129 note 78). Doc. No. 432 refers to while *kojava*. These objects were counted in numbers. Khotanese rugs [cf. *khotaṃni kojava* in doc. 583, *khotani kojava* in doc. 592, *khotaṃni kojava-alena*[12] in doc. 549] were objects of fancy in Chinese Turkestan. *Kañcapaka*, a variety of kambala in *Arthaśāstra* (II. 11. 100, cited in *Language*, p. 80) which was identified by Burrow (*Language*, p. 80) with *kojava*, was perhaps a name given to rugs made in Kucha country.

(v) *Akishḍha* (doc. 207) or *agishḍha* (doc. 431-2) or *agishṭa* (652) or *agishga* (doc. 152), closely associated with *kojavas*, were perhaps blankets or rugs [cf. *Trans*, p. 28, note of doc. 154] p. 135, note of doc. 652; *KI*, III, p. 329]. *Avalika* (doc. 575) and *avale* (doc. 431-2) too seem to have been of a somewhat similar nature [cf. skt. *ava*$\sqrt{}$*lī*=to hide oneself in; *Language*, p. 78].

(vi) The Indian word *kambala* (=rug) being quite conspicuous by its absence in our documents, Bailey (BSOS, XI, p. 793) thinks that *arnavaji* (doc. 59, 83, 113, 385, 433, 714) represented "the kambala cloth (?)". Doc. No. 83 refers to a white *arnavaji*. These objects were usually counted in numbers and it is only in a solitary record (No. 83) that reference is made to such an object 8 cubits long.

(vii) *Raji* (doc. 655, 714) was perhaps somewhat approaching *razāī* (=quilt). *Amilā* [cf. *raji amila* in doc. 655] in Jaina literature [*PBVB*, p. 149-50] was "made of fleecy hair" and its use was prohibited for a Jain monk [*L A I*, p. 129]. Also Dr. Jain [*L A I*, p. 129 note 75] refers to *śilāṅka* according to whom *amila*=camel. Since in doc. 655, the award of two *raji amila* was made, along with a camel, the fornier was perhaps prepared from camel's skin [cf. *ushṭra kambalas* quoted in *PBVB*, p. 97; covers made of camel's and lion's skin, *PBVB*, p. 153].

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11. cf. Thomas, Act. Or. XII, p. 54; O. Stein, BSOS, VIII, p. 778; Bailey, BSOS, XI, p. 793 interprets *kośava* as 'Woollen cover'. Phrases *ko* (*rārya*) *kośava 1* (doc. 728) and *kuśava aadha* (doc. 345) are quite obscure.

12. Burrow [*Language*, p. 77] feels that *alena* is "an epithet of rug or blanket=*ālayana* i. e. rug for lying down in?".

(viii) *Namata*[13], *namati*, *namataga*. *namatae*, *namaṃtae*, *namadaga* meaning "felt" need to be campared with N. Pers. *namad*, Pahl. *namat*, Pālī *namataka*, Anglo Indian *numdah*, Tibetan *snam-mdah* etc. Felt making was a prosperous and flourishing industry of Central Asia even as early as the times of the Scythians and the Sarmatians [cf. Mc-govern, *op. cit.*, p. 52-3; *Ancient Khotan*, p. 134, 410; Andrews, *op. cit.*, 19-20].

VI. Cloth in general

Reference to *paṭa*, *shaṃna paṭa* and *oṃna hasta* has already been made above. *Tavanaga*, *thavaṃnae*, *thavaṃnaga*, (cf. *thavanagamae*, *thavaṃnamae*, all refer to 'cloth in general' perhaps, cf. saka *thauna*[14] =cloth. Burrow (*Language*, p. 94) feels that *thavaṃnaga* is derived from the Persian base *tāftan* and *tābam*. Since in doc. 207, 149, 141, they are all counted in numbers as 3, 4, 6, 15, it appears that they were perhaps of some standard size and dimension. Documents refer to the use of wool for these objects (No. 149, 318). *Kaṭa-thavvṃne* (doc. 149) was perhaps some cloth woven in the design of a mat (cf. Skt. *kaṭa*=mat, Monier Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 243). In case we associate it with *kaṭi*, the phrase will denote a cloth for tying round the waist [cf. *kaṭa sāṭaka* of the jātaka literature].

Astarana vastarana (doc. 439, 187) or *astaraṃna vastaraṃna* (doc. 431)="clothing and bedding" [for details see Thomas, BSOS, XI, p. 536. Also *pravarana vastarna* in doc. 565 compared by Thomas with *prāvaraṇa āstaraṇa* of Kauṭalya's *Arthaśāstra*].

VII. Garments

(i) *Prahuni* (doc. 318), read as *prahoni* by Burrow (*Trans* p. 59 note), was perhaps some term for a stitched garment. Our document refers to some such as *petavaṃnidaga kuvana prahuni*, *kharavarna prahuni* and *kremeru paliyarnaga prahuni*. Burrow (BSOS, VII, p. 514) derives *prahoni* from saka *prahona*—garment (Khotanese *prahoṇa* in BSOS, XI, p. 535, 786; BSOS, XIII, p. 121, 391; Act or XIV, p. 232; BSOS, VIII, p. 128).

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13. *Language*, p. 30, 78, 100; *Ancient Khotan*, p. 367; *KI*, III, p. 352; JRAS, 1934, p. 475.

14. cf. *Language*, p. 96-7; BSOS, VII, p. 512; BSOS, XI, p. 535; Act or. XIV, p. 232; *Trans*, p. 105; BSOS, VIII, p. 917, note 1 of p. 916; *Trans*, p. 27.

As regards *kuvana*[15] *prahuni*, Burrow [*Language* p. 84] seeks comparison with saka *kuhaṃthau*(=*chailapaṭṭa*).

(ii) *Chataga* (doc. 505) is taken as identical with *chhādaka* and *chadaka* [*Language*, p. 90] meaning "clothing". It is certainly an object for being used as a garment for in the document it "stands in opposition" to a particular article of dress (cf. BSOS, VII, p. 783] i. e a *kavaśi* is designated as *chhataga*[16].

(iii) *Head dress. Veḍa* [cf. *China veḍa*, doc. 353]=skt. *veshṭa*, Pālī *veṭhana* or *veṭha* [*K I*, III, p. 344]=turban.

(iv) *Robes and cloaks*:—

(a) *Choḍaga* (doc. 19, 506, 722; *choṭaga* in 316). They were prepared (doc. 722) and demanded by ladies in exchange for some textile goods (doc. 316). We do not know whether ladies used them or not [cf. *choḍa* or *chola* in skt.=jacket, bodice; *choḍaka* or *cholaka*= jacket, Monier Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 402]. According to Burrow (*Trans.* p. 144 note of doc. 722), *choṭagá*="coat". They were also given to slaves and servants along with meals and wages [चोडग पचेवर परिक्रय ददवो in doc. 19; भतचोडग in doc. 506]. Central Asian people used to wear long cloaks [cf. *cinacolaka* of *Harṣa charita*, *PBVB*, p. 161; *K I*, III, p. 345].

(b) *China chimara* (doc. No. 149) indicates chinese robes (*Trans.*, p. 27; cf. *cīvara*, the dress of a Buddhist monk as cited BSOS, VIII, p. 427; *Language*, p. 21; BSOS, VIII, p. 608). It is not certain whether *chimara* has any connection with skt. *cimi*="a plant from the fibres of which cloth is made" (Moiner Williams, op. *cit.*, p. 398).

(c) *Kasara* i. e., Yellow robe of a Buddhist monk (doc. 606).

(d) *Kavaśi* (doc. 505; cf. *kavaji*, doc. 581, 432) has been identified with skt. *kavacikā* [*Language*, p. 82; BSOS VII, p. 783; Baliey in BSOS, XI, p. 795; cf. skt. *kavaca* or *kavasa*='armour[17], Coat of mail' in Monier Williams op. *cit.*, p. 345].

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15. It is interesting to note that in doc. Nos. 272, 292, 236, 435, *kuvaña* is used as an epithet of corn too.

16. *Chotaga* of doc. 161 seems to have no connection with this *chhataga*. The former was perhaps the same as *choṭagā* or *choḍaga* (=robe).

17. For the discovery of some *Kharoshṭhī*-records wrapped up in ancient armour textiles from Loulan, see *Serindia*, p. 379.

(e) *Pothi Ekavara* (doc. No. 534). O. stein (BSOS, VIII, p. 778) interpreted the phrase as "garments made of one piece of cloth" and that *poṭa* according to *Halāyudha Abhidh.*, II, 393 meant "cloth" while *varaka*=cloak, stuff etc., (BSOS, VIII, p. 778, note 8). Burrow (*Trans.*, p. 106) puts forth its meaning as "*pothi*, on one occasion" [i. e. पोथि एक वर].

(f) *Puchhama* (doc. No. 534), in O. Stein's opinion (BSOS, VIII, p. 777) "would correspond to skt. *pukṣama* (पुक्षम) which seems to be unknown. In modern Eastern Turkestan, *bodyuma*=knot, bundle as referred to byRadloff. Perhaps connected with that is *potsh* (*pochhu*)= long night-gown like garment worn by Kashmīrīs, when made of cotton cloth is called *potsh*".

(g)*Chāṃri* (doc. 714; *chaṃdri*, doc. 272). In Bailey's opinion (BSOS, XI, p. 793), the phrase="chādar cloth," well compared with Iran. *chādar*, N. Pers. *chādar* (=cloth). Associated with *kamaṃta* (=trouser, as will be discussed later) it may refer to some upper garment as opposed to lower one. It does not seem to be plausible to agree with Burrow (*Language*, p. 89) who suggests to connect with skt. *cāndrakam* (=ginger).

(h) *Karchi* (doc. 357 i. e. *6 karchi kamuta*). It is very interesting to compare it with Av. *kərəti*, Asi. *kaerch* (=furcoat). Thus the phrase means "trousers made of *karchi* material" [Bailey, BSOS, XI, p. 794] but it is more appealing to take it as denoting both upper and lower garment together[18].

(i) *Garments for the breasts.*

Kaṃchuli (doc. 149, 318; *kaṃjuliya*, doc. 343)=skt. *kañcuka* or *kañculikā*=bodice or jacket worn by the ladies. Such jackets[19] were made of wool (doc. 318), while unicoloured silk (doc. 318) and hampen cloth (doc. 318). *spetaprigha* (doc. 318) is the same as *spytyy pryng* of an unpublished Manichaen Sogd. document [Henning cited by Agrawala, op. *cit.*, p. 16).

(j) *Garments for the Waist* i. e. *kayabaṃdhana* (doc. 149) cf. *kāyabandhanaṃ* of the jātaka literature [Mehta R. L., *Pre-Buddhist India*, 1939, Bombay, p. 262; cf. *PBVB*, p. 147; *Serindia*, p. 636-7 about an ancient girdle from Mirān].

(k) *Trousers.*

18. Cf. *chāṃdri kaṃmaṃta* (714) as a parallel phrase. Tavadia (op. *cit.*, p. 80-81) identifies *karchi* with modern *kurtā*=shirt.

Kaṃmaṃta or *kamaṃta* [doc. 272-714] have been compared with Khotanese *kaumadai, kāṃmada* [=*sūthaṃna*=trouser; cf. BSOS, IX, p. 532, XI, p. 793 quoting *sunthanā* of the Mahāvyutpatti] meaning "trouser". Thus Bailey disagrees with Thomas who [J of Greater India Society, XI, p. 64] interprets *chāṃdri* as "jade" (cf. also Act. Or., XII, p. 46 note 3).

Equally obscure is the phrase *soṃstaṃni* (doc. No. 149) which has been suggested as an equivalent of Khotanese words for trousers [i. e. Bailey BSOS, XI, p. 532 compares with *sūthaṃna*]. The use of trousers was a typical central Asian device [see Mcgovern, op. *cit.*, p. 48-9 for the introduction of trousers in other parts of the world and that too from central Asia [cf. modern *sutthana*=trouser].

(l) *Miscellaneous garments and textile goods.*

(i) *Churorma* (or *chrorma* or *chirorma* were compared with Iran. *Chīrōrma* or *chihravarma,* old Iran. *chioravarma* (=facing covering veil, Bailey in BSOS, XI, p. 794). Burrow [*Language*, p. 90], on the other hand takes it as some "agricultural commodity".

(ii) *Rotaṃna* (or rotaṃ) is closely associated with *churorma,* Bailey (BSOS, XI, p. 794) identifies the former with *ro-dvanna* derived from Iran. *rauda-banda* (=face binding veil; cf. N. Pers. *ruy-band* = veil). Bailey does not agree with Burrow's views (BSOS, VII, p. 787) and also those of his own propounded earlier in BSOS, VIII, p. 913. But, since in doc. 387 *rotaṃna* is measured in *milimas* and *khis* like corns etc., it does not seem plausible to attach any importance to Bailey's latest views.

(iii) *Saḍi* or *raḍı*) of doc. 431-2 has been taken to be the same as *raji* (of doc. 655, 714) by Burrow (*Trans.*, p. 88 note of doc. 431-2); while Bailey (BSOS, XIII, p. 389 ff.) and Thomas (Act. Or. XIII, p. 79) prefer the reading *saḍi* as equivalent of *sāḍī* of Jaina literature, *śāṭa, śāṭī* and *śāṭaka* of skt. texts etc.

(iv) *Paṃzavaṃta* (or *paṃjhavaṃta* of doc. 316) or *posaṃvaṃta* (doc. 534) taken to be identical by Burrow (*Trans.*, p. 106 note) were made of *prigha* and wool in docs. 316, 534 respectively.

(v) *Vidapa* was an embroidered garment (doc. 318).

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19. cf. ladies and their dress printed in the frescoes of Mirān temple in Chinese Turkistan, *Serindia* 516-9; Sung Yun's description about women of Yu-tien in *Ancient Khōtan*, p. 170.

(vi) *Lyokmana* was both embroidered and printed (doc. 318).

(vii) *Kigi* (or *bhigi*) is referred to as some blue-red (doc. 318) garment while Thomas (Act. Or. XIII, p. 72) suggests an identification with *bhṛṅgī*=vessel.

(viii) *Urnavaraṃde* (doc. No. 345), enumerated in association with some textile goods, was perhaps some garment made of *urna* (wool) but Rapson [*KI*, III, p. 335] prefers to take *vartaḍe* (instead of *varaṃḍe*) and compares with *vartaṭaka* of *Lokaprakāśa* (ed. Weber, p. 98).

(ix) *Shoes. Kavaji namata* (doc. 432; only *kovaji* in doc. 581) may be interpreted as "shoes prepared from felt". Like *kajava* and *kośava, kavaji* may be taken as *kavaśi* while *kavashi* in *Fan-yu-tsa-Ming* (cited by Tavadia, op. *cit.*, p. 84) and N. Pers. *kafs* both mean "shoe, slipper" (cf. Tibet *kabasa* cited by *Tavadia, ibid*; *khapusā* in Jain literature, *LAI*, p. 133; *PBVB*, p. 178).

(x) *Ropes* i. e. *raju* (doc. 288, 264, 534=skt. *rajju*) or *rasaṃna* (doc. No. 175, 345=skt. *raśanā*, N. Pers. *rasan* cf. *Language*, p. 114, BSOS VIII, p. 786) were frequently sent as presents (doc. 288) and taxes (doc. 264)[21]. The text *u rasaṃna* (doc. 175) corrected as *unu rasaṃna* by Rapson [*KI*, I, p. 70] may be taken as *una rsaaṃna* suggesting ropes prepared from wool. In doc. 345, *rasaṃna* is associated with *namatas* and *urnavardaṃ ḍe*. Burrow (*Language*, p. 13) also suggests that *vadhi* (doc. 264) may be taked as "*vardhrī*"=rope.

(xi) *Sacks. Goni* (doc. No. 154, 207) needs to be compared with skt. *goṇa*, Pālī *gonaka*, both meaning a "woollen rug". But the context of the Niya documents (No. 214) clearly indicates that it denoted some 'sack for the lucerne of horses' [i. e. *dui goniyaṃmi aśpi-stave*, cf. *Trans.*, p. 40]. In skt., *goṇa* or *goṇatarī*=sack [Monier Williams, op. *cit.*, p. 367]. It is much more interesting to note that document No. 756 is in itself a silk bag with a *kharoshṭhī* note on it [cf. *Innermost Asia*, 1928, Oxford, p. 223]. Bailey, (BSOS XI, p. 767) suggests that *gūña* of an unpublished document from Khadlik may be traced in the *goni* 'sack' of Niya documents.

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20. Use of long boots by Central Asian people, Mcgovern, op. *cit.*, p. 2,252; *Ancient Khotan*, p. 372.

21. Cf. Tibetan documents from Chinese Turkestan about the collection of hair for rope making, JRAS, 1934, p. 504. Certain Kharoshṭhī documents were found tied with gots' hair, *Ancient Khotan*, p. 238.

VIII. *Use of Textile goods.*

(i) *As wealth and poperty* [doc. 149, 534, 318, 345, 187]. Proper account was also maintained (doc. No. 660.)

(ii) *As media of exchange:—*

(a) Paying hire charges of a camel (doc. 83) as *arnavajī.*

(b) Purchasing land, girls, women, corn[21], wine[22].

(c) Price of a girl partly paid in rugs (doc. 592).

(d) Price of a women as 41 *paṭas* (doc. 32).

(e) Price of land payed in shape of rugs etc. (doc. 579, 322, 655).

(f) Price of a *kojava* (as 5 or 10 *muli*)[22a], carpet 13 cubits long for 12 *muli* etc.

(iii) *As objects to be paid as taxes:—*

i. e. *agishḍa, namata, kojava, goni, raju, kamuṃta, arnavaji, raji* etc. (doc. 207, 714, 264, 382, 154).

(iv) *As objects of gifts and presents:*—i. e., *chhotaga, lastuga, chinaveḍa, tavastaga, kojava, raju, paṃjhavaṃta prighamaga* etc.

(v) *As objects of debts and loans:*—Debt of silk is recorded in doc. 35 [i. e. *paṭa ṛna* cf. *vasanārṇa* of Pāṇini VI, 1.89 *Vārttika* [cited by Monier Williams, op *cit.*, p. 932.]

(vi) *As subsistence for servants and slaves.* Both persons employed on work charge basis (doc. 19, 403) and household slaves (doc. 506) were given clothing along with food and wages (no wages for slaves in doc. 506).

(vii) *As objects fines.*

Reference to fines of *paṭas* prescribed for monks and ordinary people has been made above.

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21. Note king's eagerness to purchase one *kojava* for royal corn (doc. 448) cf. doc. 622.

22. Wine to be sold for clothing and bedding (doc. 431-2).

22a. 1 *muli* being $\frac{1}{10}$th of a gold stater [cf. doc. 419 where 1 gold stater + 2 *muli* = 12 *muli*].

(viii) *For binding of tablets:—*

Strings served the purpose of binding wooden tablets in order to avoid unauthorized inspection. Fibres or hair mixed with clay seals have also been recovered. A *Kharoshṭhī* document, after being sealed afresh was tied in yellow silk [*Serindia*, p. 229, cf. *Ancient Khotan*, p. 356].

(ix) *As writing material:—*

(a) *Leather*—doc. Nos. 665, 349, 341, 371, 379, 376, 385, 387, are documents on leather [cf. also *chama pothi* of doc. 17, Act. Or. XIII, p. 78]. The use of leather for writing purposes must have led to the slaughter of animals on a grand scale. It is indeed strange that religious ideas did not militate against the use of animal's skin for writing etc. (*Ancient Khotān*, p. 347).

(b) *Silk*. Just like leather, silk too was utilised for writing letters and sending communications. Doc. Nos. 697, 708. 756 are records on silk[23].

(x) *As objects of votive offering:—*

Some *Kharoshṭhi* inscriptions on finely woven buff silk streamers from Mirān refer to the use of such objects for offering in temples. At the end of each of these is the phrase *arugha dachhinae bhavadu* [*Serindia*, p. 495, 542]. Even a fourth century A. D. Chinese document on paper [*Serindia*, p. 379] records a tribute of various pieces of silk offered by a certain barbarian.

(xi) *As objects of Export and Import.*

The documents refer to Chinese goods [i. e. *china chimara*, *chinaveḍa*] and Khotanese rugs [i. e. *khotani kojava*, *khotaṃni kojava*, *khotaṃni kojava*, *alena*] being used by people in the region of *Kharoshṭhī* records. Not only that the early visit of Indian merchants on the borders of Western China is attested by the discovery of a first century B. C. inscription in *Brāhmī* script on a silk piece [Stein. A, Asia Major, Hirth Anniversary Volume, 1923, p. 367-72]. Indeed records on silk, both in *Brāhmī* and *Kharoshṭhī* came from ruined watch stations along the ancient trade route connecting Central Asia with China, Persia, India etc.

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23. cf. For the use of silk for writing in early centuries of B. C., consult, Journal of American Oriental Society, [Lxi, 1941, p. 73]; also Chinese documents on silk, *Serindia*, p. 700, 763, 681 cf. *ibid*, p. 677.

The documents under survey thus throw a good deal of light on the dress and garments of slaves and servants, monks and laymen etc. It is interesting to note that slaves, who could own land and all sorts of movable property are no where referred to in the documents as wearing gala dresses either made of *prigha* or *chitraga* cloth. It is equally interesting to see the monks being fined up to 15 *paṭas*[23(a)] (doc. No. 489) and prohibited from joining the *posatha* ceremony in a householder's dress. Is it that the monks were not used to puting monkish robes all the twenty four hours a day and that they were expected to be in the prescribed dress only on special ceremonial functions? It is very sad that the existing documents fail to refer to strictly royal articles of dress and decoration. It is only from doc. 448 that we know that a king showed great anxiety for the purchase of a *kojava* for royal corn. Also a certain queen accepted a carpet 13 cubits long (doc. 431-2). Beyond this there seems to be nothing noteworthy to be referred to in this connection.

This is in nutshell the account of textiles and garments as depicted in the *Kharoshṭhī* documents from Chinese Turkestan. Foreign influences, both Indian and Iranian were rapidly working in the heart of Central Asia, in the field of textiles as is attested by the use of various technical terms denoting fabrics and goods. Nay, even Indian patterns[24] of *svastika* and *stūpa* have actually been found on textile pieces recovered from ancient sites of Niya, Endere and Loulan. In the words of A. Stein [*Ancient Khotan*, p. 334], "not only the sculptured and pictorial arts of Khotan, but also the more decorative branches of its textiles industry had from an early date received their models from India".

23(a). cf. *A Record of the Buddhist Religion* by Itsing, translated by J. Takakusu Oxford, 1896, p. 218-9, 67 ff about the dress of Buddhist monks in seventh century A. D.

24. Also tapestry type carpet pieces resemble modern Indian *dari* [Andrews, op. *cit*., p. 19; *Ancient Khotan*, p. 334]. Indians also on their part began to make use of *priqha* of Central Asia cf. Agrawala, op. *cit*., p. 16.

ABBREVIATIONS USED :—

1. Language=T. Burrow, *The Language of the Kharoshṭhī Documents From Chinese Turkestan,* (1937), Cambridge.

2. Trans=T. Burrow, *A translation of the Kharoshṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan,* (1940), London.

3. PBVB=Motichand, *Prāchīna Bhāratīya Veśa Bhūṣā,* (Hindi), Prayaga.

4. LAI=Jagdish Chand Jaina, *Life in Ancient India as depicted in Jain Canons,* (1947), Bombay.

5. BSOS=*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.*

6. IHQ=*Indian Historical Quarterly.*

7. Act. Or.—*Acta Orientalia.*

8. KI I, II, III—*Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions discovered by Sir A. Stein in Chinese Turkestan,* Oxford, Vols I, II, III (Text only).

9. Only No. of the documents of *KI* will be referred to.

(48) Indian Music

by

Principal Shri Krishna Ratanjankar

It is a happy augury that music has come in for discussion in the sessions of the Oriental conference as a part of culture. In spite of the fact that music forms not only an important but a necessary part of culture, that it is a part of the mental equipment of man it had been neglected by us in India so many years. May be, there were reasons for this unkind attitude towards the art. But now that we are recasting our culture once more and looking forward to some sort of cultural Unity among us Orientals, a cultural brotherhood between nations and between races, inclusion of music in our discussions is a very hopeful index of our success in our efforts. Is not music after all a universal language? Music deals with the prime medium of communication between man and man, I mean the human voice and its sweet movments up and down, which touch the very soul of the listener, just as the sweet smell and sweet look of a flower, the soft touch of a spring time breeze. The sweet flower, the soft breeze, the sweet passage of music have all their own language which is understood everywhere. These do not need word of language to carry on their conversation, and as such, are of universal appeal. A good passage of music, a good painting, is a forceful and ever memorable dialogue on goodness between man and man. After all the aim, the effect of culture is a sympathetic understanding and adjustment of thought and action, getting into tune, so to say. Touching the senses, the sense of hearing, the sense of vision, the sense of touch with their respective sweet media will go a long way in bringing us together into an unbreakable brotherhood.

What is music then? This is one of the words such as 'ART', 'RELIGION', 'POETRY' that defy definition. The word music is derived from the Greek *mousike* which is equivalent to the Sanskrit word *Saṅgīta* expressing the corporate idea of musical recital playing of musical instrument and dancing, either taken singly or in group. These arts considered individually are called *gīta* or *gāyana*, *vādya* or *vādana* and *nṛtta* or *nartana* respectively. *Gīta* stands for singing, *vādya* or *vādana* for instrumental music and *nartana* for dancing. But taken together, all these arts are called *Saṅgīta*.

Thus song forms the basis of the art of music in India. The word music, however, technically refers more to expression of sweet sounds on instruments than vocal music, if I mistake not. This difference in the root idea of the art makes all the difference between the music of the West and *Saṅgīta* of India. This is a fundamental distinction between the two. The emphasis on instrumental music has led westerners to invent a large variety of correctly tuned musical instruments of various sizes and shapes qualities and strengths of tone, utilizing all kinds of material capable of producing musical tones. It has also led them to develop the possibilities of poliphonic music, i. e. music in which several tones of different degrees are sounded together, simultaneously on instruments. The simultaneous sounding of a number of different tones is technically known as harmonisation and the effect of the music is called Harmony. This Harmony is a basis of all music in the West.

In India and all over the East the human voice being the basis of all Music no harmonisation was thought of. It is not possible physically to produce more than one tone at a time by one single human voice, unless it is cracked. Even in group singing the human voice cannot be expected to express pin-point degrees of correctness in pitch, necessary to fulfil the conditions of harmonisation. Instrumental music in the East is a reproduction of musical passages occurring in a song. In the case of instruments in which the strings are plucked by a plectrum and musical solids such as metal tubes, bells, China cups, and wooden plates which are struck by a striker, rhythmic patterns of various lengths and shapes set to music more or less to the composition of tones of a song are played. All bow and blow instruments reproduce vocal music. All these instruments have a song as their basis. Thus melody alone remains the basic principle of all Oriental music. Melody as against harmony is a musical passage in which the tones are expressed one after another in succession and not simultaneously as in harmony. The Orientals have developed melody almost to perfection. *Varṇa, Rāga, Dhun, Jāti, Naghma,* whatever you may call a musical passage, is a melodic pattern in which a number of musical tones occur in succession, one after another. Arrangement of the order of succession of these tones so as to make them musically effective demands a musical sense of high order. This gives the passage all the musical value it has. Reproduction of these by voice or on an instrument in an effective manner is another condition of the musical value of a melodic pattern. A passage of tones must be musical in itself and it must be rendered well enough so as to produce the desired effect. These two points refer to the 'what' and 'how', the matter and manner of music. Let us examine a few examples here.

The melodies Jaijaivanti, Jaunpurī and Bhairavī are known to every listener of Hindustānī Music. They are all intrinsically musical. But it is their correct rendering which makes them living, turns them into appealing passages of an Universal language. A composition of

musical tones can by itself be a thoroughly disgusting specimen. For instance a passage like this (illustrate S, M *N* R DH G *DH* S). Each and every one of these is a musical tone recognised as *Svara* of which music is made and yet however much we may attempt to render this strange passage musical it will succeed in defeating our purpose. Weeping, moaning, crying are done in musical tones, but it is not music. A musical passage, on the other hand may be by itself highly musical. But the rendering thereof is at times so poor that it fails to make its desired effect and falls flat on the ears of the listeners. Melody alone if studied and practised well gives enough scope for musical expression. It is melody which leaves the musician free to express his own personality. He can make adjustments and readjustments in the manner of interpretation and even at times the intonations of his melody on the basis of the general outline thereof.

Whatever the nature or provenance of ancient civilizations this much is certain that the oldest books of knowledge now available are the Vedas. We get our earliest information about the beginnings of our music from the Vedas. Whatever may be the age of the Vedas the knowledge they contain refers to things most ancient, almost going back to the beginning of civilization.

Music, for us, is supposed to have been created out of the *Sāma Veda*. This Veda is most of it *ṚgVeda* itself when chanted in more or less musical intonations. The human soul, wishing to speak out awakens the mind, which, on its part awakens the fire, i. e. the energy in the body. The energy in the body goads the life breath stored in the *Brahma-Granthi*, the breath thereafter rises up by degrees through the wind pipe and expresses the higher and higher degrees of pitch.

A musical tone is called 'Nāda'. Our musicologists explain this word as follows:—

NAKĀRAM PRĀNA NAMANAM ḌAKĀRAM ANALAM VIDUḤ
TENA PRĀNĀGNISAMYOGĀN NĀDA ITYABHIDHIYATE.

"The letter' 'Na' stands for life breath, and 'Ḍa' for the heat of the body. Thus by the co-operation of physical energy and life breath i. e. air, a musical tone is produced." Considering the ancient times when the above śloka was written it seems a rational explanation of production of sound. After explaining the causes of production of *Nāda*, the ancient Pandits proceed to analyse the primitive attempts at musical expression. *Ārcik Gāna* or monotonic chanting, *Gāthik* or bytonic, *Sāmik Gāna* Tritonic and *Svarāntara* or. quadrutonic. *Ārcik Gāna* is chanting in one single tone, Gathik is chanting in two tones of high and low degrees of pitch, *Sāmik* is chanting in three tones of

different degrees of pitch and *Swarāntara* is a fourtoned chant. It is not possible to define the actual intonations recognised in those ancient days which these four types of chantings refer to. We, however, find in some books on music an attempt at illustrating these in terms of modern intonations. It is true that we do even today hear such chantings in the course of religious recitals. Let me demonstrate these one by one in their order.

S..

MANGALAM BHAGAVAN VIṢNUR-MANGALAM
MADHUSŪDANAḤ

S..

MANGALAM PUNḌARIKĀKṢO MANGALAM
GARUḌA-DHVAJAḤ

All this is chanted in one single tone. There is no transition low or high in this.

A *Gāthik* or two toned chanting will be like this:—

N..S..

PŪRNASYA CA-ĀVĀHANAM KUTRA SARVĀDHĀRA-
SYA CA-ĀSANAM

N..S..

SVACCHHASYA PADYAM-ARGHYAÑCA
ŚUDDHASYA CA-ACAMANAM KUTAḤ

In this there are only two degrees of pitch between which the voice moves up and down, namely N and S.

Sāmik Chanting is of three tones and is done something like this.

RRR—R R S R R R G R RS
MANO BUDDHI—AHANKĀRA CITTĀNI NĀHAM
R R R R S R R R G R R S
NA CA ŚROTRA JIHVE NA CA—ĀGHRĀNA NETRE

R R R R S R R R G R R S

NA CA VYOMA BHŪMIR—NA TEJO NA VĀYUḤ

R R R R S R R R G R R S

CIDĀNANDA RŪPAḤ ŚIVOSHAM ŚIVOSHAM

Here there are three degrees of pitch, namely R,S and G. Let us now take the Svarāntara or four toned chant. The śloka concerned is a benediction uttered by the wedding priest wishing well to the bride and bridegroom.

M M M G R R G R R S S M M M G R RG R R S S

Vighneśa No Vighna Vidūra Kārī NirVighnaKārye Sakalārtha Siddhiḥ

M M M G R R G R R S S M M M G R R G R D S S

Vighneśvaro Vighna Nareśa Pūjyo Vadhū—Varābhyām Śubhamā Dadātu.

Whatever value these chants may have as regards their historical authenticity they are good enough to give us some idea regarding the primitive attempts at musical expression. The main object in setting words time measure and some sort of musical murmur was memorisation of the subject matter of the verse. The Vedas, Purāṇas, Darśanas are all written in verses. They were to be learnt by heart and hence the necessity of their versification. Even a child learning his numbers or rules of grammer chants his lessons in musical chants punctuated in time beats.

The recitation of the Vedic Hymns was done in three movments of the voice 'Udātta', Raised, 'Anudātta the lowered and 'Svarita' the circumflex. These movments were probably not meant to be in any definite musical intervals as such. An 'Udātta' syllable was to be pronounced in a high pitch, without reference to any definite degrees of pitch in comparison to the other movments. The syllable in 'Anudātta' was to be pronounced in a low pitch and a 'Svarita' syllable was to be pronounced with a slur roughly covering the high and low tones. Thus it seems that in the Vedic hymns other than those of the Sāma-Veda there was no conscious attempt at a musical chant. It was just recitation and no musical chant.

The Sāma-Veda which is avowedly a Geya Veda, on the other hand, is a book of hymns most of which were from the RgVeda itself, which were chanted with a definitely musical expression. In fact, in order to make room for musical strains the ending vowels of the words of the hymns were prolonged and even twisted into other vowels. I have already observed that our music is supposed to have originated from the Sāma-Veda. In Sāma Saṃhitā we find references to seven degrees of pitch in the descending order, namely *Kṛṣṭa, Prathama, Dvitīya, Tṛtīya, Caturtha, Mandra* and *Atisvara*. *Kṛṣṭa* was the high-strung, *Prathama* was the first below the *Kṛṣṭa, Dvitīya*, the second below, *Tṛtīya* the third below, the *Caturtha* the fourth below, *Mandra* the lowest and *Atisvara* the extra tonal below the *Mandra*. There is some reference to some degrees intervening between these seven. Thus it seems we had already evolved a complete scale of music for the Sāmik Chants. It is hardly possible to demonstrate this scale. The actual intervals are not known, nor is there anything on record which may help us to establish these intervals. The Śarīra Vīṇā or the corporal lute referred to in the Sāma Saṃhitā gives the places of these notes on the fingers of the hand where respectively the thumb is to touch them for each degree of pitch, during the chanting. But there are no directions as to the sounds to be produced in the voice.

These degrees of pitch were called *Yamas*. The notes of music on the other hand were called *Svaras*. and these were in the ascending order and called respectively *Ṣaḍja, Ṛṣabha, Gandhāra, Madhyama, Pañcama, Dhaivata* and *Niṣāda*. There are intresting explanations of these names.

In the *Nāradī Śikṣā* which is technically a book on phonetics, containing rules of pronunciation of the syllables occurring in the Vedic Hymns, we find reference to the *svaras* I have just now enumerated. Nārada tells us that *Gandhāra* and *Niṣāda* are *Udātta*, *Ṛṣabha*, and *Dhaivata* are *Anudātta* and *Ṣaḍja, Madhyama* and *Pañcama* are *Svarita*: Just this bare statement and no explanation of it. Nārada also tells us that the *Yama* known as *Prathama* in the *Sāmik* Chant is the equivalent of the Madhyama of the *Veṇu* i. e. flute, *Dvitīya* of the *Sāmik Chant* is the *Gandhāra* of the *Veṇu, Tṛtīya* the equivalent of the *Ṛṣabbha* of the flute and so forth. But what was this flute like? What was its size? How many holes it had and their spacing one from the other? These are questions which are yet to be settled.

The *Nāradī Śikṣā* is considered by some of our scholars as the oldest work which bears a reference to music. Here is an interesting topic which demands the attention of our scholars and musicologists. Which Nārada wrote the Nāradī Śikṣā and when? The mythological personalities of this name, the famous wandering minstrel of the

Heaven, the son of God Brahman can hardly have written a work in the comparatively modern Sanskrit. Then again the work is properly on phonetics. There are at least a dozen and a half works known as *Sikṣās*, all on phonetics. Hardly any three of these refer to music and its tonality so emphatically as this mysterious *Nāradī Śikṣā*. All or most of the other *Śikṣa Granthas* have not gone beyond the *Udātta, Anudātta* and *Svarita*. But the author of the *Nāradī Śikṣā* refers to *Grāmas* and *Mūrchhanas*. What was the purpose? Were the *Sāmik* Hymns to be sung in modes and melodies? Bharata the oldest author on the science of music refers to Nārada as one of the musicologists. Which Nārada was this? Was it the author of the famous *Nāradī Śikṣā* or was it the great mythological Nārada? Going through the Nārada *Śikṣa* one is almost tempted to feel that the chapter on music in the *Śikṣā* at least if not the entire work might have been written by a later Pandit, even one posterior to Bharata and added to the *Śikṣā*. If at all the *Sāman* Chants were to be elaborated in a musical strain why is there no further explanation regarding the melodies or modes in which the Hymns were to be sung. Why has Nārada stopped at just the mention of *Grāmas* and *Mūrchhanas* without explaining their application? Fortunately some of our modern scholars are making efforts to trace the history of our music back to Kāśyapa Nārada and other ancient musicologists. Let us await their researches.

Until we get reliable information regarding works that might have been written before the *Bharata Nāṭya Śāstra* we have to look upon this work as our first book of knowledge on music. The *Nāṭya Śāstra* is an encyclopeadic work on the art of stage-craft, or Dramaturgy. The exact date of this work is not known but it is supposed to have been written in the beginning of the Christian era. Bharata devotes one or two chapters to music the singing and its accompaniments, as a necessary and important part of the dramatic representation, and, only in this way he has dealt with *saṅgīta*. He calls his chapter on music *Ātodya Vidhih*, i. e. instrumental accompaniment.

Bharata in his chapter on music refers to even *Śuddha svaras* and two *Vikṛti* ones. The musical intervals are measured in terms of microtonal intervals known as *Śrutis*. Unfortunately Bharata and all the later musicologists who have propounded the *Grāma-Mūrcchanā* and *Jāti* theory seem to take it for granted that the exact measure of a *Śruti* was a matter of common knowledge and needed no explanation beyond pointing it out as their being equal to the difference between the *Pañcamas* of the two *Grāmas* the *Ṣaḍja Grāma* and *Madhyama Grāma.* These two *Grāmas* were the basic music scales of the ancient system of Music. These were almost equivalents of each other, the only difference between them being that the *Pañcama* the 5th of the *Madhyama Grāma* was slightly lower, i. e. lower by just one *Śruti* than the *Pañcama* the 5th of the *Saḍja Grāma*. These two scales

were very common among the people and known to everybody and so was the interval between the higher *Pañcama* of the *Ṣadja-Grāma* and the lower one of the *Madhyama-Grama* were and hence it was thought unnecessary to give any explanation. Bharata asks a question saying *'Nanu Śruteḥ Kiṃ Pramāṇam?'* and proceeds to explain the process by which it is to be found. He asks us to take two *Vīṇas* or lutes and tune them in the *Ṣadja Grāma* as it was understood in his time. The intervals of the *Ṣadja-Grāma* were known to people and they could therefore tune the *Vīṇā* i. e. fix its frets so as to produce the *Ṣadja Grāma.* Having tuned both the *Vīṇas* in the *Ṣadja-Grāma* we are further asked to put one of the *Vīṇās* so tuned aside and make changes in the other one according to his directions. The other *Vīṇā* in which these changes were to be effected was to be tuned to *Madhyama Grāma* by lowering the *Pañcama* to the pitch required for it in the *Madhyama Grāma.* Having done this we have to convert the whole *Vīṇā* into *Ṣadja Grāma* again, but without touching the new *Pañcama* which we had tuned on it for changing it previously to *Madhyama Grāma.* The second *Ṣadja Grāma* could be obtained by changing all the other frets i. e. by lowering every one of them. Thus the whole *Vīṇā* would come down by one *Śruti* below the *Ṣadja-Grāma* of the first *Vīṇā* which was put aside just for reference. Then the next step is to turn the new *Ṣadja Grāma* again into *Madhyama-Grāma* by lowering as before, the *Pañchama* by one *Śruti* and then again this *Madhyama Grāma* was to be converted into *Sadja Grama,* by keeping the new *Pañcama* intact, i. e. by lowering all the other frets except *Pañchama* by one *Śruti.* Now in this third *Ṣadja-Grāma* we will find that the *Gandhāra* and *Niṣāda* of the changeable *Vīṇā* have come down by two *Srutis* and have coincided with the *Raṣbha* and *Dhaivata* respectively because these are two *Srutis* lower from their next higher neighbours. The Coincidence of the *Ṛṣabha* of the *Vīṇā* kept for reference with the Gandhāra on the Changeable One and the coincidence of the *Dhaivata* of the reference *Vīṇā* with *Niṣāda* on the Changing *Vīṇā* could happen only if *Śruti* is a definite unit of musical interval, not otherwise.

Taking thus the *Śruti* as the standard unit for measuring the degrees of his scale Bharata gives the following *Śloka* locating the seven *Svaras* of his *Ṣadja Grāma* in terms of Śrutis.

'CATUŚ-CATUŚ-CATUŚ-CAIVA ṢADJA-MADHYAMA-PAÑCAMAḤ DVE DVE NIṢĀDA-GANDHĀRAU TRIŚTRI ṚSHABHA-DHAIVATAU'.

Literally this means that *Sadja, Madhyama* and *Pañcama* are each of four *Śrutis, Gandhāra* and *Niṣāda* of two *Śrutis* each and *Ṛṣabha* and *Dhaivata* of three *Śrutis* each. Actually it means that *Ṣadja, Madhyama* and *Pañcama* are each at an interval of four *Śrutis* from their lower neighbours i. e. *Niṣāda, Gandhāra* and

Madhyama respectively, than Gandhāra and *Niṣāda* are each at an interval of two *Śrutis* from their lower neighbours i. e. from *Ṛṣabha* and *Dhaivata* respectively and *Ṛṣabha* and *Dhaivata* are each at three *Śrutis* from their lower neighbours i. e. from *Ṣadja* and *Pañcama* respectively. Thus in terms of the numbers of Śrutis these intervals are, counting them from *Ṣadja* upwards 3+2+4+4+3+2+4. The *Madhyama Grāma* has all these intervals except the 5th & 6th as the *Pānchama* of this *Grāma* is lower by one *Śruti* and *Dhaivata* will therefore be at four *Śrutis* from *Pañcama*. Thus the *Madhyama Grāma* will be counting the scale from *Madhyama* itself upwards, 3+4+2+4+3+2+4.

These two scales were the basis of the ancient system of music. The melodies of the ancient music in India were called Jātis. The Jātis seem to have been certain tunes or airs which were commonly known all over through popular songs. Even today we have in popular music certain types of songs such as the Baul and Bhaṭiyāl in Bengal, Bana-Gīt, Bihu-Gīt and Bora-Git in Assam, Rasiyā, Sohar, Birhā, Goth Sāwan, Hindola in U. P., Mānḍ Mewada, Ālhā in Rājasthān, Rawanmunia in Bihar, Dadaria in C. P., Garbiin Gujrath, Lāwanī, Powaḍā, Abhaṅga in Mahārāshtra. Quite a lot of these songs are sung in tunes which are common. All together there may be about couple of dozen such common airs of *Dhuns* as they are called in the common parlance all over the country. Did the *Jātis* refer to these Dhuns? It is an interesting qustion worth investigating. Technically, the Jātis were the music, the Dhwanī-Svarūp, of the popular songs, of those days The music was analysed independently without reference to words and classified according to the *Svaras* occurring in them and their treatment. Their scales, starting and closing cadences characteristic phrases and their keynotes were determined. Most of these *Jātis* were named after their key notes, for example *Sadji* from *Sadja, Ārṣabhi* from *Ṛṣabha, Gāndhārī* from *Gandhāra* etc. We have already seen the two basic scales of *Ṣadja Grāma* and *Madhyama Grāma*. Some of the *Jātis* were supposed to have been composed out of the *Ṣadja Grāma* and others from the *Madhyama Grāma*. But the *Jātis* were not produced directly from the *Grāma*. The *Grāmas* did not give a sufficient variety of musical intervals for the *Jātis* to fit into them. These intervals were obtained by a process of key-modulations, i. e. by shifting the *Ṣadja* from its place to the successive and lower degrees of the scale and this actually meant that the names of the successive *Svaras*, Sa, Ni, D MA etc., were to be shifted to the successive lower degrees of the scale. Let me illustrate this point. Supposing the Bilāval scale, the basic scale of the present system of Hindustani Music, were considered as the *Ṣadja Grāma*. This scale is almost an equivalent of the C Major scale of the Western Music. It runs thus:—(S R G M P DH N Ṡ). These notes thus sung in succession make a certain musical effect. I shall now sing this very scale starting from the second note and ending it on the

octave of the second higher more R G M P DH N Ṡ Ṙ. This very scale sung in open voice now:— A A A A A A A A.

This second flight of notes creates an effect totally different and distinct from the one created by singing the scale from the first note to its octave. Let me sing these one after another now.

S R G M P DH N Ṡ R G M P DH N Ṡ Ṙ

A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A

Thus by such key modulations a number of modes were obtained. These modes were known as *Mūrchanas*. These *Mūrchanas* are actually so many scales of music from which the *Jātis* were obtained with one *Mūrchanā* starting from each of the seven *Svaras* of the *Grāma* there were seven *Mūrchanas* in each *Grāma*. Thus all together fourteen *Mūrchanas* were recognised for practical purposes. There was a third *Grāma* called the *Gandhāra Grāma* and its seven *Mūrchanas*. But that *Grāma* seems to have gone out of vogue in the times of the ancient authors and they just make a mention of it. No melodies if any obtained from this *Grāma* and its *Mūrchanas* are referred to in the Granthas. The *Jātis* of the *Granthas* have all their origin in the two *Grāmas, Saḍja* and *Madhyama* and the fourteen *Mūrchanas*. The *Mūrchanas* gave the flats and sharps of the *Jātis*.

The *Rāgas* which are today the basic idea of the comparatively modern music of India were supposed to be evolved out of the *Jatis*, by means of certain modifications considered necessary for developing the melodies extempore and independently from words.

Bharata does not describe *Rāgas* in his *Nāṭya Śāstra*. He gives all details of *Grāmas, Mūrchanās* and *Jātis*, but does not say a word about the Rāgas.

Mātaṅga who had flourished a few centuries after Bharata is the first author on music who has referred to the *Rāgas* in their technical sense and defined them. His work is known as *Bṛhat-Deśī*. It is impossible to say when exactly the 'Rāga' came into being. The word is a derivative of the root 'Rañja' to please. In literature we come across the words 'Anurāga and Virāga' which are the derivatives of the same root 'Rañja' as independant words. But the word Rāga occurs in the context of something else, e. g. *Gita Rāga* and Mukharāga when it means pleasing effect. It seems the word *Rāga* was in vogue in this sense only before it acquired its technical sense in the context of music. Certain features of *Jāti* which made particularly pleasing effect were selected and developed musically and were called *Rāgas*. We find that names of the *Rāgas* were formed from the names of the *Jātis* themselves on the one hand, and, on the other from the

style in which they were sung. There were distinct styles of singing which were known as *Gītis,* in which alone certain Rāgas could be sung. These *Gītis* were *Śuddha, Bhinna, Gauḍī, Vesara* and *Sādhāraṇī.* The names of some of the early *Rāgas* were *Śuddha Kaiśika,* referring to *Śuddha Gīti* and *Kaiśikī Jāti, Bhinna Kaiśika Bhinna Gīti* and *Kaiśikī Jāti, Gauḍ. Kaiśika, Bhinna Ṣaḍja Bhinna Pañcama* etc.

Several authors after Mātaṅga such as Nānyadeva, Pārśva Deva Śāraṅgadeva followed Mātaṅga's system and classified their *Rāgas* under *Grāmas, Mūrchanas* and Jātis.

In the meanwhile the Muslim adventurers came into India and established kingdoms and settled themselves here. During the first few centuries of their rule they had little time for art and culture. They were totally engrossed in building up and consolidating their sway over several parts of the country. By the time, however, that *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* was written in the thirteenth century the Muslim empire was established at Delhi under Allāuddin Khiljī. These Muslim rulers were most of them passionately fond of music and patronized the art though in their own way. Along with other indigenous things they also accepted the music of their adopted country. Amīr Khusrau, a great scholar and poet at the court of Delhi, was also a great patron of music. His contribution to the modern culture lies not so much in anything new and foreign to India that he is supposed to have introduced here as in the efforts he made to popularise the indigenous art and culture of India under state patronage, by modifying them so as to render them easily accessible to the common people. The great cities of those days were most of them military camps and what Amir Khusrau did was to introduce and popularise manners and customs, art and literature of India into the military camps. Thus the common Indian language mixed with Persian and Arabic words and phrases became the language of military camps of Delhi and other places. Manners, customs, fashions, music and art resulting from a fusion of Indian, Arabic and Persian life and thought became common.

The *Sehtār* was a made easy of the ancient *Vīṇā, tablā* that of the *Mṛdaṅga, Qaawwālī* was a Muslim adaptation of the *Bhajan* and *Kīrtana.* the *Prabandhas* of the ancient Indian Music were modified and took the forms of *Dhrupads Khyāls.* The Amir does not seem to have had time to look into the *Granthas* on music. He seems to have interested himself only in the practical aspect of music. He is, however, considered responsible for a good many innovations in our music in its practical form.

But a change also in the theory of music seems to have come in after Śāraṅga Deva. The system of key modulations seems to have given place to a new idea according to which all the flats and sharps and all the *Mūrchanas* or modes were brought within the range of just one Octave i. e. Sa to octave sa.

All the musical intervals, flats, sharps, natural, double flats and double sharps used in the melodies were collected and arranged one after another in an order of succession between the key note *Ṣaḍja* and its octave. This was done even before Śāraṅga Deva and hence it is that we find in *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* itself all the intervals which he used in his *Rāgas* ranged in one single gamut. And yet Śāraṅga Deva does not seem to have got out of the *Mūrchanas*. He defines his *Rāgas* in terms of *Grāmas*, *Mūrchanas* and *Jātis*. Indeed, in some of his *Rāgas* he refers to the *Mūrchanā* just to give the starting note alone of the *Rāga*. The actual scale of the *Rāga* was obtained from the *Jāti* and the mere mention of a *Jāti* should have automatically determined the *Mūrchanā* because a *Jāti* was itself derived from a particular *Mūrchanā*. But Śāraṅga Deva makes a mention of the *Mūrchanā* also. Thus the *Mūrchanā* determines only the starting note. Some later *Granthakāras* have also followed him in this.

The *Grāma Mūrchanā* and *Jāti* system was abandoned and the *Rāgas* now began to be classified by some musicologists under parental scales of *Melas* which are known in common parlance as *Thāṭas* and by others under the *Rāga-Rāginī* system. The latter was prevalent in the north. *Thāṭa-Rāga* classification became more popular in the south. It is very interesting to note that while, on the one hand, the *Grāma Mūrchanas* gave us the idea of the *Mela-Rāga* classification, the process of producing *Rāgas* out of the *Jātis*,suggested, on the other the *Rāga-Rāgiṇī* process, i. e., the process of producing *Rāgas* out of certain selected parts or *Aṅgas* of a main broad *Rāga*.

Ramamatya, the author of the *Svaramela Kalānidhi* who can be easily called the father of the modern system of South Indian Music seems to have been the first man who made a list of full heptatonic scales under which to classify the *Rāgas* in vogue at his time. All the subsequent authors of the South Indian system of music have followed Ramamatya's idea of *Mela-Rāga* classification and explained their *Rāgas* under this classification.

In the north, however, opinion was divided. Some of our musicologists here created the idea of classifying a group of melodies as derivatives of, or related to a certain Principal *Rāga*. They selected six melodies and called them *Rāgas* and under the heading of each they put six other melodies more or less of a lighter type and called them *Rāgiṇīs*. It is not possible to explain why a certain melody was allotted to a certain *Rāga* as its *Rāginī* because the actual musical renderings of these have gone out of vogue and are lost to us, there having been no notation system in vogue then and therefore no illustrations of the *Rāgas* and *Rāgiṇis* in terms of musical intervals are available. Even today some sort of *Rāgāṅga* classification does exist in the modern system of our music, though we do not consider the melodies as *Rāgas* and *Rāgiṇīs*. The *Kānhaḍās*, *Malārs*, *Sāraṅgs*, *Kalyāns*,

Bilāuals, Naṭas, Todis are classes of *Rāgas* according to *Rāgāṅgas*. But the old *Grantha* classification of the *Rāgas* and *Rāgiṇīs* cannot be revived now for the reasons we have already discussed. The *Thāṭa-Rāga* classification appears to be a fairly reasonable classification, and our *Rāgas* are grouped under this system today. Having once grouped the Rāgas under one common heading according to their musical intervals and calling that group a *Thāṭa* we may further divide them into smaller groups according to the *Rāgāṅgas*. Thus we have Yaman, *Bhūp*, *Śuddha Kalyān, Hamīr, Jait, Hem* as varieties of *Kalyān* in the *Kalyān Thāṭa*, *Śuddha, Alhaiyā Yamanī Deogiri, Śuklā, Kukuhha, Latchaskh, Naṭa, Sarpardā* as varieties of *Bilāval* under the *Bilāval* scale, the *Ragas* of *Khamāj Aṅga* and *Deśa Aṅga* under the *Khamāj Thāṭa* and so forth. The *Rāgas* of Hindustānī music of today are classified under ten scales. The scale gives roughly the intervals that are to be used in the *Rāga*. Among the notes of which a *Rāga* is formed one is called the governing note which has another note more or less concordent to it in the other tetrachord which supports the governing note. The governing note is known as *Vādī* and the supporting one called the *Saṃvādī*. All the rest of the notes are known as *Anuvādīs*. In a proper adjustment mutually of the *Vādī, Saṃvādī* and *Anuvādīs* with due emphasis and accents rests all the art of rendering a *Rāga*. Let me illustrate *Rāga*. We shall take the famous *Darbārī Kānhaḍā*. This *Rāga* has the *Svaras* of the *Āsāvarī* scale which runs as follows.

S R *G* M P *DH* *N* Ṡ

All these intervals are used in *Darbārī Kānhaḍā*. The governing note of *Darbārī Kānhaḍa* is *Ṛṣabha* and it is supported by *Pañchama* which is the *Saṃvādī Svara*. The note *Komal Dha* occurs only in the ascent i. e. in going up the scale. It is omitted while coming down the scale. Thus it is always N P and never *DH* P M, or N*DHPM*. This *Rāga* is sung in the midnight when there is a Mahfil. I am not this moment singing in a Mahfil and can be excused for singing it at this hour. There is one special feature of *Darbārī Kānhaḍā*. In fact it is a common and distinguishing feature of all the *Kānhaḍā* varieties. In all *Kānhaḍās* the *Komal Ga* is always oscillated. It is never held up steady for instance $\overset{m}{G}$ $\overset{r}{G}$ $\overset{m}{G}$ $\overset{r}{G}$ Similarly the *Dha* of *Darbārī Kānhaḍā* is also oscillated. The *Darbāri Kānhaḍā* is a favourite melody of classical musicians. It is certainly a very solemn and effective Rāga. Let me try it.

S, R $\overset{n}{DH}$ $\overset{n}{DH}$ $\overset{N}{N}$ P, M P *DH* *N* S *N* *N* S *N* r,
SR *DH* *DH* R *N* S *N* R, R S

R R, $\overset{M}{G}$ $\overset{r}{G}$ $\overset{r}{G}$ RS R, G,
S *N* S M R S *N* S R *DH* *DH* *N* P, M P *DH* *N* S

p p m m m
M M P, M P G G G, M R S *N* S R M R S N S R *DH* D*H* *N* P
s
M P *DH N* S

n n s s n s n s
P, M P, *DH DH N N* Ṡ, *DH N* Ṡ *DH N* Ṡ Ṙ, Ṙ

s m m m m
Ṡ ?*N* Ṡ Ṙ *DH N* P, M B Ṡ G G G G, R S R G S

There are about two hundred such melodies in vouge today. These are as I have pointed out a few minutes back, classified among ten Principal scales, These scales are, *Bilāval, Kayan, Khamāj, Kābī, Āsāvarī, Bhairavī, Bhairava, Pūrvi, Māravā* and *Todī.* I shall demonstrate these. The first scale known as *Bilaval* is called the *Śuddha Mela* because it ts through this scale that a student of music is initiated for the first time. The notes of this scale are known as *Śuddha* or standard This scale is, as I have said before almost equivalent of the C Major scale of the Western music. It runs as follows S R G M P DH N Ṡ. Out of these seven *Svaras* two namely S and P are known as *Acala Svaras* because they have a one fixed pitch relatively to other notes, while all the rest are called *Cala Svaras* as each of them has two pitches one higher and the other lower between which it moves up and down. The higher variety of each of these *Cala Svaras* is qualified as *Tīvra* or sharp, while the lower one is called *Komal* or flat. Thus we have R *Komal,* R *Tīvra* G *Komal,* G *Tīvra.* M *Komal,* M *Tīvra,* Dh *Komal,* Dh *Tīvra,* Ni *Komal* and N *Tīvra.* These ten and the two *Achala Svaras* namely S & P give us a full gamut of twelve semitones. Let me sing the full gamut in the order of the notes. S *R* R G G M M P *DH* DH *N* N Ṡ. The Bilaval scale contains S, R *Tīvra,* G *Tīvra,* M *Komal.* P DH *Tīvra* and N *Tīvra.* Hence R G DH N *Tīvra* and M *Komal* are also qualified as *Śuddha* as they form the *Śuddha* scale.

The *Kalian* Scale has *Tīvra* H G M DH N beside S & P E G — S R G M P DH N Ṡ

Khamaj has *Komal* N and the rest, all *Śuddha,* S & P E G — S R G M P DH *N* Ṡ

Kahli has G, & N *Komal,* the rest *Śuddha* S & P E G — S R *G* M P *DH N* Ṡ

Āsāvarī has G, DH & N *Komal* and the rest *Śuddha* S & P E G — S R *G* M P DH *N* Ṡ

Bhairavī has all *Komal Svaras* besides S & P E G	S *R G* M P *DH N* Ṡ
Bhairava has R & DH *Komal,* all the rest *Śuddha* E G	S *R G* MDR DH *N* Ṡ
Pūrvi has *R* & DH KOMAL, M *Tīvra,* the rest Śuddha E G	S *R* G M P *DH* N Ṡ
Marvā has R Komal and M *Tīvra,* the rest Śuddha E G	S *R* G MDR DH N S
Todī has R, G & DH *Komal,* M&N *Tīvra,* S & P E G	S *R* G M P D*H* N Ṡ

Rāgas are formed out of these scales by omitting some notes from the full scale or by suppressing some and emphasising others. I have referred to the *Vādī Saṃvādī,* and *Anuvādī* Svaraṣ of a *Rāga.* Every *Rāga* has a distinguishing passage of tones peculiar to itself. In omitting notes totally from a scale to form a *Rāga* a general rule is observed and it is this that not more than two notes may be omitted up or down the scale. A *Rāga* must have at least five notes up or down the scale. We have therefore three kinds of *Rāgas* namely *Sampūrṇa,* Heptatonic, having the full scale, *Ṣadja,* Hexatonic when they have six notes only up or down, and thirdly the *Oḍava,* pentatonic when they have five notes up or down. It is not necessary that a *Rāga* must have the same number of notes or the same notes up as well as down the scale. It may have the full scale upwards and omit one or two notes downwards. This gives us a very large number of melodic patterns.

One *Rāgas* are interpreted in two ways, namely *Anibaddha* and *Nibaddha Gāna.* In *Anibaddha Gāna* the melody is elaborated extempore according to its rules either in open vowels or certain syllables such as Te, Ne, Ri, Tom, Nom, in a more or less measured pace. This *Anibaddha Gāna* is called *Ālāp.*

Rāgas are also composed in songs, closed forms as they are called which are set to a definite system of rhythm and definite composition of musical tones and which have words. The oldest musical compositions known to us are Jayadeva's *Gīta Govindam.* This a book of musical compositions on the lines of *Prabandhas* which were in vogue in the ancient system of music. *Prabandhas, Vastu, Rūpakam* were the compositions of music which were mostly in Sanskrit. Śārañgadeva devotes a whole chapter to these mentioning a very large variety of *Prabandhas Vastus* and *Rūpakas.* The songs of *Jayadeva's Gīta Govinda* are still sung though it is hard to say whether they are sung

just as they were composed by the famous poet. The *Rāgas* of the songs which are known as *Aṣṭa-Padīs* are not in vogue today and our musicians of today sing them in any modern Rāga they like. Thus we hear one and the same *Aṣṭa-Padī* sung in a number of different *Rāgas*.

The Prabandhas are not in vogue today in their correct forms as they have been described in the old Sanskrit works. Our modern musical composition are *Dhurpad, Khayāl, Thumrī, Tappā, Tarānā, Chataraṅga* in Hindustānī music and Kīrtanams. *Kṛitis, Varnams, Tilānā, Pallavi, Javli,* in South Indian Music. If we closely study the forms of these compositions we shall find that these are just modernised and modified forms of the ancient musical compositions, the *Prabandhas.* A *Prabandha* had four or five parts namely *Udgraha,* the opening stanza, the *Dhruva,* or refrain, the *Melāpaka,* and *Ābhoga* and, in some, one more stanza called *Antarā.* Our modern compositions have four three or two parts, known as *Sthāyī, Antara, Sañcārī, Mañjha* in some and *Ābhoga.* Compositions known as D*hrupad* have some of them all these four. Most of our modern Hindusthānī musical compositions have two stanzas only, namely *Sthāyī* and *Antarā.* These stanzas are more or less of the same nature as those of the old *Prabandhas.*

A D*hrupad* is a serene type of song. It is a classical form of the *Kīrtanas* sung in our temples. The distinction between a *Kirtana* sung in religious shrines and a D*hrupad* of *Rāgdārī* Music is that while the aim in singing the *Kīrtana* is to create a feeling of devotion for the deity of the shrine by repeating phrases of its praise occurring in the *Kīrtana* with a more or less constant cadences of music, the aim of singing a D*hrupad* is to create a musical effect by embellishing it with a rich variety of musical cadences and rhythmic forms extempore. The drumming in accompaniment to a D*hrupad* is done on the *Mṛdaṅga.* This instrument is played with open palms and with some vigour so that the whole atmosphere is filled with it deep and loud sound.

A *Khayāl* is a sort of lyric in music. The very meaning of the word *Khayāl* is a passing thought. This is a type of song which leaves the musician free to develop his melody with all possibilities of musical expression by human voice. It is full of *mīends, ālāps, Behlavas, Khaṭkās, Tānas Zamzamās,* in fact all the graces of music are demonstrated to advantage in a Khayāl. This type of songs was popularised by the Muslim musicians. The subject matter of *Khayāl* is varied. Most of the *Khayāls* have for their theme one or the other phase of the *Alaṁkāra Śāstra* particularly the *Nāyaka-Nāyikā Prakaraṇa.* There are two types of Khayāls, serene and light. The former are modelled on D*hrupads* and are rendered in a slow tempo. The light types of *Khayāls* are said to have evolved out of the *Bhajan* and *Qawwali.* They are sung in a comparatively medium or even fast

tempo and are elaborated with a lot of running *Tānas*. The drumming in accompaniment to a *Khyāl* is done on *Tablā*.

A *Thumrī* is a purely amourous song. It is a very small couplet. The words are repeated with a variety of musical cadences, musical graces, so as to emphasize the word sense. A bit of gesture is also resorted to particularly by professional women when they sing a *Thumrī*.

A *Tappā* is a type of song introduced by one Ghulām Nabi popularly known as Shorī Miyān. These are said to have evolved out of the Panjābī folk tunes. The language is Panjābī and the subject matter amorous.

XII—HINDI SECTION.

(49) लोककाव्य का एक रूप—लावनी

[श्री केसरीनारायण शुक्ल, एम० ए०, डी० लिट्, लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय]

प्रत्येक देश में शिष्ट लोगों की काव्यधारा के समानान्तर सामान्य जनता की भावधारा भी बहती रही है। शिष्ट साहित्य के समान जनकाव्य या लोककाव्य भी अपनी अनेकरूपता में अत्यन्त समृद्ध रहा है। लावनी साहित्य भी इसी प्रकार का अत्यन्त सम्पन्न लोककाव्य है। मराठी साहित्य में "शाहिरी साहित्य" से 'पँवाड़ा' और 'लावणी' का बोध होता है। मराठी साहित्य में ये दो काव्य-प्रकार शिवाजी के समय से पाये जाते हैं। हिंदी-भाषी प्रान्तों में भी इसका बड़ा प्रचार रहा। आगरा और मिर्ज़ापुर इसके प्रधान केन्द्र रहे हैं। यद्यपि इसकी प्राचीन रचनाओं की रक्षा न होने से इसके इतिहास की प्राचीनता का पूरा-पूरा चित्र नहीं प्रस्तुत किया जा सकता फिर भी यह काफी प्राचीन है। कहा जाता है कि आलम कवि ने—जिसे कुछ विद्वान् अकबर का और कुछ औरंगज़ेब का समकालीन बताते हैं—अपने सुदामा-आख्यान की रचना इसी छंद में की है। उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी में इसकी लोकप्रियता इतनी बढ़ी कि इसके बड़े-बड़े अखाड़े और स्कूल बन गये, और जनता के सामान्य कवियों के साथ कतिपय विद्वान् महात्माओं ने भी इसे आध्यात्मिक उद्गार का साधन बनाया। इसके दो मुख्य स्कूल "कलग़ी" और "तुर्रा" कहलाये और उसके संत प्रणेताओं में काशीगिरि और रिसालगिरि मुख्य हैं। अन्य लावनीकारों में बनारसीदास, महादेवसिंह, लल्लाराम (बनारसीदास के शिष्य) आदि प्रमुख हैं। इन लावनीकारों की गुरु-शिष्य-परम्परा चली है जिसमें हिंदू और मुसलमान सभी मिलते हैं। कहा जाता है कि भारतेंदु हरिश्चन्द्र ने भी एक बार लावनीकारों की मंडली में बैठकर लावनी बनाकर इन लोगों से होड़ ली थी। भारतेंदु की बनाई बहुत सी लावनियाँ अत्यन्त मधुर और गतिमय हैं। श्रीजयशंकर 'प्रसाद' ने भी अपनी 'कामायनी' में इस छंद का उपयोग किया है। इस प्रकार जनता का अत्यन्त प्रिय काव्य-प्रकार साहित्य में भी समाविष्ट हुआ किन्तु अब इसकी धूम नहीं है, लावनी साहित्य अब मृत या मरणप्राय है। जनता के कण्ठहार के इस अमूल्य रत्न का विवेचन अब इसलिए और भी आवश्यक है।

लावनी लोक-गीत और लोककाव्य दोनों है। जब यह चंग या डफ पर गाया जाता है तो समाँ बँध जाता है। उस समय इसके छंदों की गतिशीलता की ओर हमारा

ध्यान बरबस आकृष्ट हो जाता है। कभी-कभी एक ही लावनीबाज या लावनीकार अपनी रचना चंग पर गा-गाकर सुनाता है, किन्तु पहले प्रायः दो मंडलियाँ एकत्रित होती थीं और स्पर्धा में एक ही विषय पर अपनी रचनाएँ सुनाती थीं, या पहेली और प्रश्नोत्तर के रूप में सवाल-जवाब होते थे। जनता हार-जीत का निश्चय करती थी और जीतनेवाला दल पराजित दल का निशान या झंडा उठा ले जाता था। 'कलगी' और 'तुर्रा' दल की तनातनी या सवाल-जवाब की बहुत दिनों तक धूम रही। इस प्रकार लावनी जनता के हृदय का सच्चा रूप-चित्र प्रस्तुत करती हुई हमारे सामने आई। उसमें जनता के उद्‌गार थे, उसे जनता के लोग ही कहते थे, और उस पर जनता का ही शासन था। इसलिए लावनी ही जनकाव्य की सच्ची उपाधि से विभूषित की जा सकती है।

लावनी का साहित्य अत्यन्त समृद्ध और अनेक रूपात्मक है। उसमें जनता के जीवन के प्रत्येक क्षेत्र और भूमिका की झलक मिलती है। लावनीबाजों ने जनता के जीवन को उसकी पूर्णता और समष्टि में देखकर उसके लौकिक और आध्यात्मिक पक्ष की अत्यन्त मधुर और संगीतमय झलक प्रस्तुत की है। लावनी समन्वित है। ऐसा होना स्वाभाविक भी है क्योंकि जनता का हृदय कोमल और करुण भावनाओं के प्रति सदा संवेदनशील रहा है। प्रेम और शृंगार का आकर्षण उसे सदा लुभाता रहा और सच्ची आध्यात्मिकता की ऊँचाई पर पहुँचने के लिए वह अपने को सदा न्योछावर करती रही। जनता कृत्रिमता से कुछ दूर है। और ये भाव भी मानव-हृदय के शाश्वत अकृत्रिम अनुभूत भाव हैं, इसलिए इन दोनों का सम्बन्ध भी बहुत कुछ नैसर्गिक गति से जुड़ गया। लावनी की गेयता भी इसका कारण है। गीत का उद्देश्य तात्कालिक प्रभाव उत्पन्न करना होता है। इसलिए गानेवाले गूढ़ या क्लिष्ट भावों की उपेक्षा कर (क्योंकि उनके समावेश से श्रोता उसके गूढ़ अर्थ में उलझ कर संगीत का आनन्द न प्राप्त कर सकेगा) उन भावों या प्रतीकों को लेते हैं और उन वृत्तियों को उकसाते हैं जिन्होंने जनता के हृदय में बहुत काल से घर कर लिया है। शृंगार और भक्ति और करुणा ऐसे ही भाव हैं, इसलिए इन भावों का बाहुल्य अस्वाभाविक नहीं है।

यद्यपि लावनी साहित्य के मुख्य भाव शृंगार और भक्ति हैं फिर भी लावनीबाज़ों की प्रतिभा ने उसे जो विविधता और अनेकरूपता प्रदान की है, उससे हम चमत्कृत हो जाते हैं, भक्ति के क्षेत्र में सगुण और निर्गुण दोनों प्रकार की उपासना के संकेत मिलते हैं। जहाँ सगुणक्षेत्र में उपास्य की महिमा का कथन और लीला का वर्णन बड़े अनूठे ढंग से हुआ है, वहाँ निर्गुणसाधना के समस्त प्रतीक भी मिलते हैं और ब्रह्मज्ञान और अद्वैतानुभूति की व्यंजना हुई है। निम्नलिखित उदाहरण में निर्गुण-साधना के उपलक्षणों का प्रयोग दृष्टव्य है:—

है ऊपर कुआँ औ नीचे उसके डोरी
पानी भरती पनिहारिन चोरा चोरी ॥

मूँ बन्द कुएँ का है अरु पानी दरसे, वो देखे जिसकी डोर लगी है हर से।
जब पनिहारिन कुछ काम न राखै घर से, तब अमृत जल से छकें छुटे सब उर से।
वो नित उठ गागरि भरें बनी रहे कोरी ॥ पानी भरती०
जब उलटा डोल वो जाय तो पानी आवै, फिर सींचे अपना बाग अमर फल पावै,
है काहे को वो डोल औ कौन बनावै, जो पूरा जोगी होय सो मोहिं बतावै
उस कुएँ के ऊपर नहीं चले बरजोरी ॥ पानी भरती ॥
उस कुएँ पै गंगा जमुना सरस्वती हैं, और महादेव अविनाशी पारबती हैं
नौ नाथ चौरासी सिद्ध औ बाल जती हैं, नाना प्रकार की उसमें बेल घनी है
है राह वहाँ की बहुत साँकरी खोरी ॥ पानी भरती ॥
लाखों पनिहारिन एक वहाँ पनिहारा, उस पनिहारे ने सबको भर दी धारा
जिसने पाया वो नीर ता जन्म सुधारा, कहै बनारसी उसकी गति अपरम्पारा,
वो न्हावे उसमें जिसका पंथ अघोरी ॥ पानी भरती ॥

लावनी के कथन और प्रश्नोत्तरशैली का कुछ आभास देने के लिए ही इसे कुछ विस्तार के साथ उद्धृत किया गया है। इस लावनी में संयुक्त उलटा कुआँ, गंगा, जमुना, सरस्वती आदि निर्गुणसाधना के सर्वविदित प्रतीक हैं। सहस्रदल कमल, इड़ा पिंगला और सुषुम्ना के ही ये दूसरे नाम हैं। पनिहारिन जीवात्माएँ हैं और पनिहारा ईश्वर है। उस अपरिवर्तनशील ब्रह्म का हमारे शरीर में निवास है। 'माधुर्यभाव' में लपेट कर इसी तथ्य की प्रतीकात्मक व्यंजना निम्नलिखित उदाहरण में बड़ी सुन्दर हुई है—

"चलो आज हिलमिल के सोवें पीतम प्यारे के अब संग
सात द्वीप नवखण्ड के ऊपर उत्तम जिसका बिछा पलंग
पंचतत्त्व से अलग है वो औ तीनों गुण से न्यारा है
दिव्य रूप सुन्दर से सुन्दर अपना पीतम प्यारा
दरवाजे पर चौकी देता जिसके कुतुब सितारा है,
यहाँ न चन्दा सूर्य अग्नी और पवन का तनिक गुजारा है
सो मेरे इस शरीर में है उसी से अपना सत्संग ॥ चलो आज ॥

इसी प्रकार चौसर के निम्नलिखित खेल में आध्यात्मिक भावना की प्रतीकात्मक या रूपात्मक अभिव्यक्ति मिलती है—

बहुत दिनों पर बिछी है चौसर सम्हल के खेलो ये चाल क्या है
जो फेकूँ पाँसे तो छूटे छक्के नलो दमन की मजाल क्या है ॥

मैं हूँ जुवाड़ी सुघर खिलाड़ी हमेशा जीतूँ कभी न हारूँ।
सदा पड़े पौ दुई दूर हो चौरासियों घर घर की बरह मारूँ
पड़े अगरचे जो तीन काने तो अपने दिल में मैं यह विचारूँ
ये तीन गुण हैं सभी रतन में उनसे चलके अलग सिधारूँ।
है चार काणे वो चौथा पद है मिला अब हमको मलाल क्या है। जो फेंकू०
है इसमें पजड़ी सो पाँच तत्व मैं इनसे गोरी चला बचा के
औ फेकूँ छकड़ी ले आऊँ सत को सद्गुरु के पास जाके॥
है दावँ अट्ठा सो आठ सिद्धी नव रिद्धी में रखूँ मना के।
पड़े अगर छः चहार दस तौ दशों द्वार देखूँ दिल लगा के
न रंग अपना मरे किसी से मैं अब समझता हूँ काल क्या है॥ जो फेकूँ०

अब 'निर्गुण के बाजार' में खरीदार और खरीदनेवाले की सत्ता के अभेद को देखिए। साधक और साध्य में कोई अन्तर नहीं। उपासक उस परम सत्ता का सेवक भी है और मालिक भी। दास्य भाव और सखाभाव दोनों की इसे अनुभूति होती है।

"यह बाजार निर्गुन का है मैं खरीदार मालिक का हूँ।
मालिक भी हूँ और मैं ताबेदार मालिक का हूँ॥
वह मेरा है दोस्त और मैं भी तो यार मालिक का हूँ।
जो चाहे सो करूँ मैं मुख्तियार मालिक का हूँ॥"

वही एक ब्रह्म अनेक रूपों में व्यक्त हो रहा है, वही ब्रह्मा, विष्णु और महेश है। सभी मे उस पूर्ण ब्रह्म की ज्योति जग रही है। ब्रह्म की अद्वैतानुभूति की व्यञ्जना निम्नलिखित पंक्तियों में हुई है:—

"वो आपी-आप है एक और नहीं कोई, कह कलगी तुर्रा कहाँ से आए दोई।
वही ब्रह्मा विष्णु महेश वही है शक्ती, निश्चय करि मानो करो प्रेम से भक्ती॥
सुन किसी की निन्दा मोहिं भली नहीं लगती, है सबमें पूरण ब्रह्म ज्योति सी जगती।
क्यों झूठ बाद कर करके बुद्धि खोई॥ कह कलगी०"॥

निर्गुणभक्ति के समान सगुणभक्ति के उद्गार भी लावनी साहित्य में बहुत मिलते हैं, इनमें अधिक का सम्बन्ध गंगा से है या श्रीकृष्ण की शृंगारमयी प्रेम-क्रीड़ा से है। गंगा के तट पर बसे हुए मिर्जापुर के लावनी केन्द्र से शिव और गंगा की स्तुति का प्रादुर्भाव स्वाभाविक है। गंगा की महिमा, उसकी धारा की पतितपावनी शक्ति का वर्णन बड़ी तन्मयता और उत्साह से किया गया है। छंद की गतिशीलता भी देखने योग्य है।

"जौ लौं पृथ्वी पर है गंगा की धारा, तौ लौं यम राजा करिहै कहा तुम्हारा ।
मत डरो कोई यमदूत से मेरे भाई, रक्षा करने को श्री गंगा माई ॥
जब से शिवजी ने अपने शीश चढ़ाई, तब सीस अवर जगदीश की पदवी पाई ।
शिव बना वही जिसने एक गोता मारा ॥ तौ लौं० ॥

गंगा-महिमा और गंगावतरण की संक्षिप्त कथा नीचे उद्धृत पद में दी गई है:—

"यों कहे वेद महिमा पुकार गंगा की, देती है तार आतम को धार गंगा की ।
पहिले ये धारा हरी चरन से आई, ब्रह्मा के कमंडल में फिर आन समाई ॥
कुछ काल गये शंकर ने शीश चढ़ाई, और शिव से भागीरथी ने गंगा पाई ।
एक धार गई पाताल गगन एक छाई, तप के बल से एक मृत्युलोक में आई ॥
हुई एक से फिर धारा हजार गंगा की ॥ देती है तार० ॥"

श्रीकृष्ण सम्बन्धी गीतों के अनगिनत रूप मिलते हैं। कृष्ण का चरित्र शिष्ट काव्य और जनजीवन दोनों का आधार रहा है। नजीर अकबराबादी भी इसमें तन्मय हो चुके हैं। योगियों से लेकर सामान्य मनुष्य तक को कृष्ण के चरित्र में कोई न कोई मन लुभानेवाली और मन रमानेवाली चीज मिली है। किसी ने कृष्णलीला की आध्यात्मिक व्याख्या की, किसी को उसमें अप्रतिम सौंदर्य की झाँकी मिली और कोई उसके शृंगार सम्मोहन में बँधा रह गया। शिक्षा-दीक्षा, रुचि और स्वभाव के अनुरूप किसी ने उदात्त वृत्तियों को उभारा और किसी ने उत्तान शृंगार का वर्णन किया। श्रीकृष्ण सम्बन्धी लावनियाँ भी इसी प्रकार अनेकरूपता धारण किये हुए हैं। श्रीकृष्ण का सौंदर्य, मुरलीनादक, उनकी लीलाएँ, उनकी रासक्रीड़ा, गोपीप्रेम आदि इसके मुख्य विषय हैं। श्रीकृष्ण सम्बन्धी लावनियों का शब्दचयन और पद-लालित्य द्रष्टव्य है। इसमें संक्षिप्त आख्यान और मुक्तक दोनों मिलते हैं।

श्रीकृष्ण के वंशीवादन का प्रभाव गोपियों के अस्तव्यस्त शृंगार में दिखाई पड़ रहा है। श्रीकृष्ण के पूछने पर गोपियाँ अपने प्रेम का निवेदन करती हैं:—

"हरि प्रथम बजाई बँसुरी राधावर कुंजविहारी ने ।
धुनि सुनत अचानक उठ धाई तजे सकल काम ब्रजनारी ने ॥
पड़ी भनक श्रवण मुरली की जब तब सब सखियाँ उठि धाइ चलीं ।
कोउ एक दृग में सुरमा देकर कोउ एक कर में लाय चलीं ॥
कोउ आधी सारी तन ढाके कोउ जोबन खोलि दिखाय चलीं ।
कोउ के आधे दाँतन मिस्सी कोउ आधा सीस मुदाय चलीं ॥
कोउ लर लटयाये चलीं लटपट लज्जा तजि सबन बिचारी ने ॥ हरि प्रथम० ॥

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जब तन की सुधि कछु नहीं रही तब भूषन कौन सुधार चले ।
मन तो अटका इस बँसुरी में दृग से अँसुवन की धार चले ॥
तुम राग बजावो राग करी ऐसा कोऊ न विहार करै ।
मँझधार में नाव पड़ी हमरी तुम बिन को बेड़ा पार करै ॥
तुम पति हमरे मैं दासी सब ये दिया ज्वाब दुखियारी ने ॥ धुनि सुनत० ॥

श्रीकृष्णदर्शन की लालसा निम्नलिखित पद में व्यक्त हुई है। इसका शब्द-चयन ध्यान देने योग्य है:—

"ब्रज चलो सखी करो दर्शन नागरनट के।
हैं जीने के फल यही मिटें सब खटके ॥
अधरन पर बंसी धरे साँवरे मटके।
वो घूँघरवाले बाल अलक लट लटकें ॥
कभी पकड़ के बैयाँ इधर उधर से झटके।
अँगिया के टूटे बन्द और चूड़ी चटके ॥
बिन श्यामसुन्दर के बहुत (मेरा ?) मन भटके ॥ हैं जीने के० ॥

शब्दचयन और शैलीकौशल की दृष्टि से मुरलीवादन पर आती हुई गोपिकाओं का यह वर्णन बड़ा रमणीक है:—

"हरि बंसुरी की धुनि सुनि ब्रज जुवती चलीं झुंड के झुंड मगन मन कर।
धन धन्य हरी धन धन्य हरी, धन धन बंसुरी तन मन लियो हर ॥
मन प्रेम प्रबल अति तन सुन्दर सब वेद सुरति अस गुण गावैं।
तब लाज सकल गृह काज छोड़ चलीं हरिपद पंकज मन भावैं ॥
हरि आनन चन्द्र चकोर सखी छवि निरखि कर सकुचावैं।
कुछ कहि न सकैं हित की बतियाँ अति लज्जित मन में मुसुकावैं ॥
अति व्याकुल गात मदन मद कर सखि चाहत मिले मनोहर वर ॥ हरि० ॥

यह सगुण भक्ति किस प्रकार निर्गुण भावना को छू रही है यह भी ध्यान देने योग्य है, निम्न लिखित छन्द में इसी का उदाहरण है। गोपी, कृष्ण और रासक्रीड़ा की रूपात्मक और आध्यात्मिक व्याख्या के संकेत चिन्ह भी वर्तमान हैं।

"मन झोके खा रहा झूमकों की झोकों में, दिल बिंधा कृष्ण तेरी बाली की नोकों में।
तुम पारब्रह्म हो निराकार अविनासी, फिर देह धार क्यों हुए श्याम ब्रजबासी ॥
ओ प्रेम प्रीत की डाल गले में फाँसी, सब मोहित की ब्रजबनिता कर लईं दासी।

तुम तो कहते हम बाल यती सन्यासी, फिर हमरे संग क्यों बने हो भोग बिलासी ॥
नहीं लगता मन गीता के श्लोकों में ॥ दिल बिंधा ॥

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हम सब ब्रजबनिता गौ लोक ते आईं, सब हैं वेदों की श्रुती बेद ने गाई ।
तुम आदि अंत से कृष्ण हमारे साईं, हैं धन्य हमारे भाग्य जो कंठ लगाई ॥
कहे देवीसिंह औ काशी गिरि गोसाईं, हम बार (बार ?) श्रीकृष्ण तेरे बल नाईं ।
कोई ऐसा हुआ अवतार न त्रैलोकों में, दिल बिंधा कृष्ण तेरी बाली की नोकों में ॥

सगुण कृष्ण किस प्रकार निर्गुण साधन के प्राप्य बन जाते हैं यह देखने के योग्य है । कवि वंशीवट का दीदार अपने दिल में पा रहा है । वह न जाने कितनी बार इस प्रेम में सिर कटा चुका है और मंसूर की तरह सूली पर नाचा है । सगुण और निर्गुण भावना का एक दूसरे में पर्यवसान या अन्तर्भाव और सूफी साधना का भारतीय साधना में अवतरण ध्यान देने के योग्य है ।

"हम तेरे इश्क में यार बहुत दिन भटके, अब मिला हमें तू यार खुले पट घट के ।
कई बार गया सर तेरे इश्क में कटके, फिर पाया हमने नाम तुम्हारा रट के ॥
किये रंज अलम मंजूर जरा नहीं हटके, दिल की वहशत सब निकल गई छुट छुट के ।
कई लाख बने के दिये हैं तुमने झटके, अब मिला सनम तू० ॥

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जब खुले किवाड़े यार कपट के पट के, दिल में पाये दीदार वोह बंसीबट के ।
सिर मोर मुकुट कटि कसे जरी के पट के, कहैं बनारसी हम आशिक नागरनट के ॥
अब मिला हमें तू सनम खुले पट घट के, सूली पर चढ़ा मंसूर उसी पर मटके ॥"

इसी सगुण भक्ति से सम्बन्धित लावनी काव्य का वह प्रकार है जिसे आख्यान काव्य कह सकते हैं । इन्हें लीलाकाव्य भी कहा जा सकता है क्योंकि अधिकांश का वर्ण्य विषय कृष्ण की लीला है । दान लीला, नाग लीला, चीरहरण लीला, रासलीला, गेंद लीला, द्रौपदी रक्षा लीला, सुदामाचरित्र, शुकोक्ति कथा आदि कथाएँ इन संक्षिप्त आख्यानों के मुख्य विषय हैं । इन आख्यानों के बीच जनता की भक्ति संवेदना, उल्लास और आनन्द की भावना पूरे अतिरेक के साथ व्यक्त हुई है । ये भाव जनता की अत्यन्त चलती हुई प्यारी बोली में व्यक्त हुए हैं । इनमें शैली का प्रवाह दर्शनीय है, स्थानाभाव से यहाँ पर केवल दो एक आख्यानों का एक आध छंद ही उद्धृत किया जा सकेगा । निम्नलिखित उदाहरण द्रौपदी चीरहरण की कथा का अंश है:—

"बिन काज आज महराज लाज गई मेरी, दुख हरो द्वारिकानाथ शरण मैं तेरी ।
दुःशासन बंश कुठार महा दुखदाई, कर पकरत मेरो चीर लाज नहीं आई ॥

अब भयो धरम को नाश पाप रही छाई, लखि अधम सभा की ओर नारि बिलखाई ॥
शकुनी दुर्योधन कर्ण खड़े खल घेरी ॥ दुख हरो० ॥
तुम दीनन की सुधि लेत देवकीनन्दन, महिमा अनन्त भगवंत भक्त दुख भञ्जन ।
तुम किया सिया दुख दूर शंभु धनुखंडन, अति आरत मदनगोपाल मुनिन मन रंजन ॥
करुणानिधान भगवान करी क्या देरा ॥ दुख हरो० ॥

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बैठे सब राज समाज नीति जिन खोई, नहिं करत धरम की बात सभा में कोई ।
पाँचो पति बैठे मौन कौन गति होई, ले नंद नंदन को नाम द्रौपदी रोई ॥
करि करि बिलाप संताप सभा में टेरी ॥ दुख हरो० ॥
सुनि दीनबन्धु भगवान भक्त हितकारी, हरि भये चीर में आपु हरा दुख भारी ।
खैंचत हारो मतिमंद बीर बलकारी, रखि लई दीन की लाज आप बनवारी ॥
हरखत बरखत सुर सुमन बजावत भेरी ॥ दुख हरो० ॥

दूसरा उदाहरण सुदामाचरित्र से प्रस्तुत किया जा रहा है ।

"श्रीकृष्ण ने देखा आये मित्र सुदामा, कर जोड़ खड़े हो गये वसुधा अभिरामा ।
नंगे पैरों तन दुर्बल वस्त्र मलीना, कुछ शोच न कियो लगाय कंठ से लीना ॥
अँसुवन जल से प्रभु सींचत चरन प्रवीना, विनती करके प्रभु बोले वचन अधीना ।
इतने दिन तुम कहाँ रहे कहो क्या कीना, दुख को सुख समझे धन्य तुम्हारा जाना ॥
तुमने पवित्र यह कियो मेरो सब ग्रामा ॥ कर जोड़० ॥
उबटन करके गंगाजल से नहलाया, फिर रत्नसिंहासन पर उनको बिठलाया ।
षटरस भोजन अति प्रेम से उन्हें जिमाया, फिर कहा मुझे भावज ने क्या भिजवाया ॥
लिये खोल वो तंदुल रुचि रुचि भोग लगाया, दो फंके मारे दिखाई अपनी माया ।
तीसरी बार रुक्मिणी ने कर को थामा ॥ कर जोड़० ॥
फिर चले सुदामा घर को नंगे पैयाँ, वह भयो सगुन मिल गई राह में गैयाँ ।
पानी भी बरसा और बादल की छैयाँ, करें याद कृष्ण की और अपनी लड़कैयाँ ॥
जो मुझे कृष्ण कुछ देते मेरे सैयां, तो बड़ी शर्म मुझे होती मेरे गुसैयाँ ।
मुझे सब कुछ दियो कियो मुझे परनामा ॥ कर जोड़० ॥"

लीलाओं को सुनने के साथ-साथ जनता की रुचि उपदेश सुनने और उसे ग्रहण करने की ओर भी बराबर रही है । लावनीबाजों ने संसार की क्षण-भंगुरता का घट के भीतर व्यापक ईश्वर का सत्यप्रेम दानमहिमा का, कलियुग का, याचना की निन्दा आदि नैतिकतापूर्ण का उपदेश दिया है । नीचे के छन्द में किसी के द्वार पर जाकर माँगने की निन्दा की गई है—

"इस जग में जब लग अपनी पार बसावे, मत कोई किसी के द्वार माँगने जावे।
इस जग में माँगना यार पाप की पोटे, माँगन गये बल के द्वार राम भये छोटे॥
सुनना व माँगना दुबले हो गये मोटे, माँगन के बराबर और कर्म नहीं खोटे।
इस नर को माँगना जो चाहे कहलावे॥ मत कोई० ॥"

नीचे के उद्धृत उदाहरण में कलियुग की विशेषता बताई गई है और सत्कर्मों का उपदेश दिया गया है।

"इस कलयुग में कल देगा कल पावैगा, कलपावैगा तो क्यों कर कल पावैगा।
नर देही पाकर ध्यान साईं का धरना, दो दिन का जीना देख अंत समय धरना॥
तज बुरे काम सागर के पार उतरना, दुख देगा तो तुझको भी दुख भरना।
नेकी का मजा नेकी का नेकी करना, मत करें बदी की बात बदी से डरना॥"

इन लावनीबाजों का ध्यान यद्यपि अधिकतर प्रेमगीतों की ही ओर अधिक रहा फिर भी दो चार सामाजिक उद्गार मिल ही जाते हैं जिनसे तत्कालीन सामाजिक स्थिति और व्यापक विचारों का पता लगता है, पहले गोरक्षा के सम्बन्ध में लिखी लावनी का उदाहरण दिया जा रहा है।

"गोपाल हो तो सब गौवों को पालो, दुष्टों को मारो तनिक न देखो भालो।
यह तृण चुग लेवें अमृत दूध को देवें, ये सब कुछ देवें कोई से कुछ नहिं लेवें।
हैं धन्य वह उनके भाग्य जो इनको सेवें, उनकी नैया भवसागर में हरि खेवें।
सारे कसाइयों के घर को अब घालो॥ दुष्टों को० ॥"

दूसरा उदाहरण अनमेल विवाह की विडम्बना का है:—

"जाती जो हूँ मैं संग सखिन के तो वह पीछे चलते हैं।
मना जो करती हूँ तो वह रो-रो खूब मचलते हैं॥
देखके हालत दीदी मेरे दीदे आप उबलते हैं।
पाले पड़ी हूँ मैं जिनके अभी वो आपी पलते हैं॥
नेक से उनको न मतलब और न बद से काम है।
खेलना और कूदना उनको बस ऐश आराम है॥
मैं समझती हूँ सखी मुझसे खफा कुछ राम है।
मुहर बोतल पर लगी है और खाली जाम है॥
हुई है जो गत कुगत मेरी मैं इससे हूँ हैरानी में।
मिले जो छोटे बालम (मुझको) इस मदभरी जवानी में॥"

लावनी की पूर्ण सम्पन्नता उसके प्रेम काव्य की समृद्धि में दिखाई पड़ती है। इस 'रसराज' का वर्णन अनेक प्रकार के चमत्कारी ढंग से किया गया है। प्रेम के समस्त वर्णनों पर सूफियाना खयाल की रंगत दिखाई पड़ती है, फारसी का प्रभाव इस क्षेत्र में अच्छी तरह से लक्षित होता है। फारसी प्रेम काव्य के प्रतीकों का खूब उपयोग किया गया है। प्रेम की महिमा, प्रेम का प्रभाव, प्रेम की मदिरा, मये वहदत, इश्क की वहशत, इश्क हकीकी रिंदों आदि का वर्णन खूब बढ़ा-चढ़ा के किया गया है। फारसी प्रेमकाव्य के नायक मजनूँ का भी स्वागत हुआ है। तसव्वुफ का अच्छा खासा रंग है। इन लावनीबाजों को इस बात का पूरा श्रेय दिया जाना चाहिये कि उन्होंने फारसी और भारतीय साहित्य पद्धतियों का स्वागत कर उनके बीच से अपना रास्ता निकाला। सम्मिश्रित संस्कृति या मिली-जुली तहजीब का रूप हमें लावनी साहित्य में देखने को मिलता है।

सबसे पहले हरी रस का प्रेम प्याला पीजिए और उसमें आये हुए 'आबो हवा' आतिश गिल पर ध्यान दीजिए जो फारसी प्रभाव का सूचक है। भारतीय विचारधारा 'पाँच तत्त्वों' को मानती है।

"पी लो प्यारे हो मतवाला प्याला प्रेम हरी रस का,
पाप पुन्य दो भुगतन आये कौन तेरा है तू किसका।
जब तक जीवे हर गुन गा ले धन जोबन सब सपना है॥
करि विचार देखो मन मूरख, कोई नहीं यों अपना है॥
आबोहवा आतिश गिल का तन बना इन्हीं में खपना है॥
अरे मूढ़ अज्ञान चेतकर राम नाम बस जपना है।
बाल अवस्था खेल गँवाया, तरुन भये नारी बस का॥ पाप पुन्य०॥

अब 'मये वहेदत' को चखिये, और सुनिए कि वह किस प्रकार तय्यार होती है। फारसी काव्य में प्रचलित जाहिर और रिन्द की नोक-झोंक भी यहाँ है। अन्त में 'मुहतसिब' भी उसी के रंग में रँग गए।

बिन पिये जहाँ के बीच जिऊँ मैं कैसे, भर दे प्याला तबरेज़ साक़िया मए से।
मए वहदत का मुश्ताक हूँ यक मुद्दत से, वाकिफ हूँ मैं कुछ मस्तानों की आदत से।
जिस वक्त नशा सरशार हुआ शिद्दत से, बेहोश हुआ इस दुनिया की बिद्दत से।
हर वक्त जबाँ से कहा करूँ मैं ऐसे॥ भर दे०॥
शोलये नूर दिल में मेरे भभके है, अशरत की मए उसमें हरदम टपके है।
लौ लगी और दिल उस लौ में लपके है, इस नशे से कब अब आँख मेरी झपके है।
आती है यही आवाज़ हर जगह मै से॥ भर दे०॥

× × ×

यक रोज सामने मेरे मुहतसिब आये, बोले मै पीना कौन तुझे सिखलाये ।
और देख कराबे मए के वो घबराए, बोला मैं ये क्या खुदा ने नहीं बनाये ।
फिर कहने लगे मुहतसिब भी मुझसे ऐसे ॥ भर दे० ॥

इस प्रेममदिरा का यह प्रभाव हुआ कि प्रेमी की आँखों से गंगा-यमुना बहने लगीं । इस प्रेम की गंगा का थाह लगाना कठिन है । प्रेमी की आहों से बादल काले हो गये । एक ओर वर्षा में प्रकृति बरस रही है और दूसरी ओर प्रेमी की आँखों से झड़ी लगी है और उसके दिल पर बिजलियाँ टूट रही हैं । निम्नलिखित उद्धरण में मनोदशा और प्राकृतिक व्यापार का साम्य देखिये और इसमें उर्दू-हिंदी की सम्मिश्रित शब्दचयन की शैली पर भी ध्यान दीजिये । दोनों भाषाओं के मेल का यह बड़ा सुन्दर उदाहरण है:—

बरसात के मौसम में ये हुई हैरानी, हर वक्त मेरे चश्मों से बरसे पानी ।
आँसू से मेरे भर आये नदिया औ नाले, क्या ताकत कोई इस दरिया की था ले ।
उठते हैं हिज्र में मेरे जिगर में स्वाले, और आह से मेरे हुए हैं बादल काले ।
ये बरखा मेरी आँखों में आन समानी ॥ हर वक्त० ॥
आँखों से झड़ी लगी बरसे पानी थमके, गम की है घटा रंज अलम की बिजली चमके ।
कड़के बादल दिल तड़पे दामिनि दमके, पड़ गये हैं लाले जान के मारे गम के ॥
मैंने बदली निगाह तो बदली मुझे दिखानी ॥ हर वक्त० ॥

ये प्रेमी 'मरीज़े होश' थे, प्रेम की मस्ती ने सारे रोग छुड़ा दिये, अब तो इनके लिए दुनिया का सारा नकशा ही बदल गया । इस मदिरा में उन्हें 'आबे हयात' का मज़ा मिला । उसमें अमर जीवन था । प्रेमी मौन हो गया । दुनिया छूट गई और प्रेमी बन्दे से खुदा बन गया । इस प्रकार सूफ़ियों का प्राप्य प्राप्त हो गया—

वो है मज़ा मिला हमको इस मैनोशी में, छुट गई यह दुनिया आपसे बेहोशी में ।
मैंने कुछ इरादा किया न मै पीने का, वो है काम जो देखा सोने में मीने का ।
था नक्शा उसमें खिंचा सदा जीने का, और रंग भी उसमें भरा था रंगीने का ।
पीते ही जबाँ आई खुद खामोशी में ॥ छुट गई यह० ॥
जिस वक्त नशा वो मेरी आँखों में आया, बंदे से खुदा ने मुझको खुदा बनाया···

इस 'इश्क की बीमारी' में भी प्रिय की निर्ममता का ही रोना है । प्रिय बेवफा है, वह सदय नहीं होता ।

"इन माशूकों को कभी दरद नहीं आवे, चाहे कोई सर पटक पटक मर जावे ।
चाहे कोई रोवे चाहे जहर को खावे, चाहे कोई जोगी हो जंगल को जावे ।
इनके मिलने में नहीं वफादारी है, मुझ आशिक को इस इश्क की बीमारी है ।"

इस प्रेम ने 'दीन दुनिया' सभी कुछ छुड़ा दिया। प्रेमियों के मानदण्ड और आचरण सांसारिक दृष्टिभावना से विलक्षण हो गये। वे ला इस्लाम और ला ईमाँ हो गये। बुत को ईश्वर समझकर उससे प्रेम किया और कुफ्र को ईमान माना, प्रेमी ने विष की डली को कंद समझकर खा लिया।

"इसलाम समझ के दीनो मजब को छोड़ा, और ईमाँ समझके कुफ्र से नाता तोड़ा।
समझे थे जिसको बहुत वो निकला थोड़ा, इसलिए ये मुँह को कुल जहान से मोड़ा।
है मेरे इश्क की अरश तलक रँगरलियाँ, खा गया समझ के कंद ज़हर की डलियाँ।
बस खुदा समझ के नजर बुतों पर डाली, और खता समझ के दिल ने आह निकाली।
की समझे थे जिसको भरा वो निकला खाली, जाहिर करने को हुआ तो बात छिपा ली।
मालूम हुआ जो इश्क में थीं छलबलियाँ ॥ खा गया० ॥"

संसारवाले इन प्रेमियों को 'बेशरा' और धर्मविहीन कहते हैं किन्तु प्रेमियों को इसकी परवाह नहीं है। प्रेमी जानते हैं कि ईश्वर धर्म के बन्धनों के ऊपर है। वह न मंदिर में है, न मस्जिद में, न गिरजे में, वह अपने अन्तःकरण में है। सांसारिक भटक रहे हैं किन्तु निर्मल दृष्टिवाला साधक उसे अपने हृदय में देखता है। और लोग धोखे में हैं, केवल प्रेमी ठीक रास्ते पर चल रहा है—

"जितने दीन हैं इस दुनिया में किसी का नहीं मज़हब है वो।
सबमें है और अलग है सबसे देखा मैंने अजब है वो ॥
बुतखाना बनवाया किसी ने मस्जिद को भी चुनवाया।
अपने अपने दीन का देहरा सबने सबको दिखलाया ॥
उस मालिक को भूल गये जिससे ये नर जामा पाया।
इसमें उसको नहिं देखा है जिसकी ये कंचन काया ॥
मैं अपने तन में देखूँ हर घड़ी कि मेरा रब है वो ॥ सबमें० ॥
हिन्दू तो बुतखाने में पत्थर से टकराते सर को।
मुसलमान मस्जिद में गिर के, सिज्दा करते हैदर को ॥
और सुनो अँगरेज़ बड़ा कहते अपने गिरजाघर को।
मुझे इसी में मिला और जा मिले किसी को कब हैं वो ॥ सबमें० ॥"

लावनी साहित्य की भावसमृद्धि का संक्षिप्त आभास देने के बाद उसके छन्द और शैली के सम्बन्ध में दो-चार शब्द अप्रासंगिक न होंगे। लावनी के छन्दों के सम्बन्ध में कुछ भी निर्णय देने के पहिले लोगों को यह न भुला देना चाहिए कि लावनी मुख्यतः गीतकाव्य है, इसकी रचना गाने के लिए और गीत सुनकर आनन्द प्राप्ति के हेतु हुई है। ये लावनियाँ इसलिए नहीं लिखी गईं कि पन्ने उलटकर

इनको पढ़कर रख दिया जाय। गाने में स्वरों का उतार-चढ़ाव और विस्तार होता ही है, इसलि । पढ़ने में इनकी मात्राएँ अधूरी या अधिक भले ही प्रतीत हों किन्तु गाने में ये पूरी उतरती हैं, इसलिए लावनीबाज़ों की कृतियों में छन्दशास्त्र के नियमों की पूर्णता की खोज निरर्थक ही होगी।

जिस प्रकार भावपक्ष में लावनीबाजों में सर्वग्राहिता दिखाई है उसी प्रकार छन्दों में भी उन्होंने फारसी की बहरों को अपनाया है। छन्द की जगह उन लोगों ने 'बहेर' शब्द का ही (और कहीं-कहीं ख्याल) प्रयोग किया है जैसे बहेर छोटी, बहेर लँगड़ी, बहेर डेवढ़ी बहेर तवीर, बहेर शिकस्ता, बहेर मसनवी, बहेर जी की। 'बहेर जी की' से उनका मतलब है स्वनिर्मित। वास्तव में यदि देखा जाय तो इनकी अधिकांश बहरें 'जी की' ही हैं। इन्होंने केवल आधार या ढाँचा हिंदी या फारसी का लिया है फिर उसमें अपने मन से घटाया-बढ़ाया है। लावनीबाज़ों का एक दोहा उदाहरणस्वरूप उद्धृत किया जाता है। आप देखेंगे कि इसकी मात्राएँ छन्दोनुकूल नहीं हैं—

"तेरा नाग क्या काल है पल में लूँगा मैं नाथ।
कमलफूल लदवाय कै, लै चलूँगा पल में साथ॥"

फारसी के छन्दों का भी यही हाल हुआ है। यद्यपि बहेर छोटी, 'बहेर खफीफ' का नामान्तर और इनका 'बहेर तवीर' 'बहेर तवील' की याद दिलाता है फिर भी 'रुक्न' नियमानुकूल न मिलेंगे। यही बात और बहेरों के सम्बन्ध में भी लागू होती है। निम्नलिखित छन्द का (केवल) आधार 'बहेरे मुज़ारा' है, (मफूल फाइलातुन मफूल फाइलातुन)

"अब विष्णु से जाकर जम ने यही पुकारा, गंगा ने बंद कर दिया नर्क का द्वारा"
"हरि प्रथम बजाई जब बँसुरी राधावर कुंजबिहारी ने।
धुनि सुनत अचानक सकल जु धाईं तजे सकल काज व्रजनारी ने"

(बहेर मुन्तकारिब)

"फकीरी खुदा को प्यारी है, अमीरी कौन बिचारी है"

[लावनीकारों ने इसे बहेर डेवढ़ी कहा है, बहेर खफीफ (फायलातुन मुफाअलुन फेलुन) इसका आधार है]

"तू खुदावंद खुदा है वह मेरा खुदा मुझे ध्यान रहे तेरी आठ पहर।
मेरी अर्ज तुझसे बस यही सदा, मेरे हाल पे रखिये मेहेर की नजर"

[इसे 'ख्याल बहेर तवीर' नाम दिया गया है, इसका आधार बहेर 'कामिल' है।]

"वह कुछ फौज पहुँची अटक के जो पास, वहाँ उड़ गए सबके होशो हवास।"
"वह दरिया कहर और पानी का शोर, बहे इस कदर वाँ चले कुछ न जोर।"
(मसनवी फऊलुन फऊलुन, फऊलुन फऊल)

"लाखहा अरमाँ मेरे दिल में भरे रह जायँगे।
एक दिन यों ही पिया के सोच में मर जायँगे॥" (बहेर रमल)

जैसा कि पहले कहा जा चुका है ये रचनाएँ गाई जाती थीं, इसीलिए इन छन्दों के साथ कहीं-कहीं "ख्याल" शब्द का भी प्रयोग किया गया है।

छन्दों के इस संक्षिप्त विवरण के बाद इन लावनियों की भाषाशैली पर भी दो एक शब्द कह दिये जायँ यद्यपि इतने अधिक उद्धरणों के बाद इसकी आवश्यकता नहीं है। भाषाशैली में उसी सर्वग्राहिता के दर्शन होते हैं। ये लावनीबाज़ भावाभिव्यक्ति के लिए हिंदी फारसी सभी के शब्दों का स्वागत करते थे, उन्हें किसी से परहेज न था। जहाँ फारसी काव्य प्रतीकों का प्रयोग हुआ है वहाँ फारसी के शब्दों का बाहुल्य स्वाभाविक ही है, फिर भी इनकी भाषा चलती हुई, बामुहाविरा और बड़ी प्यारी है। कहीं-कहीं पर घरेलू शब्दों का भी प्रयोग हुआ है। हिन्दी और उर्दू के शब्दों का मेल इस प्रकार हुआ है कि गीत के प्रवाह में वे खटकते नहीं हैं। "बरसात के मौसम में ये हुई हैरानी" वाले गीत में दोनों की मनोहर छटा देखी जा सकती है। एक ही गीत में कहीं-कहीं पर एक छन्द में हिंदी है और दूसरे फारसी की पदावली। प्रसिद्ध लावनीकार काशीगिरि ने रनजीतसिंह की बहादुरी पर मसनवी भी लिखी है। इन्हीं के काश्मीर-वर्णन से कुछ पंक्तियाँ उद्धृत की जाती हैं। आरम्भिक मंगलाचरण हिंदी का है, बाद में फारसी के शब्दों की बहुतायत है—

"धरा मैं प्रथम शारदाजी का ध्यान, हुआ उससे मेरे मन में ब्रह्म ज्ञान।
उपासक हूँ मैं तो सदा शक्ति का, मिला उससे रुतबा मुझे भक्ति का।
निराकार में देखो आकार है, चराचर उसी का यह विस्तार है।
बनाया खुदा ने अजब काश्मीर, बहिश्ते कहीं है न जिसका नजीर।
जहाँ के नखूबाँ में ऐसी फबन, हैं जो माहरूयों के बाँका चलन।
वह मैले से कपड़ों में उजला सा तन, गोया अब्र में मार चरखे कोहन।
हैं जर्रे वहाँ के तो सब आफताब, चकोरों पे मायल सदा माहताब।"

लावनीसाहित्य अत्यन्त विस्तृत है और प्रस्तुत विवरण अत्यन्त संक्षिप्त। फिर भी इससे हमें इसकी अनेकरूपता और विविधता का कुछ-न-कुछ आभास मिल ही जाता है। हम कह सकते है कि लावनीसाहित्य निश्चय ही जन-जीवन का दर्पण है,

इसकी रसात्मकता, स्वच्छन्दता, आध्यात्मिकता, गेयता और गतिशीलता हमारे साहित्यकारों के लिए आनन्द और मनन की वस्तु है। इसका लोकोन्मुख रूप और इसके प्रयोग हमें आज के साहित्य को अधिक भावप्रवण और लोकप्रिय बनाने का मार्ग बता सकते हैं।

लावनीसाहित्य का सबसे अधिक महत्व इस दृष्टि से है कि इसने सम्पूर्ण जीवन को अपना विषय बनाया और जीवन के किसी अंग को अछूता न छोड़ा, सर्वग्राहिता और सारग्राहिता उसका सिद्धांत रहा। मानव-हृदय की झलक दिखाने के साथ ही इसकी व्यावहारिक परम्परा ने भेदभाव को छोड़कर सबका स्वागत किया (लावनीकारों की गुरु-शिष्य-परम्परा में हिंदू और मुसलमान दोनों मिलते हैं) और इसकी भाषा, इसके भाव और इसके छन्द मिली-जुली भारतीय संस्कृति की घोषणा की।

(50) नागरी भाषा

श्रीचन्द्रबली पांडे

गाँव के लोग जिसको आज भी भाषा मानते हैं पर पढ़े-लिखे नागर भाषा नहीं समझते वही नागरी भाषा है। पश्चिम में इससे इतना कहा जा सकता है कि आज से प्रायः २२ वर्ष पहले सन् १९२९ में दिल्ली के प्रसिद्ध प्रचारक श्रीख्वाजा हसन निजामी ने अपनी 'कुर्आन मजीद' की भूमिका में लिखा था—

"यह हिन्दी जबान ममालिक मुत्तहदा अवध और रुहेलखंड और सूबा सी० पी० और हिन्दुओं की अक्सर देशी रियासतों में मुरव्वज है। गोया बंगाली और बर्मी और गुजराती और मराठी वगैरा सब हिन्दुस्तानी जबानों से ज्यादा रिवाज हिन्दी यानी नागरी जबान का है। करोड़ों हिन्दू औरत-मर्द अब भी यही ज़बान लिखते हैं। यहाँ तक कि तकरीबन एक करोड़ मुसलमान भी जो सूबा यू० पी० और सी० पी० और सूबा बिहार के देहात में रहते हैं या हिन्दुओं की रियासतों में बतौर रियाया के आबाद हैं और उनको हिन्दू रियासतों के खास हुक्म के सबब से हिन्दी ज़बान लाज़िमी तौर से हासिल करनी पड़ती है, हिन्दी के सिवा और कोई ज़बान नहीं जानते।"

ध्यान देने की बात है कि ख्वाजा साहब ने 'हिन्दी यानी नागरी ज़बान' का व्यवहार उसी भाषा के लिये किया है जिसे हिन्दी के लोग 'खड़ी बोली' और भाषाविज्ञानी लोग 'हिन्दुस्तानी' कहते हैं। आज यह समझना बहुतों के लिये अत्यन्त कठिन हो गया है कि भाषाविज्ञान के लोग इस 'नागरी' को भाषा क्यों नहीं मानते और क्यों इसे लिपि मात्र समझते हैं। स्मरण रहे उनकी इस उपेक्षा के कारण भाषा के क्षेत्र में अनेक विवाद उठे हैं और आगे तब तक उठते रहेंगे जब तक इस नागरी की स्थापना 'भाषा' के रूप में फिर नहीं हो जाती। सो लीजिये, आज से प्रायः सवा सौ वर्ष पहले की बात है। श्रीरामपुर के मिशनरी लोगों के 'समाचारदर्पण' में छपा था—

"नागरी का समाचारपत्र—हाल में इस कलकत्ता नगर से 'उदन्त मार्तण्ड'

नामक एक नागरी का नूतन समाचारपत्र प्रकाशित हुआ है। इससे हमारे आह्लाद की सीमा नहीं है। क्योंकि समाचारपत्र द्वारा सम्पत्ति-सम्बन्धीय और नाना दिशाओं के देशों के राज-सम्पर्कीय वृत्तान्त प्रकाशित हुआ करते हैं जिनके जानने से अवश्य ही उपकार होता है। यूरोप के देशों में प्रायः दो सौ वर्षों से अधिक समय से समाचारपत्र प्रकाशित होते हैं, उनके द्वारा सामान्य समाचार और नाना विषयों के दोष-गुण आदि के सम्बन्ध में प्रेरित पत्रों के उत्तर-प्रत्युत्तर के प्रकाशित होने से अनेक विषयों का निर्यास और संशोधन हुआ है। अंग्रेजी प्रभृति समाचारपत्रों के दृष्टान्त पर इस देश में पहले बंगला भाषा के समाचारपत्र प्रकाशित हुए, बाद में फ़ारसी भाषा के हुए, एवं बीच में कुछ दिन हुए उर्दू भाषा के संवादपत्रों में प्रेरित-पत्र प्रकाशित नहीं होते। जो हो, इस समय नागरी भाषा में एक ही समाचारपत्र होने से काशी प्रभृति स्थानों के लोग, जो अंग्रेजी प्रभृति भाषा से अज्ञान होने के कारण किंवदन्तियों में विश्वास करके प्रगल्भतापूर्वक समय बिताते हैं, यदि इसे नई रीति कहकर तुच्छ न समझें और आलस्य-त्यागपूर्वक इसे ग्रहण करके पाठ करें तो उनके लिये ऐसा फलोदय होगा जिसे वे धीरे धीरे जान सकेंगे।"

(१७ जून १८२६ के अंक में विशाल भारत सन् १९३१ के फरवरी अंक में पृष्ठ १९२ पर अवतरित)।

इस लम्बे अवतरण में जानकारी की बातें अनेक हैं, पर जो बात सदा के लिये झट टाँक लेने की है वह है 'नागरी भाषा' का स्पष्ट प्रयोग। 'इस समय नागरी भाषा में एक ही समाचारपत्र होने से काशी प्रभृति स्थानों के लोग' में कितना व्यापक स्वप्न देखा गया है। 'नागरी भाषा' की व्यापकता आप ही बोल रही है। देखिए न, एक आईन भी है जिससे सिद्ध हो जाता है कि अंगरेजी सरकार भी 'नागरी भाषा' को जानती थी। उसकी एक दफा में कहा गया है—

"किसी को इस बात का उजुर नहीं होऐ के ऊपर दफे का लिखा हुआ हुकुम सभी से वाकिफ नहीं है हर एक जिले के कलक्टर साहिब को लाजिम है कि इस आइन के पावने पर ऐक ऐक केता इसतहारनामा नीचे के सरह फारसी वो नागरी भाखा वो अच्छर में लिखिये कै अपने मोहर वो दस्तखत से अपने जिला के मालिकान जमीन वो ईजारदार जो हजूर में मालगुजारी करता

उन सभों के कचहरि में वो अमानि महाल के देसि तहसीलदार लोग के कचहरी में लटकावही।"

(अँग्रेजी सन् १८०३ साल ३१ आईन २० दफा)

'फारसी वो नागरी भाखा वो अछ्छर' को किसी साखी की आवश्यकता नहीं। 'फारसी' उस समय की 'राजभाषा' है तो 'नागरी' उस समय की 'लोकभाषा', यदि बीच में भेदनीति न आ जाती और सहज वृत्ति से काम लिया जाता तो यही 'नागरी' हमारी 'राष्ट्रभाषा' होती और अपने आप ही इस पद पर 'संस्कृत' और प्राकृत की भाँति आरूढ़ होती, जी हाँ, है भी तो यह वास्तव में 'नागर' अपभ्रंश का ही वर्तमान विकसित रूप, 'नागर अपभ्रंश' ने किस प्रकार मुसलमानी शासन में एक ओर तो नागरी का रूप धारण कर अपनी परम्परा का पालन किया और दूसरी ओर फारसी के प्रभाव में आ शाही शासन से हाथ मिला 'रेखता' का बाना लिया इसका विचार अभी न हो सकेगा। अभी इतना निवेदन ही पर्याप्त होगा कि 'नागरी' 'नागर' का स्त्री रूप है तो रेखता 'अपभ्रंश' का पर्याय अथवा फारसी रूप। फारसी बूकने का प्रचार बढ़ा तो 'रेखता' का नाम भी अधिक जगा पर ठेठ जनता में 'नागरी' का नाम बना रहा जो आज भी किसी न किसी प्रकार चला जा रहा है। 'व्रजभाषा' और 'अवधी' में काव्य-रचना होने के कारण इसका महत्त्व कुछ घट गया किन्तु काव्य से कभी इसका सर्वथा लोप नहीं हुआ। सन्त-समाज में इसका सत्कार होता रहा और यह 'मध्य देश' की बानी समझी जाती रही, इसका बोध भी उसी 'उदन्त मार्तण्ड' से हो जाता है। 'उदन्त मार्तण्ड' का अन्त किस वेदना के साथ हुआ, इसे भी देख लें। उसी का कहना है।

"जब तें या कलकत्ता नगरी में उदन्त मार्तण्ड को प्रकाश भयौ तब लै आज दिवस लौं काहू प्रकार तैं ढाडस बाँध विद्या के बीज बैबे को हिन्दुस्तानिअन के जड़ता के खेत को बहुविध जोत्यो पहिले तो जैसी कठोर भूमि काहे कौ जुतै ताहू पै काया कष्ट कर जैसो तैसौ हर चलाय वा क्षेत्र में गाँठ को व्यु बखेर बड़े यतन तें सींच फल लुन्यौ चाह्यौ ता समय लोभ रूपी टीड़ी परि वा खेत के फल फूल पाती सिगरी चरि गईं अब जो फिरि फिरि या नशे क्षेत्र को गोड़िये तो श्रम ही कौ फल फलैगौ।

यहाँ मुरख कौ नाम ज्ञान चर्चा को बूझै ।
हँसी तु अपनी रोक जगत अँधियारोहि सूझै ॥
जड़ता जर नशि चल्यौ गात को होगयो पतझर ।
काको है प्रतीत बहुरि चलि है सुख बैहर ॥

प्रथमहि या काज कौ जा कारण कह्यौ ताको विस्तार सभनि को जनावनौ उचित है तातैं अब कछु मध्यदेशीय भाषा लिखतु हौं ।

मध्यदेशीय भाषा

इस उदन्त मार्तण्ड के नांव पड़ने के पहिले पछांहियों के चित्त को इस कागज के होने से हमारे मनोर्थ सफल होने का बड़ा उत्साह था इसलिये लोग हमारे बिन कहे भी इस कागज की सही की बही पर सही करते गये........

(विशालभारत, अपरैल सन् १९३१ ई० पृ० ५३१)

४ दिसम्बर सन् १८२७ ई० की स्थिति आपके सामने है और साथ ही 'व्रजभाषा' और 'मध्यदेशीय भाषा' की स्थिति भी। इस अवतरण में ध्यान देने की बात है—

"ताकौ विस्तार सभनि को जनावनौ उचित है ताते अब कछु मध्यदेशीय भाषा लिखतु हौं ।"

अर्थात् 'मध्यदेशीय भाषा' का प्रयोग होता है 'विस्तार-जनावन' के हेतु । और यही हेतु कारण होता है स्वामी दयानन्द सरस्वतीजी महाराज के इस कथन में—

"इस लिये जहाँ तक बन पड़े वहाँ शीघ्र संस्कृत और मध्यप्रदेशीय भाषा के प्रचार के वास्ते बहुत प्रधान पुरुषों को सही कराके, कलकत्ते की सभा में भेज दीजिये और भिजवा दीजिये ।" (ऋषि दयानन्द सरस्वती के पत्र और विज्ञापन, पृष्ठ ३२४)

साथ ही यह भी स्मरण रहे कि स्वामीजी महाराज की 'मध्यदेश की भाषा' के साथ ही 'नागरी भाषा' का भी ध्यान है। अपने २४ मार्च १८७८ के पत्र में लिखते हैं—

"एक काम यह आवश्यक है कि इस मुंशी से यह काम ठीक ठीक नहीं हो सकता । इसलिए एक मुंशी अँग्रेजी, फारसी और नागरी भाषा का पढ़ा हुआ,

हिसाब नकशा निकालना भी जानता हो, जो ऐसा न मिल सके तो अंग्रेजी, फारसी, उर्दू तो ठीक जानता हो कि चिट्ठी पत्र ठीक-ठीक पढ़ लिख सके, वह आलसी न हो और जिसका स्वभाव किसी प्रकार बुरा न हो, उसका मासिक २५) से अधिक न होना चाहिये।"

(वही, पृष्ठ ६७)

अस्तु, पाया जाता है कि हमारे पूर्वज 'नागरी भाषा' को जानते, मानते और पहिचानते भी थे। पता नहीं यह दोहा कितना पुराना है, किन्तु इसका उल्लेख राजा शिवप्रसाद सितारेहिन्द ने सन् १८५४ ई० में किया है जिससे जाना जाता है कि यह उससे पहले का है। जो हो, उक्त दोहा है—

अन्तरवेदी नागरी गौडी पारस देस,
अरु अरबी जामैं मिलैं मिश्रित भाषा वेस।

निश्चय ही यहाँ 'नागरी' 'नागरी भाषा' ही है, न भी हो, तो भी श्री श्रीधर पाठक के इस छप्पय पर ध्यान तो दीजिये। किस भाव से भारतेन्दु बाबू हरिश्चन्द्र का स्मरण करते हैं—

जब लौं भारत भूमि मध्य आरज कुल बासा,
जब लौं आरज धर्म माहिं आरज बिस्वासा,
जब लौं गुन आगरी नागरी आरज बानी,
जब लौं आरज बानी के आरज अभिमानी,
तब लौं यह तुम्हरौ नाम थिर, चिरजीवी रहि है अटल।
नित चन्द सूर सग सुमिरिहैं, हरिचन्द हु सज्जन सकल॥

कहिये न 'जब लौं गुन आगरी नागरी आरज बानी' में 'नागरी' है न 'बानी' का नाम ? फिर उसे निरी लिपि ही क्यों मानते हैं और क्यों उसके लिये 'खड़ी बोली' वा 'हिन्दुस्तानी' का प्रयोग कर अपनी दासता का विज्ञापन बाँटते हैं ? स्मरण रहे, यह शुद्ध राजनीति की देन है जो देश में अँगरेजी-स्थापना के हेतु रची गई है। भाषा-विज्ञान के परम पंडित श्री जार्ज इब्राहीम ग्रियर्सन ही इसके आचार्य हैं। क्या स्वतन्त्र भारत के भाषाशास्त्री समय से इसको समझ सकेंगे कि वास्तव में ग्रियर्सन का यह कार्य ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य की थिरता के हेतु हुआ था और फलतः उनकी 'भारत की भाषा पड़ताल' भी उसी का फल

है ? कहाँ तक कहें, अभी उस दिन किसी 'तरुण' की भावना जगी तो उसने भी रच दिया—

जयति नागरी, जयति नागरी।
सुधा-कलश-मय वर्ण वर्ण वर, भाषा भाव भरी।
जयति नागरी॥

अब इस 'भाषा भाव भरी' की उपेक्षा कर कौन 'नागरी' को निरी लिपि कहने का साहस कर सकता है ? और यदि करे भी तो उसे 'प्रेमघन' कासामना कर ना होगा। सुनिये न, उनकी गोहार है 'हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन' के मंच से कहते हैं—

"कितने कहते हैं कि नागरी तो वर्णमाला का नाम है, भाषा का नहीं। किन्तु उन्हें जानना चाहिये कि भाषा और अक्षर का निकट सम्बन्ध है ! संस्कृत वा पारसी, उर्दू वा अँगरेजी में लिखो, कहने से उसी अक्षर का बोध होता है जिसमें वह भाषा लिखी जाती है। जैसे उर्दू वा अँगरेजी अँगरेजी के अक्षर अपने दूसरे नाम रखते हुए भी इन भाषाओं के साथ इन्हीं के अक्षर का अर्थ देते हैं वैसे ही नागरी वर्णमाला का सम्बन्ध नागर वा नागरी भाषा के साथ दोनों प्रकार से अटल है। जैसे कि पाली के अक्षर और भाषा दोनों का एक शब्द से बोध होता है।"

(तृतीय हिन्दी-साहित्य-सम्मेलन के सभापति का भाषण, पृ० २७)

श्री 'प्रेमघन' की पुकार प्रिय न हुई। होती भी कैसे ? 'सम्मेलन' में अँग्रेजी शिक्षित लोगों का जमाव बढ़ता जा रहा था और अँगरेज किसी भी दशा में नागरी को भाषा मानना ठीक नहीं समझते थे। उनकी भेद-नीति नागरी को भाषा मान लेने से ढह जाती थी निदान उनके अगुआ ग्रियर्सन ने इसका निषेध किया और उनका फतवा तथा 'सम्मेलन' तथा 'सभा' को भी मान्य हो गया। स्मरण रहे कभी 'सभा' का उद्देश्य था 'नागरी भाषा' का सीखना ! हाँ, सीखना, सिखाना तथा 'नागरी भाषा' का व्यवहार करना भी। कारण, उसकी दृष्टि में 'नागरी' भाषा भी जो थी। देखिये, 'काशी-नागरी-प्रचारिणी सभा' के उद्देशों में है—

"इस सभा के सभासदों का मुख्य कर्तव्य नागरी भाषा का सीखना और उसी भाषा में वार्तालाप तथा पत्र-व्यवहार और अपने मित्रवर्गों को उसी भाषा की उन्नति में प्रस्तुत करना होगा।"

जी हाँ, 'नागरी भाषा' पर उस समय दोहरी चढ़ाई थी। अँग्रेजी की चढ़ाई का तो आपको पूरा पता होगा पर 'ठेठ' अथवा 'देशभाषा' की चढ़ाई का प्रायः नहीं! परन्तु पुराने लोग भली भाँति जानते हैं कि ग्रियर्सन साहब नहीं चाहते थे कि बिहार में 'नागरी' में शिक्षा दी जाय। 'काशी' की गणना भी भाषा की दृष्टि से 'बिहार' के साथ होती है। इसी से आप स्वयं समझ सकते हैं कि सभा के उक्त संकल्प का कारण क्या है, अधिक कहने से लाभ क्या? आज 'काशी-नागरी-प्रचारिणी सभा' 'नागरी' को 'भाषा' कहने में भले ही लज्जा का अनुभव करे पर कल झख मार कर उसे फिर इस सत्य को मानना होगा और 'सभा' के साथ ही 'सम्मेलन' को भी इसका सत्कार करना होगा। कारण यह कि भाषा के क्षेत्र में ग्रियर्सन की यह धाँधली अधिक दिन तक नहीं चल सकती कि नागरी भाषा का नाम नहीं लिपि का नाम है। भाषा तो लोग उसे भ्रमवश कह देते हैं। भ्रम ही सही, पर इस भ्रम के शिकार कैसे प्राणी हैं, इसे किससे कहें? तो भी इस कांग्रेसी शासन में अपनी सरकार से एक कांग्रेसी नेता की बात क्यों न कहें जब कि वह 'अंसारी' और 'डाक्टर' था। रोग का निदान और इलाज जानता था। लीजिये, उसी डा० मुख्तार अहमद अंसारी का कथन है—

"इस किताब के नेक, जोशीले, सच्चे और जानदार, खयालों को हर जबान में तर्जुमा करना चाहिए। खासकर नागरी और अँग्रेजी में इसका एक एडीशन जल्द से जल्द छपना चाहिए, जिसको देख कर हिन्दू भाई एक मुसलमान शायर के जानदार देशप्रेम को समझ जायें, जो पठान होने और देशभक्ति के लिहाज से पश्तो जबान के सरहदी शायर खुशहाल खाँ 'खुटक' और बायरन की तरह है।"

(रस-सागर; अदबी मरकज मेरठ, पृष्ठ १३)

श्री 'अंसारी' का यह कथन अप्रैल सन् ३६ का है। उस समय कांग्रेसी मन्त्री अँग्रेजी छाया में काम कर रहे थे। किन्तु आज जो कुछ कर रहे हैं अपनी माया और अपनी प्रेरणा से निदान उनसे अनुरोध कर कहा जाता है कि कुछ सोच समझ कर अपनी सी करें और कृपा कर उस 'भाषा-पड़ताल' का संशोधन करा लें जिसका सम्पादन 'भारत' के पैसे से उसकी राष्ट्रभाषा 'नागरी' के अहित के लिये किया गया है। क्योंकि इसके अभाव में सच्ची राष्ट्र-भावना का उदय नहीं हो सकता और न हिन्दी, उर्दू और हिन्दुस्तानी का धर्म

ही मिल सकता है। भाषा के पंडितों से भी हमारा नम्र निवेदन है कि समय पर अपनी आँख से काम लेना सीख लें, और प्रत्येक शब्द की शक्ति तथा इतिहास को जान कर हीं कुछ आगे बढ़ने का संकल्प करें। हमारा निश्चय ही नहीं दृढ़ विश्वास है कि हमारे शोधक यदि चेत गये और 'नागरी' का सच्चा इतिहास भी यदि सबके सामने उनके उद्योग से आ गया तो राष्ट्र का बहुत सा कल्याण आप ही जाता रहा और हमारा हृदय भी बहुत कुछ स्वच्छ तथा निर्मल हो गया। कारण, उसी को दूषित करने के लिये तो 'नागरी' को भाषा के क्षेत्र से जानबूझ कर खदेड़ा गया था। सन् १८८० ई० से जो उद्योग चला उसका अन्त अब हो जाना चाहिए अन्यथा भारत का होनहार ठीक नहीं। कुछ भी हो, अन्त में किसी आस्तिक की भाँति हमारी प्रार्थना तो यह है—

गुनि यह न विलम लगाय हिय हरखाय सब कोऊ अहो।
निज जननि भाषा जननि हित हित चेति चित साहस गहो।
करि जथारथ उद्योग पूरन फल अमल जस जग लहो।
लहिकै कृपा जगदीस जय जय नागरी नागर कहो॥

हाँ, 'नागर'। 'नागर ब्राह्मण' नहीं 'नागर लोग'। कारण, अपभ्रंश के जो 'नागर', उपनागर और 'ग्राम्य' भेद कहे गये हैं उनसे यही तो स्फुट है? 'ग्राम्य' के साथ 'नागर' को यदि श्री ग्रियर्सन देख पाते तो वास्तव में हमारा कितना कल्याण होता! किन्तु क्या सब कुछ देखते हुए भी इसे आज हम देख पाते हैं? उत्तर भाषाविदों और हिन्दी के अभिमानियों को देना है। जो हो—

जय नागरी नागर कहो। कहो
जय नागरी। जय नागरी।

(51) प्राचीन हिंदी कवियों की लोकदृष्टि

प्रो० डा० विश्वनाथप्रसाद मिश्र, काशी

'लोकदृष्टि' का अर्थ है लोकसंबंधी दृष्टि। लोक के संबंध में हमारी दृष्टि दो प्रकार की हो सकती है। एक तो लोक क्या है सत् है या असत् अथवा सदसत्; सत् है तो इसका कोई निर्माता भी है, असत् है तो सत् क्यों दिखाई देता है आदि आदि—दार्शनिक चिंतन की दृष्टि। दूसरे लोकव्यवहार की दृष्टि अर्थात् लोकगत राजनीतिक, सामाजिक, आर्थिक आदि जीवन की विभिन्न अवस्थितियों के संबंध की दृष्टि। 'कवि' शब्द का अर्थ हमारे व्यावहारिक जीवन में अब भी—साहित्यिक और सांस्कृतिक चेतना के अत्यधिक जागरूक होने पर भी—प्रायः यही लिया जाता है कि जो कल्पना-लोक में विचरण करनेवाला हो। अँगरेजी साहित्य में कविता के संबंध में कल्पना और स्वप्न की इधर कितनी उद्धरणी हुई और उसकी प्रतिध्वनि और भावुकता के आधिक्य के कारण भारत में उन्माद या पागलपन का अभिनय करने की कैसी परिपाटी कविता के क्षेत्र में कहाँ कहाँ चली यह सब विवरण उपस्थित करने की आवश्यकता नहीं। हमें तो कहना इतना ही है कि जनता कवि को क्रांतदर्शी न समझ कर वैसा समझने लगी थी और अब भी समझती है कि ये वास्तविक जीवन से या जीवन की वास्तविकता से दूर रहनेवाले प्राणी हैं। राजनीतिज्ञ प्रायः यह कह दिया करते हैं कि ये जीवन के समुपस्थित संग्राम में सक्रिय योग न देने के कारण उसकी विभीषिका से भाग खड़े होनेवाले पलायनवादी हैं। यदि सब नहीं तो इनमें से अधिकतर ऐसे ही जीव हुआ करते हैं। हमें यहाँ विचार यह करना है कि प्राचीन हिंदी कवियों की क्या यही पलायनवादी दृष्टि रही है या वे लोक की सर्वसामान्य भावना में भी योग देते आए हैं। यदि उन्होंने योग दिया है तो क्या परोक्षरूप में ही या प्रत्यक्ष भी। कवि लोक की भावना किस रूप में ग्रहण करते हैं या काव्य में लोक की वृत्ति किस प्रकार गृहीत होती है—आदि आदि। और अधिक विस्तार में न जाकर यहाँ थोड़े में इसी का विचार कर लेना है कि कवि जीवन या लोक का रूप कैसा ग्रहण करता है। काव्य या साहित्य जीवन की व्याख्या है यह तो

कहने को कह दिया जाता है, पर यह देखने का प्रयास नहीं किया जाता कि काव्य में जीवन की व्याख्या होती कैसे है। काव्य न तो दर्शनशास्त्र का सिद्धांत निरूपक वाक्यसमूह या सूत्रग्रंथ होता है न समाजशास्त्र का विवेचन। वह होता है लोक की छनी हुई शुद्ध भावात्मक सत्ता की अनुभूति-भूमि! उसमें धर्म, राजनीति, समाजशास्त्र, अर्थनीति, तत्त्वचिंतन आदि सब छने हुए रूप में ही गृहीत होते हैं और कवि का छन्ना होता है भाव का विस्तृत पट। इसलिए जो लोग यह समझते हैं कि उक्त शास्त्रों या मीमांसाओं का काव्य में ज्यों का त्यों निरूपण मिलेगा वे हताश हो जाते हैं और काव्य का अनुशीलन वर्जित करने लगते हैं। पुराणों में भी कहा जा चुका है कि 'काव्यालापांश्च वर्जयेत्'।

अब इस मानदंड के अनुसार परखिए प्राचीन हिंदी साहित्य को। हिंदी का आदिकाल 'रासा' की रचना से भरा है। ये रासे किसी वीर के चरितकाव्य होते थे। इनमें उसके शौर्य का वर्णन होता था और बड़े ही रोचक ढंग से होता था। यद्यपि रासा-काव्य हमें अपने प्राचीन रूप में नहीं मिलता, उसमें परवर्ती कविभट्टों की बहुत सी बाद में जोड़ी हुई कृतियाँ संनिविष्ट हो गई हैं, फिर भी चंदबरदाई को ही यदि प्रतिनिधि कवि मान लें तो उनके नाम पर मिलनेवाली कृति और उनके संबंध में प्रचलित जनश्रुति ही यह बता देती है कि चंद ब्रह्मभट्ट ही नहीं 'भट' भी थे। वे तलवार और कलम दोनों का चलाना जानते थे। जिस युग के वीरों का चरित्र इन काव्यों में गृहीत है वह युग शौर्य का युग था, वास्तविक जीवन युद्धमय था। अतः उनके युद्धों का उनके शौर्य का वर्णन किसी प्रकार भी उनकी लोक से हटी दृष्टि का आभास नहीं देता। और लोग चाहे पलायनवादी कहे जायँ पर रासा-काव्य के कवि पलायनवादी नहीं कहे जा सकते। वे रणांगण में डटे रहते थे। वीरों को उत्साहित तो करते ही थे समय पड़ने पर उनका स्थान भी ग्रहण कर लेते थे। कहा जाता है कि चंद का अस्तित्व संदिग्ध है, पृथ्वीराजरासा का वर्तमान स्वरूप और उसकी यथार्थता का प्रमाण देने या उसकी अयथार्थता का समर्थन करने का न अवसर है न आवश्यकता। हमें इतना ही बता देना है कि पृथ्वीराजरासा में जो कथा मुहम्मद गोरी और पृथ्वीराज के युद्ध की बताई गई है उसमें भारतीय संस्कृति का पक्का स्वरूप अवश्य मिलता है। मुहम्मद गोरी के अत्याचार से संत्रस्त शरणागत की रक्षा करने के कारण पृथ्वीराज के साथ उसका युद्ध हुआ और वे किसी प्रकार पकड़कर गजनी भेजे गए जहाँ शब्दबेधी बाण से उन्होंने गोरी को मारा और अंत में पृथ्वीराज और

चंद परस्पर एक दूसरे की तलवार से कटकर ढेर हो गए। यह अंतिम कथा चन्द के पुत्र जल्हन ने रासे में जोड़ी है। रासे की यह प्रवृत्ति हम्मीररासे क्या, हम्मीरहठ ऐसे परवर्ती काव्यों तक में दिखाई देती है जहाँ शरणागत की रक्षा के कारण ही हम्मीर का अलाउद्दीन से युद्ध कहा गया है। भारतीय कवि अपने चरितनायक को जिस उच्च भूमि पर दिखाना चाहते थे वह भारतीय संस्कृति की उच्चता की दृष्टि से। तुलसीदास या अन्य रामकाव्य के रचयिताओं ने रावण के साथ राम के युद्ध का कारण सीताहरण मात्र हीं नहीं माना है। उन्होंने रावण को राम-शत्रु के रूप में नहीं, लोकशत्रु के रूप में ही दिखाया है। विभीषण राम के शरणागत दिखाए गए हैं। शरणागत की रक्षा उच्च भारतीय लोकदृष्टि है। शरणागत की रक्षा करनेवाले के विरुद्ध संनद्ध होनेवाले को लोक सर्वसामान्य और नैतिक भावना का शत्रु अर्थात् लोकशत्रु के रूप में देखता है। भारतीय कवि प्रबंध के क्षेत्र में लोक-शत्रु और लोकमित्र की दृष्टि बराबर रखते आए हैं।

आदिकाल या रासाकाल का काव्य केवल वीरत्व की प्रशंसा में लिप्त लोकबाह्य काव्य नहीं था। उसमें लोक की प्रचलित भावना वीरत्व के उल्लास का प्रतिपादन किया जाता था। कहीं उसके लिए लोक-शत्रु का नाश होता था। कहीं केवल वीरत्व का प्रदर्शन। जहाँ कोई लोकरक्षामूलक हेतु न हो वहाँ कल्पित और लोकरक्षण के स्थान पर लोकरंजन को ही लक्ष्य करके कवि चलता है तो यह कैसे कहा जा सकता है कि यह पलायनवादी है। रासा-ग्रंथों में अनेक युद्धों का वर्णन ही लक्ष्य है, प्रतिपक्ष में चाहे कोई लोकशत्रु हो यदि कोई कविकल्पित प्रतिद्वंद्वी। वह युग युद्ध का युग था। उसके लिए कवि भी अपने काव्य के द्वारा लोगों को युद्ध करने को परोक्ष रूप में उत्साहित करते रहते थे। काव्य लोक से बद्ध था। यदि उन काव्यों में प्रत्यक्ष यह नहीं मिलता कि अमुक विदेशी शत्रु से हमें लड़ना चाहिए तो उन्हें हम लोक-विमुख कैसे कह सकते हैं। राजनीति हमारी बुद्धि को उद्बुद्ध करती है, काव्य हमारे हृदय को उत्तेजित करता है। हृदय को प्रभावित करने के लिए परोक्ष और गहरी अनुभूति चाहिए। काव्य की मार प्रत्यक्ष नहीं होती, उसका मार्ग वक्र होता है। राजनीति में कुटिलता भीतर होती है, बाहर ऋजुता रहती है। काव्य में बाहर वक्रता होती है भीतर सरलता रहती है। इसलिए यदि सीधे सीधे कोई तथ्यमात्र काव्य में कहा जाय तो वह काव्य न रह जायगा। भारतीय साहित्यशास्त्र ने वाच्य और व्यंग्य में जो भेद किया

है और एक को अवर और दूसरे को उत्तम कहा है वह केवल शब्द में ही नहीं। वह काव्य या साहित्य मात्र के लिए है। इसी से काव्य में सीधे सीधे कहना बहुतों की दृष्टि में अपराध है। भारतीय साहित्य या हिंदी में अनुकृत इस पद्धति को चाहे कोई ठीक न माने, पर वह यह नहीं कह सकता कि इस पद्धति पर यदि कोई लोकवृत्तिमूलक रचना करे तो उसे हम इसीलिए अग्राह्य कर देंगे कि उसमें सीधे सीधे कोई बात नहीं कही गई है।

अब भक्तिकाल की रचनाओं का आलोडन और आलोचन कीजिए। निर्गुण और सगुण धारा में से निर्गुण धारा को तो बहुत से लोग लोकोन्मुख मानते हैं। वे कहते हैं कि कबीर ने परस्पर लोगों को मिलाने का प्रयास किया। जो साधारण श्रेणी के समझे जाते थे उन्हें समता की भूमि पर स्थित किया। हिंदुओं और मुसलमानों दोनों को फटकारा। इसी प्रकार की बातें अन्य संतों ने भी कीं। सबका लक्ष्य सामाजिक सुधार था, वैषम्य दूर करना था। सूफी संत भी मानवता की सर्व सामान्य भूमि पर, प्रेम की सर्वनिष्ठ पद्धति पर चल रहे थे इसलिए इनकी रचनाओं में विकासोन्मुख या समयानुरूप लोकवृत्ति को ढूँढ़ लेना कठिन नहीं है। सबसे अधिक कठिनाई कुछ लोगों को पड़ती है सगुण शाखा के कबियों में बिकसित लोकनिष्ठ दृष्टि खोजने में। सूरदास और तुलसीदास दोनों ने निर्गुण पंथ का खंडन भी किया है इसलिए किसी किसी को इन्हें प्रतिगामी कहना ही ठीक प्रतीत होता है। सूरदासजी ने लोकमर्यादा का ध्यान नहीं रखा है। सांप्रदायिक दृष्टि से श्रीवल्लभाचार्यजी के मत के अनुसार 'मर्यादा' और 'पुष्टि' में अंतर है। 'पुष्टि' ही भगवदनुग्रह ही ठीक है। शास्त्रादि की मर्यादा का अनुशासन अनिवार्य नहीं। पर इसका तात्पर्य यह नहीं कि मर्यादा का उल्लंघन किया ही जाय। प्रवाह से उत्कृष्ट मर्यादा और मर्यादा से उत्कृष्ट पुष्टि। लोकप्रवाह को सबसे नीचे मानने के कारण सूरदास आदि के काव्यों में लोकवृत्ति न होगी ऐसा मानना बहुत बड़ी भ्रांति है। सूरदासजी ने लोकवृत्ति को तो ग्रहण किया है, पर लोकप्रवाह को नहीं। काव्य का वही छूला काम देगा। लोक का वर्णन कैसा हो यह मूलरूप में कबीर, जायसी, सूर और तुलसीदास सबमें एकसा ही है। अंतर उसके मार्गोप-देश में है। कबीर निवृत्तिमार्ग का उपदेश देते हैं इसलिए कोई यह बेखटके कह सकता है उनकी कृति से तात्कालिक समाज में चाहे वैषम्य मिटा हो, पर उसका उद्देश्य ठीक नहीं, संसार के त्याग की शिक्षा देना लोकवृत्ति की दृष्टि से विचार करने पर उतनी अच्छी नहीं। पर कबीर आदि के द्वारा

कुछ अभीप्सित सुधार हुए हैं इसी से उनकी प्रशंसा के पुल बाँधे जाते हैं। सूरदास का भक्तिमार्ग तो प्रवृत्तिमूलक था, लोक में लगाए रहनेवाला। भला उसमें लोगों को लोकवृत्ति का विरोध कैसे मिलता है। सूर ने निवृत्ति-मार्गोपदेश के ही कारण निर्गुणपंथ का विरोध किया। लोक में पुरुषों को चाहे ज्ञान का उपदेश दीजिए, चाहे प्रेम का या योग का। पर भारतीय दृष्टि से नारियों को ज्ञान का अर्थात् निवृत्तिमार्ग या योग की अंतःसाधना का उपदेश देना सारी सामाजिक व्यवस्था का नाश कर देना था। इसी से सूरदासजी ने निर्गुणपंथ के प्रतिनिधि उद्धव के प्रतिपक्ष में गोपियों को खड़ा किया है। उनके द्वारा सूर ने दो प्रमुख बातें कहलाई हैं—एक तो निर्गुणपंथ सामाजिक दृष्टि से घातक है, दूसरे वह कठिन भी है। यदि कोई यह कहे कि इसमें कबीर की भाँति सब सुधारों और समन्वय के लिए स्थान कहाँ था तो यही कह सकते हैं कि भक्ति-संप्रदाय में जातिभेद नहीं माना जाता, रसखानि, अलीखान, ताज आदि की समाई यहाँ भी थी। कबीर का निर्गुणपंथ सूफीमत को पचाने और मुसलमानी पैगंबरी कट्टरता को दूर करने में समर्थ नहीं था, पर सगुण भक्तिमार्ग ने बहुतों में कन्हैया बनने की लालसा उत्पन्न कर दी थी और बहुतों को कन्हैया के लिए 'हिन्दुवानी' हो के रहना पड़ा था। कबीर ने चाहे एकता की भूमि बना दी हो, पर उसमें अभेद का प्रासाद खड़ा न हो सका। कबीर की डाटफटकार से मन मिल न सके। भक्ति की शरणागति ने, अहंता के त्याग ने, हृदय की सर्वसामान्य भूमि प्रस्तुत की।

काव्य की सर्वसामान्य भूमि है प्रकृत और मूलभावों पर राजनीति, सभ्यता आदि के कारण पड़े हुए आवरणों को हटाकर उनकी सहज अनुभूति का अवसर देना। समाज-सुधार के आंदोलन, राजनीतिक दाँवपेंच हमें कृत्रिमता की ओर ले जाते हैं। अतः काव्य जब स्वच्छंदता का सहारा लेता है तो उसे पलायनवादी कह दिया जाता है। वस्तुतः वह पलायनवाद नहीं है। मानव को मूल भावों तक पहुँचाने का उपक्रम है। सूरदास के काव्य की स्वच्छंदता का स्वागत इसीलिए जनता ने किया। कबीर के सुधारवादी आंदोलन से त्रस्त मानव का त्राण सूर की स्वच्छंदवृत्ति में लीन होने से ही हो सकता था। जो लोग यह समझते हैं कि भारत अपनी पराजय से निराश होकर भक्ति में लीन हुआ उनसे निवेदन है कि भक्ति का आंदोलन प्राचीन है। वस्तुतः वह शक्ति-संचय के लिए उधर गया था और उसने शक्ति-संचय किया। सूरदासजी की रचना का काव्यगत मूल्य चाहे जो आँका जाय, पर

यह निश्चित है कि तुलसीदासजी की अपेक्षा उसमें काव्यगत तत्त्वों का विधान अधिक है, उसमें अनुभूति की गहराई प्रकृतरूप को बारंबार सामने करने के कारण विशेष है। यह कह सकते हैं कि सूर की अपेक्षा तुलसीदास में सामाजिकता अधिक है। वस्तुतः जायसी आदि सूफी कवियों की कमी सूर आदि कृष्णभक्तों से दूर हुई और कबीर की त्रुटियों का परिमार्जन तुलसीदास ने किया। जायसी आदि जगत् के कणकण में ब्रह्म का आभास पाने का एक प्रकार से उपदेश ही देते रहे, पर सूर आदि कृष्णभक्तों ने पुरुषोत्तम—लीलापुरुषोत्तम की अवतारणा को लेकर जगत् के कणकण को आकर्षक बना दिया। सूर ने गोपियों के द्वारा इसकी अभिव्यंजना स्थान स्थान पर की है। अतः इस दृष्टि से सूरदासजी ने लोकवृत्ति की अनुकूलता प्रदर्शित की। सांप्रदायिक साधना दूसरी बात है और किसी कवि के द्वारा हुआ सामाजिक कार्य दूसरी बात। सूरदास ने रीतिकाल के सारे साहित्य को प्रभावित किया। बाहरी साहित्य की प्रतिद्वंद्विता के लिए सूर का प्रभाव पड़ना अनिवार्य था। हिंदी के भक्तिकाल के कृष्णकाव्य ने ऐसी प्रवृत्तियाँ उत्पन्न कीं जिनसे हमारे जीवन की सामयिक आकांक्षाओं की भी तृप्ति हुई और अनीप्सित बाहरी प्रभाव से भी हमारा साहित्य बच सका। जीवन में जिस सामाजिक स्वच्छंदता का परोक्ष प्रतिपादन कृष्णकाव्य के द्वारा हुआ, वह जीवन की मर्यादा बाँधने के लिए था। सारा कामवासनात्मक वाङ्मय राधाकृष्ण को आलंबन के रूप में पाकर बाजारू और नीचे स्तर से ऊपर उठ गया। राधा-कृष्ण की पौराणिकता या ऐतिहासिकता के सहारे प्राप्त देवत्व ने उनके प्रेम के निर्मल प्रवाह में ही लोगों को स्नान करने को विवश किया। सूरदासजी की मनोदृष्टि गोपियों के प्रेमयोग के सात्त्विक स्वरूप की ओर बार बार गई है। गोपिकाएँ स्पष्ट कहती हैं:—

> पीत ध्वजा उनके पीतांबर लाल ध्वजा कुबिजा व्यभिचारी।
> सत की ध्वजा खेत ब्रज ऊपर अजस-हेत ऊधो दै प्यारी॥

श्रीकृष्ण का प्रेम राजस भाव का है, कुब्जा का प्रेम तामस भाव का, पर गोपिकाओं का प्रेम सात्त्विक भाव का। अब यह सात्त्विक प्रेम यदि अयश का कारण हो तो क्या कोई अपने सात्त्विक प्रेम को अपयश के भय से त्याग देगा। गोपिकाओं का यही सात्त्विक प्रेम था जिसे साहित्य ने स्वीकार किया। क्योंकि साहित्य भी 'सत्त्वोद्रेक' से ही माना गया है। जीवन में इसी सात्त्विक

प्रेम के कारण राधाकृष्ण की पूजा जन-जनव्यापिनी हुई। उसमें सामाजिक मर्यादा का सत्स्वरूप दिखाई पड़ा। सूफियों का रहस्यमूलक प्रेम उसमें समा गया। कृष्णभक्ति शाखा ने सात्त्विक प्रेम की महत्ता का प्रतिपादन करके जीवन में फैले या फैलनेवाले बाजारू प्रेम या लोभ की व्यभिचारी वृत्ति का उन्मूलन किया। इस भक्ति के प्रसार से हमारे जीवन के व्यक्तिबद्ध प्रेम में निर्मलता, त्याग-तपस्या का भाव पुष्टि को प्राप्त हुआ। हम जीवन को तिरस्कार के योग्य न मान कर उसे ग्राह्य-भोग्य मानने लगे। सगुणोपासक भक्त जीवन या संसार से मुक्ति नहीं चाहता। वह जगद्व्यापार को अपने भगवान् की लीला मानता है और लीला को देखना उसमें योग देना अपना परम सौभाग्य समझता है। यह केवल सिद्धांत नहीं है। व्यवहार में इसका जितना और जैसा भी पालन होता है उसमें यदि अनुपात लगाकर देखा जाय तो इन सगुणोपासक भक्तों ने भारतीय जीवन में जो कुछ सुधार संस्कार किए हैं या जो उस भक्ति में बद्ध होने से हो गए हैं वे किसी प्रकार वर्तमान 'प्रगति' के पीछे नहीं हैं। पुष्ट भूमि पर होने के कारण उनका स्थायित्व स्पृहणीय और अनुकरणीय है।

तुलसीदास आदि रामभक्त कवियों ने तो हमारे जीवन के बाह्य और आभ्यंतर दोनों पक्षों को भली भाँति और स्पष्ट रूप से लोकोन्मुख बनाया। कृष्ण-भक्तिशाखा में व्यष्टि-दृष्टि से लोक देखा जाता था और रामभक्तिशाखा में समष्टि-दृष्टि से। धर्म की स्थापना करनेवाले और धनुर्धर के रूप में लोक-विरोधियों का विकास करनेवाले राम की ओर जनता की दृष्टि ले जाकर तथा मर्यादा-पालन की वृत्ति डालकर रामभक्त कवियों, मुख्यतया तुलसीदास जी ने इसके आगे भी कुछ किया है। कृष्णभक्ति का प्रसार रासमंडलियों के द्वारा हुआ तो तुलसी ने रामलीला के द्वारा दुहरा काम किया। 'मानस' काव्य के भेद की दृष्टि से श्रव्य काव्य है। पर दृश्यकाव्य में श्रव्य की अपेक्षा सामाजिकता अधिक है। रामलीला के कारण वह दृश्य भी हो गया। कथा के रूप में सचमुच श्रव्यत्व की सिद्धि होती रही! इस प्रकार पठ्य, श्रव्य और दृश्य तीनों रूपों में उसके प्रसार से तत्कालीन युग के साहित्य में नाटकीयता के अभाव की पूर्ति भी होती रही और समाज में रंजन और परिष्कार भी चलता रहा।

तुलसीदासजी ने इतना ही किया होता तो क्या कम था। हमारा जीवन

इतने से ही संघटित, प्रबुद्ध और परिमार्जित हो गया होता ! पर उन्होंने इसके आगे भी कुछ किया। उन्होंने हनुमान् की पूजा और उनकी मूर्ति-स्थापना तथा उसके साथ अखाड़ों के खोलने का ऐसा प्रचलन किया कि हमारा समाज सबल भी हुआ। देश के उद्धार का उन्होंने ऐसा विलक्षण और महत्त्वशाली कार्य किया जिसका जोड़ हमारे इतिहास में नहीं। महाराणा प्रताप की स्वदेशोद्धार की नीति जहाँ शक्तिशाली न बन सकी वहाँ तुलसी की नीति ने देश का सचमुच उद्धार कर दिया। तुलसी के 'मानस' को पहचाना समर्थ गुरु रामदास ने जिन्होंने दक्षिण में मारुति-पूजा का प्रसार इनकी देखादेखी किया और प्रत्येक गाँव में मारुति-मंदिर की स्थापना उसके साथ कथा-वार्ता का नियम और शरीर-संवर्धन का साधन लगाया। रामदास तुलसी ही मानो समर्थ गुरु रामदास हो गये और उसे माना छत्रपति शिवाजी ने जिनके संघटन ने दिल्ली का गला दबोच लिया था और सन् सत्तावन के विद्रोह में जिस संघटन का ही बीजमंत्र काम कर रहा था जिसे आजकल राजनीतिक अपने स्वातंत्र्य-आंदोलन का मूल मानता है।

रही सांप्रदायिकता की बात। सो भारतवासियों की आज अँगरेजों के प्रति जो नीति रही, क्या स्थितिवश उस समय के भारतीयों की वही नीति विदेशी जाति के प्रति अनुचित थी? शिवाजी के ऐतिहासिक कार्यों की उद्धरणी करने का परामर्श मात्र देकर और केवल साहित्य में ही परिमित होकर कहना है कि भूषण ने स्पष्ट औरंगजेब की दुर्नीति का विरोध किया है उसके पूर्वजों तक की उस राष्ट्रीय कवि ने प्रशंसा की है:—

१. बब्बर के तब्बर हिमायूँ हद्द बाँधि गए
  हिंदुओं तुरुक की कुरान वेद ढब की।
२. बब्बर अकब्बर हिमायूँ साह सासन सों
  नेहते सुधारी हेम हीरन ते सगरी।
३. दौलति दिली की पाय कहाए आलमगीर,
  बब्बर अकब्बर के बिरद बिसारे तैं।

शिवाजी के न होने से 'मथुरा' तो 'मसीति' हो जाती, पर यह तो बताइए कि शिवाजी के होने से कितनी मसीतियाँ मंदिर हो गईं। एक भी नहीं। तुलसीदास के हनुमन्मंदिरों के सामने धनुर्धारी राम के मंदिर स्थापित होते हैं

और यह संकेत करते हैं कि इन हनुमन्मंदिरों की प्रतिष्ठा का लक्ष्य धनुर्धरत्व की ओर है। इतने पर भी जो यह कहता है कि 'तुलसी ने हमारे जीवन को पीछे की ओर घसीटा वे प्रतिगामी थे, पलायनवादी थे आदि आदि' उसक बुद्धि के फिर जाने में किसे संदेह होगा। जिन तुलसीदास को ब्राह्मणों का पिट्ठू कहते कुछ अर्थवादियों की जीभ संकुचित नहीं होती वे ही ब्राह्मणों को सावधान और उनके पतन का व्याख्यान यों करते हैं:—

प्रभु के वचन बेद-बुध-संमत मम मूरति महिदेव मई है।
तिन्ह की मति रिस राग मोह मद लोभ लालची लीलि लई है।

जिन तुलसी को सामंतवादी कहते किसी की 'जीभ' नहीं 'गिरती' वे ही सामंतों के दोषों का दर्शन और प्रदर्शन यों करने हैं—

राज समाज कुसाज कोटि कटु कलपत कलुष कुचाल नई है।
नीति प्रतीति प्रीति परमिति पति हेतुवाद हठि हेरि हई है।

थोथा हेतुवाद आज भी है।

शोषक वर्ग का साथ देनेवाले जो अनेक बार कहे गए औ आर्थिक आधार की भी जाँच हो चुकी हैं वे ही तुलसीदास शोषित कष्ट से कराह रहे हैं:—

खेती न किसान को भिखारी को न भीख बलि,
बनिक को बनिज न चाकर को चाकरी।
जीविका-विहीन लोग सीद्यमान सोचबस
कहैं एक एकन सों कहाँ जाई का करी।
बेदहूँ पुरान कही लोकहू विलोकियत
साकरे सबै पै राम रावरे कृपा करी।
दारिद दसानन दबाई दुनी दीनबंधु
दुरित दहन देखि तुलसी हहा करी॥

'आर्यसमाजी सुधार' का डंका स्वामी दयानंदजी के उद्भव से पहले ही तुलसीदासजी पीट चुके थे। गाजी मियाँ के मेले में होनेवाले उत्पात और विश्वासपूर्वक वहाँ जानेवालों का नेत्रोन्मीलन करते हुए वे कहते हैं—

लही आँखि कब आँधरे बाँझ पूत कब पाय।
कब कोढ़ी काया लही जग बहराइच जाय॥

कहाँ तक कहें। तुलसीदास के वाङ्मय की खोज अभी हुई ही कहाँ है। अभी तो लोग अपने अपने गाँव में तुलसी का जन्मस्थान खोज निकालने में लगे हैं। तुलसी का आर्थिक आधार खोजा जा रहा है, मिलता वह भी नहीं! पर जो अंधे को भी मिल सकता है तुलसी के उस सामाजिक आधार को कोई फूटी आँख भी नहीं देखता। हम तो दूसरों की दृष्टि से देखने और दूसरों के कानों से सुनने के अभ्यासी हो गए हैं फिर भला प्राचीन हिंदी कवियों की लोकदृष्टि हमें सूझे भी तो कैसे।

(52) भाषा का रागात्मक तत्त्व

डा० विश्वनाथप्रसाद, पटना

यदि हम बहुत दूर से दो या दो से अधिक व्यक्तियों को बातचीत करते हुए सुनें तो उनके शब्द अथवा स्वर या व्यंजन हमें स्पष्ट नहीं सुनाई पड़ते, सुनाई पड़ता है उनके वाक्यों का व्यापक रागमात्र। माला के सूत्र में पिरोई हुई मणियों के समान भाषा के विविध अवयवपद, शब्द तथा स्वर-व्यंजन वाक्य के राग-सूत्र में ही आबद्ध रहते हैं। भाषा का यह रागात्मक तत्त्व, उसकी आत्मा, उसका प्रारंभ, उसकी जीवनी शक्ति हैं। निस्संदेह वाणी के इस रागात्मक तत्त्व को ही ध्यान में रखकर वाक्यपदीय के प्रणेता भर्तृहरि ने कहा था——

> पदेन वर्णा विद्यन्ते वर्णेष्वयवा न च।
> वाक्यात्पदानामत्यन्तम्प्रविवेको न कश्चन॥

पद में वर्ण नहीं होते और वर्णों में पृथक्-पृथक् अवयव नहीं होते। वाक्य से पृथक् पदों की कोई सत्ता नहीं है।

(वाक्यपदीय १.७३)

हम जब बोलने लगते हैं तब हमारे पद, हमारे वर्ण एक-दूसरे में अन्तः प्रविष्ट होकर ध्वनि के अगणित रंगों में व्यक्त होने लगते हैं। ओसिलोग्राफ तथा फिल्म-स्ट्रिपों के चित्रों से भी यह बात सिद्ध होती है कि बोलते समय वक्ता की वागिन्द्रियां पूर्ववर्ती और परवर्ती ध्वनियों के समष्टिगत स्वरूप के अनुसार ही संचालित होती हैं। मानो समस्त वाक्य का राग-चित्र उसमें एक ही साथ उतर आता हो।

वस्तुतः किसी भाषा के ध्वनि-समूह का विश्लेषण करने से हमें उसकी व्यवस्था के दो पक्ष मिलते हैं——

(१) उसका स्वनिक (Phonematic) पक्ष, उसके स्वर-व्यंजन।
(२) उसका छान्दिक या रागात्मक पक्ष।

इनमें स्वनिक पक्ष की जो ध्वनियाँ हैं, वे दीवार की ईंटों के समान आनुक्रमिक रूप में आती हैं और रागात्मक पक्ष की जो ध्वनिय समकालिक या योगपदिक रूप में आती हैं, कई पृथक्-पृथक् ईंटों के समान पृथक्-पृथक् स्वनिक ध्वनिखंडों का अपने भीतर परिमापित या अंगीकृत कर लेती हैं। ये उनके ऊपर छा-सी जाती हैं। इसीलिए कुछ अमेरिकन ध्वनिशास्त्रियों ने एक को खंडात्मक (Segmental) और दूसरे को उपरिखंडात्मक (Super Segmental) कहा है। प्रायः एक ही स्वनिक खंड में दो-दो, तीन-तीन रागात्मक तत्त्व व्याप्त रहते हैं।

सुर या स्वरों के आरोह-अवरोह, बलाघात, ह्रस्व दीर्घ आदि मात्रायें, विराम आदि में सभी भाषा के रागात्मक तत्त्व के अंग हैं।

इन रागों के द्वारा ही हम उन भाषाओं में भी जो सुरात्मक (fonal) नहीं हैं अर्थात् जिनमें सुरों की भेदक सार्थकता (distinctive significance) नहीं है, उनमें भी विभिन्न अर्थों की व्याख्या कर सकते हैं। हिन्दी के इस लिखित पदसमूह का क्या अर्थ होगा जब तक उसमें राग भर कर हम किसी विशिष्ट अर्थ को न व्यक्त करें !

आप यह बात जानते हैं।

इस वाक्य के स्थूलाक्षर अंशों पर जोर देकर उच्चारण कीजिए और देखिए कि किस प्रकार राग-भेद से अर्थाभिव्यक्ति में भेद पड़ जाता है—

(१) **आप** यह बात जानते हैं।

(२) आप **यह** बात जानते हैं।

(३) आप यह **बात** जानते हैं।

(४) आप यह बात **जानते** हैं।

इसी वाक्य के अन्त में उच्चावरोही सुर का प्रयोग कीजिए तो उसके द्वारा प्रश्न की सूचना होती जो अन्यथा असंभव है।

एक ही भाषा में प्रादेशिक राग-भेद भी अनेक पाए जाते हैं। हिन्दी के उक्त वाक्य का प्रयोग प्रश्नवाचक अर्थ में लखनऊ में जिस सुर-विधान में होगा,

उससे दिल्ली का सुर-विधान सर्वथा भिन्न होगा। हमारे प्रान्त के तिरहुत प्रदेश में इस वाक्य का प्रश्नवाचिक निम्न स्वर में यों होगा।

आप यह बात जानते हैं?

यह राग-भेद प्रायः स्थानीय बोलियों के अनुसार बदलता है। इसलिए विस्तीर्ण क्षेत्रों में प्रचलित भाषाओं में भी रागों का कोई निश्चित आदर्श न ग्रहण किया जाय तो उनमें हास्यास्पद अव्यवस्था की ही नहीं वरन् अर्थ के अनर्थ की भी संभावना है।

वैदिक 'इन्द्र शत्रु' शब्द के उच्चारण में स्वर-भेद के कारण कैसा उत्पात खड़ा हो गया था, यह कहानी प्रसिद्ध है। इसी कारण वैदिक ऋषि अपनी भाषा के रागात्मक तत्त्वों के संकेतन के संबंध में बड़े सावधान थे। प्राचीन ग्रीकों ने भी मृदु और तीक्ष्ण नामों के लिए संकेत-चिह्नों का बड़ी सतर्कता के साथ प्रयोग किया है।

आज भी साहित्यिक भाषाओं के लिखित रूप में शब्दों के बीच रिक्त स्थान देने की जो परिपाटी है, उसे हम रागात्मक तत्त्व का ही निर्देशक मानते हैं। उनके द्वारा पदान्त तथा पदादि के ध्वनि-स्वरूप तथा सन्धियों की भी सूचना हमें मिलती है। हिन्दी में 'हट जाओ' इस वाक्य के स्वनात्मक रूप 'हड् जाओ' में ड् और जा का जो सन्धि-रूप है, वह 'षड्ज' आदि जैसे शुद्ध संस्कृत के तत्सम शब्दों को छोड़कर अन्यत्र नहीं पाया जाता। इस प्रकार हिन्दी में 'ड्ज' का संगम पदान्त और पदादि का एक सन्धि-चिह्न है।

सन्धियाँ वस्तुतः रागात्मक तत्त्व के ही अंग हैं। दो ध्वनियों के मिलने से एक तीसरी ध्वनि-तरंग उत्पन्न हो जाती है जिसमें उन दोनों ध्वनियों का पर्यवसान हो जाता है। "पाँच सौ रुपये हैं" इस वाक्य में च और स की सन्धि में च का स्पर्श बिलकुल गायब हो जाता है और स का ध्वनिरूप भी बदल जाता है। 'मत चलो' इस वाक्य में त और च का जो संयोग है वह बच्चा के संयुक्त 'च्च' के समान नहीं बल्कि उससे सर्वथा भिन्न है। तालु-ग्राही रेखा-चित्रों से यह बात स्पष्ट प्रमाणित हो गयी है। वास्तव में सन्धियों के राग अगणित

हैं । उन्हें व्याकरण के थोड़े से स्थूल नियमों में हम नहीं बाँध सकते ।

संस्कृतव्याकरण के णत्वविधान और षत्वविधान रागात्मक तत्त्व के ही अन्तर्गत आते हैं। किसी पद में एक र या ष रहा तो उसके दन्त्य न पर मूर्द्धन्य का रंग चढ़ जाता है । संस्कृत से सम्बद्ध भारतीय भाषाओं में मूर्द्धन्यीकरण राग-तत्त्व का ही अंग है । त्रुटू के त का जो मूर्द्धन्यीकरण होकर 'टूट' शब्द बन जाता है वह राग के प्रभाव का ही उदाहरण है ।

अनुस्वार और अनुनासिक को शिक्षा-ग्रन्थों में रंग माना गया है । बाँया, कुआँ, दसवाँ, सइयाँ, गोइयाँ, मँहगा आदि शब्दों में अनुनासिक अपनी पूर्ववर्ती और परवर्ती ध्वनियों को अपने रंग में रँग लेता है । बोलचाल की भाषाओं में अनुनासिक ने अनेक परिवर्तनशील रूप उसकी लचक, उसके रंग-राग के सूचक हैं । जैसे——

अनुस्वार	द्वित्व	अर्द्धानुनासिक	नासिक
लंबा	लम्मा	लाँबा	लाभा
खंभा	खम्हा	खाँभा	खाम्हा
कंधा	कन्हा	काँधा	कान्हा
चंदा	चन्ना	चाँद	चाना

कुछ ऐसी ध्वनियाँ हैं जो एक ओर स्वनिक या वर्णिक भी हो सकती हैं और दूसरी ओर राग-तत्त्व का भी अंश हो सकती हैं । य, व और ह को हम इसी कोटि में रख सकते हैं । दया और दवा के य और व में भेदक स्वनिकता है, पर आया, आये, गया, गये, हुवा आदि में य और व श्रुतिमात्र हैं । इनके लिए प्राकृत के जैन व्याकरणियों ने य-श्रुति और व-श्रुति का जो प्रयोग किया है, वह इनके रागात्मक स्वरूप के अनुरूप ही है ।

हिन्दी की ह-ध्वनि भी अनेक रागों का खजाना है । स्थान-भेद से उसमें कई रंग नजर आते हैं ।

उदाहरण——

पूर्वी प्रयोग	पच्छिमी प्रयोग	पंजाबी
बहुत	बोहत	बौत
		(जैसे बौतच्छा)

पहुँचना	पोंहचना	पौंचना
बहिन	बेहन	बैन
कहता है	केहता है	कैता है

यह बड़े मजे की बात है कि इन सभी रूपों में मात्राओं में कोई घट-बढ़ नहीं होती। मात्रिक राग अखंड बना रहता है।

हकार के रागात्मक स्वरूप के प्रयास में ऐसे वाक्यों के उदाहरण भी ले सकते हैं जिनमें महाप्राण वर्णों में से ह की ध्वनि स्थानान्तरित हो जाती है जैसे देख के चलो इस वाक्य का स्वनात्मक रूप होता है दे ह क्के चलो। बाघ का बच्चा—स्वनात्मक रूप—बा ह का बच्चा। क्यामोग्राफ या स्पन्दग्राह नामक ध्वनि-यन्त्र की चित्र-रेखाओं से यह स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि इनमें द के एकार और बा के आकार से ही महाप्राणत्व का प्रारंभ हो जाता और वह द और और ब के स्फोटन के वाद के ध्वन्यंश को अपने रंग में रँग देता है।

मात्राओं के रागात्मक स्वरूप को ध्यान में रखकर ही पाणिनि ने ह्रस्व और दीर्घ के लिए विशिष्ट शब्द लघु और गुरु का प्रयोग किया है। ह्रस्व और दीर्घ मात्राएँ हमारी भाषा के राग-पक्ष के प्रधान आधार हैं। दिन और दीन जैसे शब्दों के उदाहरण हमारी भाषा में बहुत कम हैं, जिनमें ह्रस्व और दीर्घ मात्राएँ अर्थ-भेदक रूप में प्रयुक्त हों। इनका स्वनिक महत्त्व नहीं, रागात्मक महत्त्व है। हमारे स्कूलों और कालेजों के विद्यार्थी ह्रस्व और दीर्घ की जो अशुद्धियाँ करते हैं उनका कारण यही है।

अपनी बोलचाल की भाषा या बोलियों के राग-भेद के कारण हिन्दी के रागात्मक ध्वनि-सूत्र को ठीक-ठीक पकड़ नहीं पाते। इस मर्ज को दूर करने का उचित उपाय यही है कि उनकी स्थानीय बोली के राग-तत्त्व के साथ हिन्दी के राग-तत्त्व के तुलनात्मक पहलू को ध्यान में रखकर, उसका विवेचन करके उन्हें हिन्दी के राग-तत्त्व का सम्यक् ज्ञान प्रदान किया जाय।

वास्तव में कोई भी जीवित भाषा एक बहुरागात्मक संगीत है जिसमें एक विस्तीर्ण लय के अन्तर्गत अनेक राग प्रवाहित होते रहते हैं। उनका अनुचयन आज के भाषाविज्ञानियों का प्रधान कर्तव्य है। विभिन्न भाषाओं में स्वर-व्यंजनों का प्रक्रिया का अध्ययन यथावत् किया जा चुका है, पर उनके राग-

त्मक तत्त्वों का अध्ययन अभी बहुत ही पिछड़ी हुई दशा में है। भाषाओं के पठनपाठन की दृष्टि से रागात्मक तत्त्वों के ज्ञान का व्यावहारिक महत्त्व है। मुझे तो ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि किसी भी भाषा को सीखने के लिए पहले उसके रागों को ही सीखना आवश्यक है। बच्चे पहले यह राग ही सीखते हैं, उसके बाद स्वर-व्यंजन।

अँगरेज या अमेरिकन शिक्षकों द्वारा संचालित St. Xavier, convent आदि अँगरेजी स्कूलों में हमारे बच्चे शीघ्र ही बढ़िया अँगरेजी बोलियाँ सीख लेते हैं, उसका प्रधान कारण यही है कि वहाँ उन्हें अँगरेजी भाषा के राग-सूत्र का साधन मिल जाता है। हिन्दी प्रान्तों में हिन्दी के स्वाभाविक समुचित रूप की शिक्षा और प्रचार के लिए भी अब यह आवश्यक है कि भिन्न-भिन्न हिन्दी प्रदेशों में प्रचलित वाक्य-सुरों तथा अन्य रागात्मक तत्त्वों का विश्लेषण किया जाय। और यथासम्भव उनके आदर्शीकरण का विचार किया जाय। सिनेमा और रेडियो में हिन्दी के उच्चारण-प्रयोग की दृष्टि से भी यह विषय महत्त्वपूर्ण है और इस ओर हमारे विद्वानों का ध्यान आकर्षित होना चाहिए।

(53) कबीर की वाणी में विदेशी शब्द

डा० हरदेव बाहरी, प्रयाग

गुरु ग्रन्थ में संकलित कबीर के २२८ पदों और २४३ सलोकों में लगभग ६००० कोश-शब्दों का उपयोग हुआ है। इनमें कोई १५० शब्द पंजाबी के हैं, १५० अहिंदी भारतीय भाषाओं से और २०० से कुछ ऊपर अरबी-फारसी से लिये गये हैं। शेष ५५०० शुद्ध हिंदी और प्रायः सभी तद्भव तथा अर्द्धतत्सम शब्द हैं। ६००० शब्दों में २०० अरबी-फारसी के शब्दों का अनुपात केवल सवा तीन प्रतिशत होता है। इसका अर्थ यह हुआ कि भाषा की दृष्टि से कबीर पक्के भारतीय तथा हिन्दी के कट्टर पोषक थे।

इन दो सौ शब्दों में ६० के लगभग ऐसे हैं जो एक से अधिक बार प्रयुक्त हुए हैं। ४४ शब्द दो-दो बार, सात शब्द (कतेब, जबाब, काबै, खबरि, बाकी, मसीत, दीवान) तीन-तीन बार; दोजक, बंदे, साहब चार-चार बार, काजी, अलह, खुदाई पाँच-पाँच बार, भिसत छः बार, तथा निवाज आठ बार आया है। शेष १४० शब्द केवल एक-एक बार प्रयुक्त हुए हैं।

ये विदेशी शब्द प्रायः जब भी आये हैं अपने प्रसंग के अनुकूल वातावरण में आये हैं। ऐसा जान पड़ता है कि इनके बिना कबीर को कोई चारा ही न था। वे जब मुसलमानों को सम्बोधित करके कोई बात कहते हैं, अथवा उनके दीन की (ईमान या मजहब शब्द कहीं नहीं आया) चर्चा करते हैं, अथवा सूफ़ी कवियों की विचार-पद्धति को उद्धृत करते हैं, तो ऐसे शब्दों का प्रयोग करना नितान्त आवश्यक हो जाता है। खुदाई, अलह, बुत, कलमा, बांग, सलाम, सेख, मुलाँ, काजी, उजु, निमाज, मुसल्ला, रोजा, रमजान, पाक, पलीतह, हज, दरगह, काबा, मसीति, हलाल, बिसमिल, कतेब (कुरआन के लिए), भिसत, दोजक, मीर, पीर आदि बहुत से ऐसे शब्द हैं जिन पर धार्मिक छाप लग जाने के कारण इनका हिन्दी रूपान्तर भोंडा हो जाता। तरीकत, तलब, रबाब, तूर, दमामा, खता, हाल, मउज, दीवाना, पिआला, तरीकति, बखसि आदि सूफ़ी शब्दावली से उधार लिये हुए शब्द हैं। कुछ ऐसे शब्द

भी हैं जिन से कबीर को विशेष प्रेम है, जैसे साहिब, खसम, गरीब, हुकम, बंदे, दरबार, गुमान, आदि। कुछ शब्द जन-साधारण की बोली में बहुत घुलमिल गये थे, ऐसा स्पष्ट जान पड़ता है; जैसे अउरत, मरद, चाबुक, लगाम, सवार, मुहार, लालच, खुसी, जोर, जबाब, साहिब, मुंसफ, खजाना, तीर, कमान, सराय, दुनिया, खेलखाना, दिल, कागज, कलम, जुलम, बेकाम, बेगाना, दरिया, बीबी, हवाई, गरीब आदि। हिंदी प्रदेश में ये आज भी इसी रूप में बोले जाते हैं। हिन्दीकृत शब्दों की यह शताब्दियों से बनी अनुएणता भाषा के इतिहास में अवश्य अचरज की बात है।

उपर्युक्त बातों को अधिक स्पष्ट करने के लिए उन पदों को लिया जाय जिनमें अधिकतम बिदेशी शब्द हैं। रागु तिलंग पद १ में ३८, रागु भैरउ पद १७ में २३, रागु आसा पद १७ में २१, रागु सूही पद ३ में १५ तथा रागु विभास प्रभाती पद २४ में १४-१४ अरबी-फ़ारसी शब्द प्रयुक्त हुए हैं। ये पद उद्धृत करना आवश्यक है ताकि यह समझा जा सके कि किस प्रसंग, किस विषय और भाव के अनुरूप तथा किस भाषा-वातावरण में कबीर ने विदेशी शब्दों का प्रयोग किया है।

(१) वेद कतेब इफतरा भाई दिल का फिकरु न जाइ।
टुकु दम करारी जउ कहहु हाजिर हजूर खुदाइ॥
बंदे खोज दिल हर रोज न फिरु परेसानी माहि।
इह जो दुनीआ सिहरु मेला दशतगीरी नाहि॥ १॥
दरोगु पढ़ि पढ़ि खुसी होइ बेखबर बादु बकाहि।
हकु सचु खालकु खलक मिआने सिआम मूरति नाहि॥ २॥
असमान मियाने लहंग दरिआ गुसल करदन बूद।
करि फकरु दाइम लाइ चसमे जहा तहा मउजूद॥ ३॥
अलाह पाकं पाक है सक करउ जे दूसर होइ।
कबीर करमु करीम का उदु करै जानै सोइ॥ ४॥

हिन्दू की बात करते कबीर कैसे बदल गये—'सिआम मूरति नाहि'।

(२) हम मसकीन खुदाई बंदे तुम राजसु मनि भावै।
अलह अवलि दीन को साहिबु जोरु नहीं फुरमावै॥
काजी बोलिआ बनि नहीं आवै॥ १॥

रोजा धरै निवाज गुजारै कलमा भिसति न होई ।
सतरि काबा घट ही भीतरि जे करि जानै कोई ॥ २ ॥
निवाज सोई जो निश्राउ विचारै कलमा अकलहि जानै ।
पाचहु मुसि मुसल्ला बिछावै तब तउ दीनु पछानै ॥ ३ ॥
खसमु पछानि तरस करि जीअ महि मारि मणी करि फीकी ।
आपु जनाइ अवर कउ जानै तब होइ भिसत सरीकी ॥ ४ ॥
माटी एक भेख धरि नाना ता महि ब्रहमु पछाना ।
कहै कबीरा भिसति छोडि करि दोजक सिउ मनु माना ॥ ५ ॥

बात मुसलमान से हो रही है और उसकी पूजा-पद्धति की है, इसलिए उसी की शब्दावली का प्रयोग हुआ है। हिन्दू की पद्धति को उद्धृत करने के लिए भाषा झट से विदेशीपन से मुक्त हो गई—'माटी एक भेख धरि नाना ता महि ब्रहमु पछाना'। इस पद में २१ विदेशी शब्द हैं जिन सबका सम्बन्ध मुसलमानी दीन से है।

(३) सतरि सैइ सलार है जाके ।
सवा लाख पैकाबर ताके ॥
सेख जो कहीअहि कोटि अठासी ।
छपन कोटि जाके खेल खासी ॥
सो गरीब की को गुजरावै ।
मजलसि दूरि महलु को पावै ॥ १ ॥
तेतीस करोड़ी है खेलखाना ।
चउरासी लख फिरै दिवाना ॥
बाबा आदम कउ किछु नदरि दिखाई ।
उन भी भिसति घनेरी पाई ॥ २ ॥
दिल खलहलु जा कै जरदरु बानी ।
छोडि कतेब करै सैतानी ॥
दुनिआ दोसु रोसु है लोई ।
अपन कीआ पावै सोई ॥ ३ ॥
तुम दाते हम सदा भिखारी ।
देउ जबाब होइ बजगारी ॥
दासु कबीर तेरी पनह समाना ।
भिसतु नजीकि राखु रहमाना ॥ ४ ॥

हिन्दू-मुसलमान दोनों को एक साथ सम्बोधित करते हुए कैसी खिचड़ी भाषा का संयोजन करते हैं, यह इस पद से और अगले पद से स्पष्ट है।

(४) अमलु सिरानो लेखा देना।
आए कठिन दूत जम लेना ॥
किआ तै खटिआ कहा गवाइआ।
चलहु सिताब दीवानि बुलाइआ ॥
चलु दरहालु दीवानि बुलाइआ।
हरि फरमानि दरगह का आइआ ॥ १ ॥

करउ अरदासि गान किछू बाकी।
लेउ निबेरि आजु की राती ॥
किछु भी खरचु तुम्हारा सारउ।
सुबह निवाज सराइ गुजारउ ॥ २ ॥

साध संगि जाको हरि रंगु लागा।
धनु धनु सो जनु पुरखु सभागा ॥
ईत ऊत जन सदा सुहेले।
जनमु पदारथु जीति अमोले ॥ ३ ॥

जागत सोइआ जनमु गवाइआ।
मालु धनु जोरिया भइआ पराइआ ॥
कहु कबीर तेई नर भूले ।
खसमु बिसारि माटी संग रूले ॥ ४ ॥

एक ही जीभ से हिन्दू-मुसलमान दोनों को सुनाये चले जा रहे हैं। भाषा की बदलती हुई शब्दावली भावों का कितना साथ देती है यह देख लिया जाये।

(५) अलहु एकु मसीति बसतु है अवरु मुलखु कहु केरा।
हिन्दू मूरति नाम निवासी दुह महि ततु न हेरा ॥

अलह राम जीवउ तेरे नाई।
तू करि मिहरामति सांई ॥ १ ॥

दसम देस हरि का वासा पछिमि अलह मुकामा।
दिल महि खोजि दिलै दिलि खोजहु एही ठउर मुकामा ॥ २ ॥

बहमन गिग्रास करहि चउबीसा काजी मह रमजाना ।
गिग्रारह मास पास कै राखे एकै माहि निधाना ॥ ३ ॥
कहा उडीसे मजनु कीग्रा किग्रा मसीति सिरु नाए ।
दिल महि कपटु निवाज गुजारे किग्रा हज काबै जाए ॥ ४ ॥
एते ग्रउरत मरदा साजे ए सम रूप तुमारे ।
कबीरु पूंगरा राम ग्रलह का सभ गुरु पीर हमारे ॥ ५ ॥

सलोक—१८४ कबीर मुलां मुनारे किग्रा चढ़हिं सांई न बहरा होई ।
जा कारनि तूं बांग देहि दिल ही भीतरि जोई ॥
—१८५ सेख सबूरी बाहरा किग्रा हज काबै जाइ ।
कबीर जाकी दिल साबति नहीं ताकउ कहां खुदाइ ॥
—१८६ कबीर ग्रलह की करि बंदगी जिह सिमरत दुख जाइ ।
दिल महि सांई परगटै बुझै बलंती नाइ ॥
—१८७ कबीर जोरी कीरा जुलमु है कहता नाउ हलालु ।
दफतर लेखा मांगिग्रै तब होइगो कउन हवालु ॥

इस प्रकार कोई १४ पदों ग्रौर ५-७ सलोकों में १२५ विदेशी शब्दों का प्रयोग हुग्रा है शेष ७५ शब्द ६० पदों ग्रौर १५-२० सलोकों में बिखरे पड़े हैं। लगभग १२५ पद ग्रौर १५० सलोक ऐसे हैं जिनमें एक भी ग्ररबी-फारसी का शब्द नहीं मिलता।

× × × × ×

कबीर ने इन विदेशी शब्दों को विदेशी रूप ग्रौर वर्तनी में कभी नहीं लिया। इन्हें हिन्दी ध्वनियों ग्रौर हिन्दी व्याकरण में ढाला, ग्रथवा यों कहा जाये कि इन्हें बहुजनमान्य उच्चारण ग्रौर व्यवहार के ग्रनुसार प्रयुक्त किया। जान पड़ता है उस समय तक क़, ख़, ग़, ज़ ग्रौर फ़ ध्वनियों को न तो हिन्दी उच्चारण में स्थान मिला था ग्रौर न ही नागरी वर्ण-माला में। कबीर में 'कसाई', 'ग्रकलि', 'काइमु', 'ज़ीन', 'गज', 'जिमीं', 'जंजीर', 'फीलु', 'फुरमान', 'फिकर', 'गाफिल', 'गुसल', 'गुलामु', 'दाग', 'खुसरा', 'खुदाई', 'खजानै', ग्रादि शब्द-रूप मिलते हैं। इसी प्रकार कबीर ने 'श' के स्थान पर बराबर 'स' का प्रयोग किया है, जैसे सैतानी, सेख, नीसान, सरीकी, खुसी, परेसानी, चसमे, सक, हुसिग्रार, सूम, इत्यादि में। 'जबाब' में तो 'व' का भी 'ब' कर दिया है। ض ग्रौर ذ की जगह विकल्प से 'ज' ग्रौर 'द' ध्वनि-शास्त्र

की दृष्टि से बहुत ठीक रहा, जैसे हदूरि, हजूर, नदरि, नजर, तथा कागद में। काज़ी में 'ज' ही मिलता है। 'सुरतान' में 'ल' के स्थान पर 'र' पूर्वी हिन्दी का है। मुलख़ में 'क' की जगह 'ख', चराक तथा पैकावर में 'ग़' की जगह 'क', एवं इकतिआर में 'ख़' की जगह 'क' का ध्वनि परिवर्तन बहुत दिलचस्प है।

भारतीय भाषाओं ने संयुक्त अक्षरों की जगह द्वित्व व्यंजन और फिर एक व्यंजन रखने की चाल तो प्राकृत से ली है लेकिन इसकी अपनी एक विशिष्ट प्रवृत्ति संयुक्त अक्षरों में स्वरभक्ति लाने की है। विदेशी शब्दों में कम-से-कम यही होता रहा है। कबीर ने लोक-प्रचलित ऐसे शब्दों को बराबर लिया है। जैसे भिसत, तरस, गुसल, ख़रच, फिकर, दसतगीरी, रिजम, पुरजा, जुलम, मरद, हसती, आदि में।

बलाघात के प्रभाव से कुछ शब्दों के दीर्घ स्वर ह्रस्व हुए हैं जैसे दिवाना, बजार, असमान, सलार में।

असवार और अजाई के आदि में अकार का आगम भी भाषा की एक अलग प्रवृत्ति का नमूना है।

बरअक्स की जगह बरकस, अर्ज़दाश्त की जगह अरदासि, नजदीक की जगह नजीकि, परवर्दगार की जगह परविदगार शब्द-परिवर्तन आगम और लोप के सम्मिश्रण से तैयार हुए हैं। मुलां में अनुनासिकता और कुलफ़ में शब्द-विपर्यय हुआ है। कुछ एक शब्द ऐसे हैं कि जिनके रूप अत्यन्त अस्पष्ट हो गये हैं, जैसे दिवाजा, सिकदारा, मुसीअत, ससकरु, खलहल, बजगारी।

इस प्रकार जब विदेशी शब्दों को देशी पहरावा पहना दिया गया और उनके ठेठ रूप को अपनाया गया तो कबीर के लिए उन्हें अहिंदी कहने की गुंजाइश ही नहीं थी। उन्होंने ऐसे शब्दों को हिन्दी मानकर ही हिन्दी व्याकरण-सम्मत ढंग से प्रयुक्त किया है।

मूल कर्ताकारक, पुल्लिंग, एकवचन का अन्तिम उकार इन शब्दों में भी लगता है, जैसे कागदु, दोजकु, गैबु, करमु, अमलु, दरु, फीलु, सलामु, जोरु, नापाकु, नूरु, इखलासु, हकु, खूबु, आदि में।

मूल कर्ताकारक, स्त्रीलिंग, एकवचन में इकार लगता है, जैसे बलाइ, नारि, रइअति, मजलसि, मिहरामति, सुंनति, साबति, अरदासि, कुदरति आदि में।

मुसीअत, तरीकति, सुंनति, मिहरामति तथा इइअति, ये पाँच भावात्मक शब्द तो तकारान्त हैं, परन्तु कोई बीस-एक शब्द हिन्दी ढंग के अनुकूल ईकारान्त हैं और यही कबीर की तथा लोकभाषा हिन्दी की सामान्य प्रवृत्ति है। उदाहरण—दलाली, बाजीगरी, गुमानी, दरबानी, बराबरी, सुरखी, सैतानी, सबूरी, कदूरी, साहिबी, खवासी, सरीकी, असवारी, जगाती, इत्यादि।

लोकभाषा में जब विदेशी शब्दों का हिन्दीकरण हो जाता है तब उनके साथ कारक और क्रिया प्रत्यय बराबर हिन्दी के लगते रहते हैं। कबीर में इनका यही व्यवहार मिलता है, जैसे रमजाना, असवारा, बजारहि, बकाहि, दरमादे, खजानै, काबै, दरि, गुजारहु, फुरमावै इत्यादि।*

हम इतना कह सकते हैं कि कबीर के विदेशी शब्द-प्रयोग में भी ठेठ हिन्दी का ठाठ है। उनकी साहित्यिक भाषा लोकभाषा से भिन्न न थी।

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* इस लेख में हमने गुरु ग्रंथ में संकलित कबीर के सभी अरबी-फ़ारसी शब्दों की सूची, उदाहरणों के रूप में, दे दी है। जिन शब्दों को हम उद्धृत नहीं कर सके वे ये हैं—कालबूत, कारगाह, गोर, जिंद, नरजा, पलीता, येदार तथा सद।

(54) MEER AS A MARSIYA WRITER

by

S. MASIHUZZAMAN, M. A.
LECTURER DEPTT. OF URDU,
University of Allahabad.

میر تقی میر کے حالات اور کلام کے بیان مین بعض لوگون نے ان کے مرثیہ کا ذکر کیا ھے اور ان کی غم انگیز طبیعت ' ان کے چوٹ کھائے ھوے دل' اور ان کے بیان کی تاثیر کی بنا پر ان کے ایک زبردست مرثیہ گو ھونے کا خیال ظاھر کیا ھے- اگرچہ اس مین کسی کو شبہ نہین کہ میر نے مرثیے کہے ھین لیکن ان کے کلیات کی بہت سی اشاعتون کے باوجود ان کا کوئی مرثیہ ان کے کلیات کے کسی مطبوعہ نسخے مین نظر نہین آتا- ایک عرصہ تک کلیات سودا کے رسالۂ "سبیل ھدایت" مین جس مرثیے پر اعتراضات کئے گئے ھین اسے لوگ میر تقی میر کا سمجھتے رھے لیکن شیخ چاند نے اپنے تحقیقی مطالعے "سودا" مین اس غلط فہمی کو دور کر کے یہ ثابت کر دیا ھے کہ وہ مرثیہ جس کا پہلا بند یہ ھے :

دلون پر محبون کے حالت عجب ھے
مصیبت ھے ماتم ھے غم ھے تعب ھے

میر کا نہین بلکہ اسی زمانے کے ایک اور مرثیہ گو میر محمد تقی عرف میر گھاسی المتخلص بہ تقی کا ھے-

۱۹۲۸ع مین رسالۂ نیرنگ رام پور نے میر نمبر نکالا تھا جس مین میر کے سات مرثیے بھی شایع کئے تھے- ھمارے علم مین میر کے مراثی کی یہ سب سے پہلی اشاعت ھے- اس کے بعد اسی رسالۂ نیرنگ کے جون ۱۹۲۹ع کی اشاعت مین ان کا ایک مرثیہ شایع ھوا جس کا مطلع یہ ھے :

کرتاھے یون بیان سخن ران کربلا

پھر اسی رسالۂ نیرنگ کے ایڈیٹر جناب عشرت رحمانی نے انھین کے چھہ مرثیون اور ایک سلام کی نقل انجمن ترقی اردو کو بھیجی جو اردو کے اپریل ۱۹۳۱ع کی اشاعت مین شایع ہوئی- اسی طرح میر کے وھی مرثیے دوسری بار شایع ہوئے- ھمارے علم مین اس کے بعد میر کے مرثیے کہین اور شایع نہین ہوئے.

کلیات میر کے قلمی نسخون مین بھی ھماری نظر سے صرف دو ایسے گزرے ھین جن مین ان کے مرثیے شامل ھین- ان مین سے ایک رضا لائبریری' رامپور مین ھے اور دوسرا محترمی پروفیسر سید مسعود حسن صاحب رضوی ام اے صدر شعبۂ فارسی و اردو' لکھنؤ یونیورسٹی کے ذاتی کتب خانے مین. رامپور کے نسخے مین نو مرثیے ھین جو ''نیرنگ'' اور ''اردو'' مین شایع ھوچکے ھین- پروفیسر سید مسعود حسن رضوی کے نسخے مین انتالیس مرثیے اور سلام ھین- رام پور کے نسخے مین صرف دو ایسے مرثیے ھین جو پروفیسر سید مسعود حسن رضوی کے نسخے مین نہین ھین- اسی طرح دونون نسخون کو ملاکر میر کے اکتالیس مرثیے اور سلام اس وقت ھمارے سامنے ھین.

میر نے مرثیے مسدس' مربع' ترجیع بند' ترکیب بند اور منفردہ لکھے ھین جن مین مربع زیادہ ھین- مرثیون کے آخر مین انھون نے اپنی عقیدت کا اظہار کیا ھے اور اپنے لیے دعائین مانگی ھین- انھین اس کا بھی یقین ھے کہ ان کے مرثیے بہت موثر اور ایسے کامیاب ھین کہ انھین سن کر لوگون پر رقت طاری ھوجاتی ھے:

کہون یہ واقعہ آگے تو غم ھو   دلون کو میر صد گونہ الم ھو

خاموش میر اب نہ کرین اس سخن سے ساز
چپ رہ خدا کو مان کہون اے زبان دراز
ھر حرف تیرے منہ سے نکلتا ھے شعلہ زن
سینے مین دوستون کے ھوا جائے دل گداز

بس اب تو میر رکھہ لے تک زبان کو   یہین سے چھوڑ دے اس داستان کو
رلاوے گا کہان تک مردمان کو   نہین طاقت رھی مژگان تری کی

یہ خیال صحیح ھو یا نہ ھو لیکن اس مین شبہ نہین کہ میر نے اپنے مرثیون مین گریے کے پہلو بہت پیدا کیے ھین اور کربلا کے واقعات مین سے درد

انگیز مناظر منتخب کر کے انہیں بار بار نظم کیا ھے۔ مثلاً حضرت علی اصغر کے لئے پانی کا سوال' امام حسین کی شہادت اور اس کے بعد کی لوٹ مار' حضرت عابد کی اسیری' اہل حرم کی بے چادری' حضرت قاسم کی شادی وغیرہ :

ایک کہے تھی نوشہ قاسم کیسا بیاہ رچایا تھا
کیاساعت تھی نحس وہ جس میں بیاھنے کو تو آیا تھا
لگ گئی چپ ھے ایکا ایکی اتنی ھی کیا لایا تھا
نہ بولے ھے اب تک تیرے ھاتھ کی مہندی لگائی ہوئی

....

....

کوئی کسی ملت میں یارو ایسا ستم بھی کرتا ھے
سبط نبی' فرزند علی کا ناچاری سے مرتا ھے
دل تو چاھے جینے کو پر موت پہ جی کو دھرتا ھے
کیا سمجھے تھے شامی کوفی جن سے ایسی برائی ہوئی

نہیں بھائی بھتیجوں کا ٹھکانا میسر سب کو آیا جی سے جانا
کسو کا تن ھے تیروں کا نشانا کسو کا سر ہوا ھے چار پارا

....

فلک تونے عجب چوپڑ بچھائی سمجھ میں چال تیری کچھ نہ آئی
امام دین نے جان بازی لگائی موا لیکن نہ اپنے جی کو ھارا

جہان تاریک ھے بیٹے بھتیجے مر گئے سارے
رفیق ایک ایک گن کر دشمنوں نے جان سے مارے
جفائیں سہتے سہتے باز ماندہ شاہ کے ھارے
چراغ اک نیم کشتہ سا ھے باقی سو بھی مضطر ھے

بھائی بھتیجے آئے تیغ ستم تلے خنجر رکھا گیا شہ مظلوم کے گلے
ھر چند سر ھے نیزہ پر خورشید سا ولے تاریک ھے زمین وزمان وامصیبتا

رخصت امام کے متعلق ایک پورا مرثیہ ہے جس مین بھائی کی بہن سے جدائی کا مضمون بہت مؤثر انداز سے باندھا ہے :

ساتھہ والا نہ کوئی ہوے رھون مین صد حیف
بن حریفون کے یہ خمخانہ ہے سارا بے کیف
پھر جو بازو تھے وے سب ہین علف خنجر و سیف
قاسم اکبر کے تئین کہا گئی تلوار بہن

اپنی حالت بیان کرنے کے بعد باقی ماندون کے متعلق وصیتین بھی رخصت کا جز ہین اور میر کے یہان ان کا بیان کافی دردناک ہے- اختصار کے خیال سے ہم یہان صرف حضرت عابد اور جناب سکینہ کے متعلق حصون کا ایک ایک بند نقل کرتے ہین :

ایک تو تپ اُسے رهتی ہے نہایت ہے حقیر
دوسرے جاتے رہے ؟ سب خورد و پیر
تیسرے مرگ پدر سخت کرے گی دلگیر
مار ہی ڈالے گا آزار یہ آزار بہن

جس گھڑی جان مری تن سے جدا ہووےگی
دن کی ہوجاے گی شب، تیرہ ہوا ہووے گی
درهمی برهمی سے حشر بپا ہو وے گی
اس قیامت مین سکینہ سے خبردار بہن

ایک روایت یون نظم کی ہے کہ اتمام حجت کے لئے امام حسین نے یہ صورت پیش کی کہ وہ عرب چھوڑ کر کسی اور طرف نکل جائین- عمر ابن سعد اس پر راضی نہ ہوا- اُس جگہ ایک عیسائی بھی موجود تھا- اس نے ان لوگون کو قائل کیا کہ ان کا یہ فعل انتہائی ظالمانہ ہے اور انہین یہ کہکر غیرت دلائی کہ عیسائی تو خر عیسیٰ کی بھی اہانت نہین گوارا کرسکتے- تم آخر کیسے مسلمان ہو کہ محمد کے نواسے کے ساتھ یہ بدسلوکی کررہے ہو- اسی مضمون سے ملتا جلتا سودا کا بھی ایک مرثیہ ہے جو اس طرح شروع ہوتا ہے :

مین ایک نصاریٰ سے یہ ازرہ نادانی
پوچھا کہ مسلمان ہے یہ بولا وہ نصرانی
عیسیٰ کے نواسے کو دن عید کے قربانی
کرتے تو ہمین پھبتا دعواے مسلمانی

دونون مین فرق ھے تو یہ کہ سودا کے یہان نصرانی شاعر سے مخاطب ھے اور میر کے یہان اھل شام سے- دونون کا مقصد ایک ھي ھے یعنی یہ دکھانا کہ یزیدیون نے کربلا مین ایسا قابل نفرین کام کیا ھے جس پر دوسري قوم کے لوگ تک ملامت کرتے ھین-

امام حسین کي شھادت کے بعد عورتون کی فریاد اور حضرت عابد کی مصیبت' ان کي ذمہ داریان' ان کي تنھائي' کے بیانات میر کے خاص موضوع ھین- سردار کا مارا جانا' گھر کي تباھي' مخدرات کی واویلا' نئے امام کي مجبوریان بے شبہ ایسے بیانات ھین جو سننے والون کا کلیجہ پانی کرسکتے ھین لیکن کربلا کے دردناک مناظر مین سے ان مین کا بار بار ذکر اس اھمیت کا پتہ دیتا ھے جو ان واقعات کو میر کے ذھن مین حاصل ھے. میر کے عنفوان شباب ھي مین ان کے والد انتقال کر گئے اور ایک بڑے بھائي کي موجودگي کے باوجود گھر کي ذمہ داریون کے علاوہ والد کے چھوڑے ھوے قرض کا بار بھي میر ھي کے سر آیا- اعزا و اقربا نے آنکھین پھیر لین- انھین کے الفاظ ھین :

''کسانیکہ پیش درویش خاک پاے مرا کحل البصری ساختند یکبار از نظرم انداختند''

یہ زمانہ میر کے لئے جس قدر تکلیف دہ ثابت ھوا اس کي یاد ان کے مزاج کا ایسا جزو بن گئی کہ وہ حضرت عابد کی حالت کو سب سے زیادہ افسوسناک سمجھتے ھین اور گریہ و بکا کے لئے مرثیون مین اس کا ذکر بار بار لاتے ھین.

میر کے مرثیون مین درد و تاثیر ھے- ان کے لھجے مین گداز اور سوز بھی ھے لیکن اس کے باوجود بھی ان مین وہ نشتریت نھین ھے جو ان کی غزلون کی خصوصیت ھے ان کی شاعری کي بلندی' ان کی عظمت کا راز ان کے درد انگیز اشعار مین ھے' اس سلگنے والي کیفیت مین ھے' اس گھٹی ھوئی کراہ مین ھے جو ان کی غزلون مین دوڑی ھوئي ھے اور جس نے انھین وہ مقبولیت بخشي ھے کہ شاعري مین درد و غم اور میر ھم معنی ھو گئے ھین- ان کے مرثیے چونکہ اب تک منظر عام پر نھین آے تھے اس لئے ان کے متعلق لوگون کا یہ خیال ھے کہ ان کی غزلون کي طرح ان کے مرثیون مین بھي درد و الم' اشک و آہ کا ایسا وفور ھوگا کہ اردو کا کوئی مرثیہ گو اس پھلو سے ان کا مقابل نہ ھوسکے گا- میر کے یہ مراثی دیکھنے کے بعد یہ توقع پوری نھین ھوتی.

بچپن مین جو بچہ بڑے لاڈ پیار سے رکھا جاتا ھے ھمیشہ اپنے کو ضرورت سے زیادہ اھمیت دینے لگتا ھے اور اپنے ارد گرد کے لوگون سے اپنے کو افضل و برتر

سمجھتا ہے۔ میر اگرچہ اپنے والد کے پہلے لڑکے نہ تھے لیکن اپنی والدہ کے پہلے لڑکے تھے۔ اس لئے شروع شروع ان کی نازبرداریوں میں کوئی کمی نہیں ہوئی۔ بڑھے تو بڑے بھائی کی موجودگی ایک طرف باپ اور دوسرے گھروالوں کو ان کی طرف اتنا متوجہ ہونے کا موقع نہیں دیتی تھی دوسری طرف ماں کی محبت میں ایک اور حصہ دار ان کا چھوٹا بھائی پیدا ہو گیا اور ماں کی محبت جو صرف ان کے لئے مخصوص تھی نو مولود کی طرف منعطف ہوگئی۔ ایسی حالت میں بہت ممکن تھا کہ ان کے ذہن میں اپنی اہمیت کا جو احساس پیدا ہوگیا تھا وہ اس قسم کے صدہا بچوں کی طرح زیادہ پختہ نہ ہوتا اور کھیل کود میں فنا ہوجاتا لیکن ان کے والد سے عقیدت رکھنے والے سید امان اللہ کے پاس انہیں اپنے اس جذبے کی تسکین کا سامان ملا۔ ایک گھر میں رہتے ہی تھے یہ انہیں کے پاس رہنے لگے۔ سید امان اللہ ان کی نازبرداریاں کرتے، اپنے لڑکے کی طرح عزیز رکھتے اور تعلیم دیتے تھے۔ ذکر میر میں لکھتے ہیں:

''لمحۂ از خود جدایم نمی کرد و با ناز و نعم می پرورد''

اس حالت میں سن شعور کو پہنچے۔ سید امان اللہ کی رحلت کے بعد ان کی نازک مزاجیوں کا جو سہارا ٹوٹا اس کا جھٹکا وہ پوری طرح محسوس بھی نہ کرپائے تھے کہ ان کے والد کا بھی انتقال ہوگیا اور ناز پروردہ نو عمر میر پر مصائب اور پریشانیوں کا ریلا ہوگیا۔ بڑے بھائی باپ کی کل جائداد تین سو کتابیں لے کر الگ ہوگئے اور انہیں کتابوں سے بےواسطہ کہکر کوئی حصہ نہیں دیا۔ تین سو روپیہ جو باپ پر قرض تھے ان کی ادائگی بھی اسی لاڈلے پر عاید ہوئی۔ جو لوگ اب تک میر سے بڑے تپاک سے ملتے تھے، ان کی ہر طرح عزت اور خاطر کرتے تھے اب نظریں چرانے لگے۔ انہیں ایسا محسوس ہونے لگا جیسے ساری دنیا ان کی دشمن ہوگئی ہے۔ ان کی جو قدر و منزلت تھی وہ ان کے وصف اضافی کی وجہ سے تھی۔ ان کی کوئی قدر نہیں کرتا تھا۔ اس احساس سے ان کی چوٹ کھائی ہوئی شخصیت جو سید امان اللہ کے لاڈ پیار سے اپنی نظر میں پہلے ہی سے بہت اہم ہوگئی تھی اہم تر ہوگئی۔ اہل وطن کی ناقدری اور بدخلقی کے شاکی ہوکر وہ دہلی آگئے۔ یہاں سرپرستی بھی ہوئی، قدردانی بھی جس نے انہیں خود پسند بنادیا۔ جیسے جیسے ان کی مشق سخن بڑھی لوگوں کے دلوں میں ان کی جگہ ہوتی گئی۔ امرا انہیں اپنے مشوروں میں شریک رکھتے، سیاسی گتھیوں کے سلجھانے میں ان کا حصہ ہوتا، ان کی شاعری کی سب تعظیم کرتے لیکن ان کے ذہن میں اپنی ناقدری کی چوٹ اور اپنی اہمیت کا جو احساس تھا اس کی تسکین اس سے نہیں ہوتی تھی۔ اپنے کو اژدر اور دوسروں کو سانپ بچھو بنانا، آصف الدولہ کو خاطر میں نہ لانا، چوبدار کے ذریعے سے گھر پر خلعت پانے سے بگڑجانا، راستے میں باتیں کرنے سے

انکار کردینا، حاکم وقت کی تعظیم کے لئے کھڑا نہ ہونا، ایسے کتنے واقعات ہیں جو واضح طور پر ایسے ذہن کا پتہ دیتے ہیں جو متوازن (normal) نہیں، جسے ہروقت یہ احساس کھائے جاتا ہے کہ لوگ اس کی توہین کرنے، اس کی اہمیت گھٹانے اور اس کا مرتبہ گرانے کے درپے رہتے ہیں۔ ان کے لئے دنیا میں سب سے اہم اپنی شخصیت ہے سب سے بڑا اپنا غم ہے۔ گہرے طور پر خود نگر (self centred) بن کر انہوں نے (عمر کے آخری حصے میں خصوصاً) اپنے ارد گرد ایسی خیالی دنیا بنالی جس میں سب کچھ ان کی ذات تھی۔ اسی لئے اپنے مذہبی جذبات کے باوجود جب میر امام حسین کے غم میں آہ و نالہ کرتے ہیں تو ان کے بیان میں وہ تیزی، وہ کسک، وہ نشتریت نہیں پیدا ہوتی جو ان کی غزلوں میں ہے۔

اس کا یہ مطلب نکالنا صحیح نہیں ہوگا کہ میر کے مرثیوں میں درد و اثر کا فقدان ہے۔ ان کے معاصرین کا کلام نظر میں رکھنے کے بعد بڑی آسانی سے یہ فیصلہ کیا جاسکتا ہے کہ ان کے مرثیے ان کی غزلوں سے نشتریت اور غم انگیزی میں کم ہوں تو ہوں دوسروں کے مقابلے میں پست یا کمتر نہیں۔ دیکھئے :

میاں مسکین :

جفا کے دشت میں جس دم گیا حسین غریب
اور اسی کا نام فلک نے رکھا حسین غریب
جنگل میں با پسر و اقربا حسین غریب
شہید ہونے کو اترا رہا حسین غریب

قضا نے اس سے کہا فاطمہ کے بیٹے آ
یہ دشت سونا ہے تجھ بن اسے تو آ کے بسا
زمین نے تجھ کو بلایا ہے اس میں آ کے سما
اور اپنا نام تو اس میں رکھا حسین غریب

اجل نے اس کو کہا فاطمہ کے وزنہ دار
تمہارا میرا ستاون برس کا تھا اقرار
قرار ہوچکا اب کھاؤ خنجر و تلوار
کہو اجل کے حوالے ہوا حسین غریب

گدا :—

جب آ کربلا میں وہ گردش کی ماری بہو فاطمہ کی علی کی پیاری
گنوا بادشاہی، لٹا شہر باری چلی شام کو قید ہونے بچاری

فلک کو مخاطب کیا گاے ستمگر تجھے کچھہ بھی ھے شرم اے تیرہ اختر
نبوت کو ویران کیا ظلم سو کر اٹھے میرے وارث کئی ایک باری

....

سناؤن سو کیا آگے غم کی کہانی کہ دل ہو گیا شرم سے پانی پانی
میں دکھہ کی تو کچھہ بات کہکر نہ جانی زبان قلم بند لکھنے سے ھاری

ھان ان کے معاصرین میں صرف سودا کے مرثیے ایسے ھیں جو مجموعی حیثیت سے ان سے بہتر ھین - تاثیر کے علاوہ ان کے چہرون اور جنگ وغیرہ کے مناظر زیادہ کامیاب ھین - ساتھہ ھی ساتھہ سودا اپنے مرثیون میں بین کے ایسے گوشے نکالتے ھین کہ مجموعی حیثیت سے انہین میر سے بہتر مرثیہ گو ماننا پڑے گا - ان دونوں استادون کا ایک ایک مرثیہ ایک ھی زمین میں ھے :

سودا : بدن میں زخم ستم رن مین جب اٹھاے حسین

میر : سنو یہ قصۂ جانکاہ کربلاے حسین

درد واثر کے اعتبار سے ان دونوں میں میر کا مرثیہ سودا سے بہتر ھے - اس کی ایک وجہ تو یہ ھے کہ میر نے سودا کا مرثیہ سامنے رکھہ کر مرثیہ لکھا ھے اور خود ھی اس کا اعتراف بھی کیا ھے[1] - دوسرے یہ کہ میر بھی قادرالکلام شاعر ھین - مجموعی حیثیت سے سودا کے مرثیوں کے بہتر ہونے کے یہ معنی تو نہیں ھین کہ ان کا ھر مرثیہ میر کے ھر مرثیے سے بہتر ھے -

میر نے مرثیون میں اپنے زمانے کے رسوم اور معاشرت کے عناصر بھی داخل کیئے ھین - ان کے مطالعے سے اس زمانے کی عزاداری کے متعلق بہت سی ایسی باتیں معلوم ہوتی ھین جو اب غالباً متروک ھوگئی ھین مثلاً نوحہ و ماتم مین جس طرح آج کل حسین حسین، حسین امام حسین حیدر، حسن حسین،

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1 : رضا لائبریری، رام پور کے نسخے میں یہ عبارت ملتی ھے : "بہ طرز مرزا رفیع گفتہ".

یا حسین شاہ حسین کی صدائیں لگائی جاتی ہیں اسی طرح اُس وقت "ھے دوست، ھے دوست" کی صدائیں لگانے کا رواج بھی تھا - محرم میں لوگ سیاہ کپڑے کی کفنی پہنا کرتے تھے اور اظہار غم میں نعل اور لوھے کی دوسری چیزوں کو گرم کرکے داغ لیا کرتے تھے - ان کا مرثیہ :

محرم کا نکلا ھے پھر کر ھلال قیامت رھیں گے دلوں پر ملال

دیکھنے سے اس عہد کی عزا داری اور محرم میں لوگوں کا شغف بہت کچھ نگاھوں میں آجاتا ھے -

ان کے بعض مرثیے ایسے ھیں جن سے یہ پتہ چلتا ھے کہ وہ ماتم کے ساتھ پڑھنے کے لئے لکھے گئے ھیں- ان کی بحروں سے پرانی طرح کی سینہ زنی کے آھنگ اور اتار چڑھاؤ کا صاف اندازہ ھوتا ھے اور ذھن میں محمد شاھی وضع کے ماتموں کی صف آجاتی ھے جوش عقیدت میں سینہ کوبی میں مصروف ھیں :

امت تھی نبی کی کہ یہ کفار حسینا

دکھ سے نرے کلام یا امام یا حسین

چاروں طرف ھے شور و فغان وا مصیبتا

کیا نحس تھا دن روز سفر ھائے حسینا

چہلم ھے اے محبان آسی شاہ دو سرا کا

حضرت قاسم کی شادی اردو مرثیہ گویوں کا خاص موضوع رھی ھے- مرزا اور سیدن کے بعد سودا و میر نے بھی اسی میں بہت سے پہلو نکالے ھیں- میر نے اپنے مرثیوں میں جا بجا اسی شادی یا نوکتخدا جوڑے کی طرف اشارے کئے ھیں اور ایک مرثیہ "قاسم کی شادی اسی دن رچائی" تو اسی سے شروع ھی کیا ھے جس میں ھندستانی شادی کے رسوم، برات، لگن دھرانا، آرسی مصحف، آتش بازی، معجر نیگ وغیرہ کے ذکر سے مرثیے میں درد پیدا کیا ھے.

میر کی زبان اب سے ڈیڑھ پونے دو سو برس پہلے کی زبان ھے- آج اردو ارتقا کے بہت سے مدارج طے کر کے نکھر گئی ھے- اظہار کے طریقے بدل گئے ھیں-

لیکن اس وقت ایسے بہت سے لفظ اور محاورے مستعمل تھے جو اب بدل گئے ھین یا متروک ھوگئے ھین اور ایک عام پڑھنے والے کو اس وقت کی عبارتین نا مانوس معلوم ھوتی ھین- ان لسانی تغیرات کے متعلق ھم یہان محترمی پروفیسر سید مسعود حسن رضوی ام-اے کے دیباچۂ جواھر سخن (جلد دوم) کا ایک اقتباس پیش کرتے ھین جو میر کے کلام پر بھی صادق آتا ھے :

''اب جن حالتون مین افعال متعدی کے لئے علامت فاعل 'نے' کا لانا ضروری ھے اُس عھد مین ضمیر متکلم کے ساتھہ ضروری نہ تھا مثلاً 'مین کہا' 'مین کیا' 'مین سنا' وغیرہ بے تکلف لاتے تھے- فعل حال کے صیغے بنانے کے لئے اب ماضی تمنائی کے صیغون پر ''ھے'' کا اضافہ کرتے ھین- اُسی عھد مین اس غرض کے لئے مضارع کے صیغون پر 'ھے' وغیرہ بڑھاتے تھے اور 'آتا ھے' 'کہتے ھین' 'پوچھتے ھو' 'مارتا ھون' کی جگہ 'آے ھے' 'کہین ھین' 'پوچھو ھو' 'مارون ھون' بولتے تھے- اسی طرح 'کہتا تھا' 'سنتا تھا' کی جگہ 'کہے تھا' 'سنے تھا' کہتے تھے- جمع کی حالت مین مؤنث فعلون کے ماضی کے صیغون مین آخری نون سے پہلے ایک الف بڑھاتے تھے اور حال کے صیغون مین فعل اصلی کی آخری ''ی'' کے بعد الف نون بڑھاتے تھے اور 'آئین' 'چلین' 'دیکھین' کی جگہ 'آئیان' 'چلیان' 'دیکھیان اور 'آتی ھین' 'بستی ھین' 'ترستی ھین کی جگہ 'آتیان ھین' 'بستیان ھین' 'ترستیان ھین' بولتے تھے- جب مؤنث اسم جمع کی حالت مین موصوف ھوتا تھا تو اس کی صفت بھی کبھی کبھی جمع لاتے تھے اور صفت کی جمع بنانے کے لئے واحد کے آخر مین الف نون بڑھاتے تھے مثلاً 'کڑیان ساعتین' 'بھاریان بیڑیان'- ''کو'' کے محل پر ''کے تئین'' تو اب تک لوگون کی زبان پر ھے لیکن 'تک' کی جگہ 'تئین' کا استعمال اس دور کے لئے مخصوص تھا - مثلاً 'کب تئین' 'یہان تئین' - کبھی کبھی 'تک' کی جگہ 'لگ' بھی لاتے تھے مثلاً 'کب لگ'-جن حروف معنوی کے آخر مین اب 'و' یا 'ی' ھے ان کے آخر مین اکثر نون غنہ

بھی لاتے تھے مثلاً کو، سو، نے، سے کی جگہ کوں، سوں، نیں، سیں
بولتے تھے - ضمیر حاضر 'تو' کی جگہ 'توں' اور کبھی کبھی 'تیں'
بھی استعمال کرتے تھے - بعض لفظون کے دو تلفظ رائج تھے مثلاً
اِدھر، اُدھر، جدھر، کدھر، لہو، جگہ، لگا، بجنا، پھٹنا، مٹی،
پھر، کو، ایدھر، اودھر، جیدھر، کیدھر، لوھو، جاگہ، لاگا، باجنا،
پھاٹنا، ماٹی، پھیر بھی کہتے ہین - بعض لفظون کے تلفظ مین
صرف ذراسا اعراب کا فرق تھا مثلاً هلنا، گھسنا اُس زمانے مین
هلنا اور گھسنا تھے - بعض لفظون کے استعمال مین اور طرح کا
تھوڑا سا فرق تھا مثلاً ان کو، جن کے، کی جگہ انھون کو،
جنھون کے اور مجھے، تیرے کی جگہ مجھہ، تجھہ بھی بولتے تھے -
'جس' کا صلہ 'تس' اور جدھر کا تدھر رائج تھا، اب ان کی جگہ
'اس' اور 'اُدھر' لاتے ہین - کسو، کبھو، جیو، جیوں، سین تو
اب کسی، کبھی، جی، جون، سے، ہوگئے ہین - اس نے، جس نے
کی جگہ اُس زمانے مین ان نے، جن نے بولتے تھے لفظون کی
تذکیر و تانیث مین بھی کہین کہین اختلاف تھا مثلاً مزار کو
مونث اور خلش کو مذکر بولتے تھے -

"اب تک جن لفظون کا ذکر کیا گیا وہ تھوڑے تھوڑے تغیر کے ساتھہ اب
بھی بولے جاتے ہین - ان کے علاوہ اس دور مین ایسے الفاظ اور
محاورے کثیر تعداد مین رائج تھے جو بعد کو بالکل متروک
ہوگئے اور ان کی جگہ نئے لفظون نے لے لی - مثال کے طور پر
اس طرح کے چند لفظ یہان لکھے جاتے ہین - ندان (آخر)،
بستار (پھیلاؤ)، تک (ذرا) نت (ہمیشہ)، تنک (ذراسا)،
بچن (قول)، زور (خوب)، کنے (کے پاس)، کے بیچ (مین)،
موندنا (بند کرنا)"

میر کے کلام مین یون تو بہت سے ہندی لفظ ایسے موجود ہین جو اس
زمانے کی تحریرون مین عام طور پر استعمال نہین ہوتے لیکن ان کے مرثیون مین

ایسے الفاظ کی تعداد اور زیادہ ھے - اُور، اچرج، بسرنا، بسارنا، دوس، باسا، پات، تھور وغیرہ اس کی مثالین ھین۔

میر کے مرثیون کا مطالعہ کرتے وقت انیس یا ان کے معاصرین کا کلام سامنے رکھہ کر ان سے موازنہ کرنا ویسی ھی غلطی ھوگی جیسے کسی بچے کی کسی جوان سے زور آزمائی کرانا - ان کے صحیح مرتبے کا اندازہ ان کے معاصرین اور پیش رُوون کے مرثیون کے پس منظر ھی مین ھو سکتا ھے اور جب ان کے ماحول، حالات اور معاصرانہ تخلیقات کے ساتھہ ھم ان کے مرثیے دیکھتے ھین تو وہ ھمین اپنے عہد کے کامیاب مرثیہ گو نظر آتے ھین - یہ مرثیے ان کی غزلون کے مقابلے مین کم درجہ سہی لیکن اردو مرثیے کی تاریخ مین ان کا درجہ واضح، اھم اور ممتاز ھے اور اس کے ارتقا مین ان کی خدمات فراموش نہین کی جا سکتین -

(55) غالب کی سیرت کے متعلق کچھ نیا مواد

از

خواجہ احمد فاروقی،
دہلی کالج،
دہلی یونیورسٹی، دہلی

غالب کی سیرت کے متعلق بہت کچھ لکھا جاچکا ہے- ایک گروہ نے انمیں ولی کا درجہ اور ان میں وہ تمام صفات قدسی ڈھونڈھ ڈھونڈھ کر نکالی ہیں جو عام طور پر ایک معمولی گوشت پوست کے انسان میں نہیں پائی جاتیں- مولانا عبدالماجد کو بھی غالب اسی وجہ سے پسند ہے کہ وہ حمد و نعت لکھنے والا اور توحید و تصوف کے مسلک کو سو سو طرح سے نظم کرنے والا ہے— بعض نے اسے خدا کی ارذل ترین مخلوق قرار دیا ہے اور کوئی برائی ایسی نہیں ہے جو اس سے منسوب نہ کی ہو- ضرورت ہے کہ غالب کی سیرت کے متعلق مطبوعہ اور غیر مطبوعہ مواد کو یکجا کر کے ایک مکمل تصویر سامنے لائی جائے جس میں عقیدت اور تعصب کی رنگ آمیزی نہ ہو-

اس موقع پر تمام مطبوعہ مواد کا احاطہ کرنا ہمارے دائرہ بحث سے خارج ہے لیکن غالب کی سیرت کے بعض مباحثہ انگیز پہلوؤں کو واضح کرنے کے لئے جن کا تعلق نئے اور غیرمطبوعہ مواد سے ہے، ہم چند مطالب کی طرف چشم سخن سے اشارہ کریں گے تا کہ اس تمہیدسے آیندہ بحث کے سمجھنے میں آسانی ہو جائے.

غالب کے خطوط اور کلام کا مطالعہ کرنے سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ وہ مضبوط ہوش و خرد کے، دنیادار آدمی تھے- شیخ سعدی کی طرح ان میں ایک قسم کی ہوشمندی اور دنیوی زیر کی تھی- مرزا کی شخصیت میں جو چیز غیر معمولی کشش اور دلاویزی رکھتی ہے، وہ یہی ان کی بشریت اور اس پر فخر و ناز ہے - وہ خود کہتے ہیں :

خوے آدم دارم، آدم زادہ‌ام

غالب نہایت متواضع، خلیق، ملنسار، بے تعصب، اور زندہ دل آدمی تھے لیکن ان کے حالات میں بعض ایسی باتیں پائی جاتی ہیں جو ان کے اخلاق

سے تخالف رکھتی ھیں- ان کی غیرت اور خودداری میں شبہ نہیں - ان کی مالی پریشانیاں بھی تسلیم ھیں اسلئے کے وہ پنشن کے جھگڑے میں کم و بیش پندرہ سولہ برس تک الجھے رھے- اور ان کا یہ زمانہ بہترین آرزوں اور ارمانوں کا زمانہ تھا - لیکن پھر بھی انہوں نے پنشن کے حصول کے لئے جس انداز میں انگریزی حکام کی تعریف کی ھے وہ ان کی زبان سے اچھی نہیں معلوم ھوتی - پنشن کا معاملہ صرف روپیئے کا معاملہ نہیں تھا - خاندانی حق اور وجاھت کا بھی معاملہ تھا اسلئے غالب کی بے چینی اچھی طرح سمجھ میں آسکتی ھے - وہ جس ماحول کے پروردہ تھے' اُس میں بزرگوں کی عزت' ملک و مال سے زیادہ اھم تھی - دلی کالج کی ملازمت سے انکار کا بھی اصلی سبب یہی تھا - غالب نے تین قصیدے ملکہ وکٹوریہ کے لئے اور سترہ ھندوستان کے مختلف وائسراؤں' گورنروں اور سکرٹریوں کے لئے لکھے ھیں- ان میں بھی سوال ثناگوئی کا اور مدح گری سے زیادہ جیغہ و سرپیچ و مالاے مروارید کا تھا یا دربار' لمبر اور خلعت کا - بہادر شاہ ظفر جس کے اختیارات قلعہ تک رہ گئے تھے' اس کی ملازمت میں غالب نے جو معذرت آمیز قصیدے لکھے ھیں' ان میں حصول زر کے علاوہ عزت و آبرو کی تمنا بھی جھلکتی ھے اسلئے کے اس زمانہ میں عزت کی ایک نشانی یہ بھی تھی کہ آدمی کسی نہ کسی طرح قلعہ سے وابستہ ھو - لیکن غالب مصری کی مکھی تھے - شھد کی مکھی نہ تھے - جب بہادر شاہ کی جانشینی کے متعلق آخری فیصلہ ھوا تو انہوں نے سوچا کہ بہادر شاہ کے بعد شاھی سلسلہ ختم ھوجائے گا اسلئے انگریزوں سے تعلقات استوار کرنا چاھیں چنانچہ انہوں نے ملکہ وکٹوریہ کی تعریف میں فارسی قصیدہ لکھا اور خطاب و خلعت کی درخواست کی - اس کا جواب جنوری ۱۸۵۷ع میں موصول ھوا اور ۱۱ مئی ۱۸۵۷ع سے غدر شروع ھوگیا -

(۲) پنشن کا ذکر آیا ھے تو ایک واقعہ کا اور ذکر کردیا جائے - ۲۲ مارچ ۲۸۳۵ع کو کسی شخص نے ولیم فریزر ریذیڈنٹ دھلی کو قتل کردیا - تحقیق سے معلوم ھوا کے نواب شمس الدین کا دامن اس قتل کی ذمہ داری سے پاک نہیں اسلئے ۸ اکتوبر ۱۸۳۵ع کو انھیں پھانسی دیدی گئی - غالب اور نواب شمس الدین کے تعلقات اچھے نہیں تھے - ۱۸۲۶ع سے غالب کی پنشن نواب مذکور سے متعلق ھوگئی تھی اور انہوں نے بر بناے مخالفت ۱۸۳۱ع سے ایک پیسہ اس پنشن کا نہیں دیا تھا - مرزا کی نواب صاحب سے دشمنی' فریزرسے دوستی' ان کے مجسٹریٹ سے گھرے تعلقات اور مقدمے کے زمانے میں اس سے بار بار ملنا جلنا - معمولی باتیں نہ تھیں - لوگوں کو شبہ ھوا کے غالب نے مخبری کی ھے - لیکن خود نواب شمس الدین احمد خاں کو غالب کے خلاف کوئی شبہ نہ تھا - لیکن غالب نے جو خط ناسخ کو لکھا ھے اس سے ان کی حریفانہ خوشی اور مسرت ظاھر ھوتی ھے :

از ایزد ستم گرکش، ستم رسیده نواز، بدعا هاے صبح گاهی می خواهم که که این خیره‌سر بے آزرم، زودتر........ از سرفرازي به پایهٔ دار آید - و دانم که همتم ظفریاب و دعایم مستجاب است

یه باتیں اس شخص کی زبان سے عجیب معلوم هوتي هیں جو "قلندري و آزادگي وایثار و کرم" کا دعویدار هو -

(۳) غدر میں جب بادشاہ دهلي اور قلعهٔ شاهي کے تعلقات کے سبب سے غالب کی پنشن بند هوگئی - تو نواب یوسف علی خاں هی کی سعی و سفارش سے ۱۸۶۰ع میں دوبارہ جاري هوئي - چنانچه نواب صاحب لکھتے هیں :

"هنگام ملاقات کے اکثر صاحبان ذی‌شان تذکار محامد، اوصاف ذاتی اور صفاتی آپ کا عمل میں آیا هے - الله تعالی کے فضل اور قدردانئی سرکار دولت مدار سے یقین واثق هے کے جو مدارج شریف آپ کے قدیم سے هیں - پیشگاہ گورنمنٹ سے بھی اسی کے مطابق ظهور میں آوے گا" اس امداد کا غالب، نواب صاحب سے اقرار بھی کرتے هیں :

" جس طرح عالم شهادت میں آپ میري دستگیري کررهے هیں - عالم غیب میں آپ کا اقبال مجھه کو مدد پهنچارها هے"۔

لیکن غالب پنشن وصول هوجانے کے بعد اس حقیقت سے اغماض کرتے هیں چنانچه یوسف مرزا کو لکھتے هیں :

" والي رامپور کو اس پنشن کے اجرا میں کچھه دخل نهیں - یه کام خداساز هے بعلی ابن ابي طالب غلبهٔ اسلام "...... حالاں که سچ کے معاملہ میں ان کا مسلک یه هے که "میں جھوٹ سے بیزار هوں اور جھوٹے کو ملعون جانتاهوں - کبھی جھوٹ نهیں بولتا" اردوے معلی ص ۳۷۰

(۴) مرزا غالب رامپور سے کاشانهٔ دل کے ماہ دو هفته، مرزا تفته کو لکھتے هیں :

" میں نثر کی داد اور نظم کا صله مانگنے نهیں آیا - بھیک مانگنے آیا هوں روٹي اپني گرہ سے نهیں کھاتا - سرکار سے ملتی هے، وقت رخصت میري قسمت اور منعم کی همت"

غالب نے کھول کر یہ نہیں لکھا کے اس وقت تک کچھہ نقد نہیں ملا - لیکن کنایتا وہ اس سے انکار کرتےہیں حالان کہ ۳۰ اکتوبر کو ایک ہزار روپے مل چکے تھے اور تفتہ کے نام یہ خط ۲۸ نومبر ۱۸۶۵ کا لکھا ہوا ھے - (مکاتیب غالب ص ۱۲۱)

اس سے معلوم ہوتا ھے کہ مرزا بعض مواقع پر دوستی کے پردہ میں بھی دنیاداری کے قائل تھے اور اپنے اغراض کی حفاظت پوری شدت سے کرتے تھے -

(۵) مرزا غالب اور قتیل کی دشمنی کی انتہا یہ تھی کے جس سے مرزا قتیل کا تعلق سن پاتے تھے - اس کے دشمن ہوجاتے تھے - ناسخ نے لکھا کے آپ دکن چلے جائیے - وہان چندو لعل شعر و سخن کے بڑے دلدادہ ہیں - موخرالذکر قتیل کے شاگرد تھے اسلئے ناسخ کو لکھتے ہیں :

''چندو لعل زمرۂ مارا چہ داند ر ھنجار مارا کے دریابد' آن کہ درپارسی قتیل را باستادی گیرد - غالب را چہ می کند - و آنکہ در اردو نصیر راستاید' ناسخ را چہ می کند - و خود عمرش از ہشتاد متجاوزاست - تا باو می رسم او بجہنم می رسد''

متفرقات غالب ص۱۰۲

غالب کو مولوی غلام امام شہید سے بھی یہ ھی بیر تھا کے وہ قتیل کے شاگرد تھے - پھر اس سے بھی کچھہ خوش نہ تھے کے وہ ۴۰۰ روپیے ماھوار کے نوکر ھوگئے تھے - ایک خط میں لکھتے ہیں :

''اب سنتا ہون کہ مولوی غلام امام شہید' شاگرد قتیل وہان (یعنی دکن میں) کوس انا و لاغیری بجا رھے ہیں. اور سخن ناشناسوں کو اپنا زور طبع دکھارھے ہیں........ایک شخص مجھہ سے کہتا تھا کے مختارالملک نے منہ نہ لگایا مگر محی الدولہ نے چارسو روپے مہینہ سرکار جناب عالی سے کرادیا ھے''

(اردوے معلی ص ۳۷۸)

ایک دوسرے خط میں لکھتے ہیں :

''مولوی غلام غوث خان بے خبر مخلص خالص الاخلاص ہیں - ہرگز ان کو مدعی سے تلمذ نہیں - البتہ اس کو خوشگو جانتے ہیں - اور کبھی نہ ہوگا کہ وہ میرا مقابلہ کریں....... ....باطل است آن چہ مدعی گوید - مدعی اپنے زعم میں مجھہ کو اپنا ہم فن جان کر حسد کرتا ھے -

اس خط میں مدعی سے مراد مولوی غلام امام شہید ہیں - وہی شہید جن کو کلیات نثر میں " بندگان والاشان مخدوم مکرم و مطاع معظم" لکھا ہے -

(کلیات نثر ص ۵۷)

یہ بھی واضح رہے کہ خواجہ غلام غوث بےخبر، شہید کے بڑے معتقد تھے اور ان کو "خاقان سریرآرائے کشورستان نکتہ‌دانی" سمجھتے تھے - انھوں نے دیوان شہید کو مرتب کرکے اس کا دیباچہ بھی لکھا ہے - فرماتے ہیں :

قبلہ میری شوخی دیکھئے - یوسف کو آئینہ دکھاتاہوں - خورشید کو روشنی کی حکایت سناتا ہوں - گلزار میں پھول لیجاتاہوں - ختن میں مشک تحفہ بھیجتاہوں.......... یعنی حضرت کا دیوان مرتب کرکے آپ کے حضور میں پیش کرتاہوں" (انشائے بےخبر ص ۴۹)

غالب کو بے خبر سے حصول مقاصد کی امید تھی - صاحبان انگریز کی آمدورفت تبدیلی اور تعیناتی کا حال ان سے ہوتا رہتا تھا اسلئے وہ ان کو خاص خوشامدانہ خط لکھتے تھے - جب بے خبر نے شہید اور غالب کے تعلقات کی نا خوشگواری کا ذکر مرزا سے کیا تو انھوں نے (مرزا نے) انکار کردیا : اور لکھا کہ "مولوی صاحب سے میری ایک ملاقات ہوئی تھی جب وہ دلی آئے تھے ....
روز ملاقات سے اس دن تک کہ حضرت دکن روانہ ہوں، کوئی امر ایسا کہ باعث نا خوشی کا ہو - درمیان میں نہیں آیا ...."

(۲) اس سے زیادہ قابل اعترض غالب اور آزردہ کے تعلقات ہیں جو اس مقالہ کا موضوع اصلی ہیں :

آزردہ کا پایۂ علم و فضل اور نجابت و شرافت میں بہت بلند تھا - وہ مولانا فضل امام خیر آبادی اور حضرت شاہ عبدالقادر کے شاگرد تھے اور مولوی فضل حق کے ہم سبق —حضرت شاہ عبدالعزیز نے ایک فارسی خط میں جو انھوں نے کلکتہ کے مولانا امین اللہ کے نام لکھا تھا، ان کا شمار دہلی کے "فضلائے نامدار" میں کیا تھا اور لکھا تھا کہ وہ فنون عقلی و نقلی اور ادب اور اصول" میں مہارت تام رکھتے ہیں -

مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد نے لکھا ہے کہ آزردہ کے دیوان خانے میں اہل علم کا مجمع رہتا تھا اور اس کی حیثیت ایک اکیڈمی کی سی تھی - ان کا مذاق

سخن بہت پاکیزہ تھا - افسوس ھے کہ ان کا نہ تو دیوان ملتا ھے او نہ تذکرہ شعرائے ریختہ — لیکن حالی نے جو اقوال اُن سے منسوب کئے ھیں - اُن سے ان کی نکتہ سنجی اور سخن فہمی کا پورا ثبوت ملتا ھے - غالب نے بھی ایک قطعہ میں ان کی سخن وری کا اعتراف کیا ھے :

هند را خوش نفسانند سخن ور که بود
باد در خلوت شان مشک فشان از دم شان
مومن و نیر و صہبائی و علوی و انگاہ
حسرتی اشرف و آزردہ بود اعظم شان

غالب نے آزردہ کی مدح میں ایک قصیدہ بھی لکھا ھے جو کلیات فارسی میں موجود ھے چند اشعار یہ ھیں :

با چنین اندہ کہ پر گفتیم و دل خالی نشد
خواجہ گر اندہ گسار من نبودے واي من
آنکہ بر یکتائی وے در فن فرزانگی
متفق گر دید راي بو علی با راي من
آنکہ چون خواهد بنامش نامہ نامی ساختن
بر نگارد عقل فعالش کرم فرمای من
دل بدین وصفم نیا ساید سخن کوتہ کنید
آنکہ ننگ اوست بودن درسخن همتاي من
صدر دین و دولت و صدرالصدور روزگار
میر و مخدوم و مطاع و والی و مولاي من
گویم و از نکتہ چیدان دردلم نبود هراس
کیقباد و قیصر و کیخسرو و داراي من
موکبش چون مرجع عامست باغیرم چہ بحث
پرسشے دارد ارسطو میدود همپاي من
عاجزم چون در ثنائے دوست با رشکم چہ کار
میروم از خویش تاگیرد عطارد جاي من
خاک کویش خود بسند افتاد در جذب سجود
سجدہ از بہر حرم نگزاشت در سیماي من

(ص ۳۲۰—۳۲۲)

شیفتہ نے گلشن بے خار کے مسودہ میں آزردہ کا ترجمہ شامل نہیں کیا تھا۔ اس کو دیکھ کر غالب نے شیفتہ کو لکھا :

''گھر نہ سفتن خامہ.........در ردیف الف بنگارش اشعار پروین شعار حضرت آزردہ از چہ روست ہر چند ذکر خدام برجیس مقام درجریدۂ این فن نہ سزاوار شان فضیلت باشد لیکن اگر بمقتضائے فرط محبت جرائتے بکار می رفت - گناہے نبود - و در تلافی آن بہ پوزش نیاز نمی افتاد''

(کلیات نثر پنج آہنگ ص ۱۰۶)

اس تحریر کا نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ شیفتہ نے یہ کمی پوری کردی۔

پنج آہنگ میں ایک خط بھی آزردہ کے نام ہے جس کا لب و لہجہ بہت نیازمندانہ ہے : قبلۂ حاجات اگر این بندہ اندک شنو بسیار گو زود گستاخ دیر پشیمان را حق بندگی نیست از کجا کہ برین بےبضاعتی نتوان بخشود.........

(ص ۱۲۳-۱۲۴)

پنج آہنگ ہی میں ایک خط شیفتہ کے نام ہے جس میں ایک مشاعرہ کی شرکت کا حال لکھا ہے - اس کے ضمن میں آزردہ کا بڑی محبت اور عقیدت کے ساتھ ذکر کیا ہے :

''دیدار مخدوم معظم و صدراعظم مولوی محمد صدرالدین خان بہادر تلافی رنج راہ کرد'' شیفتہ ہی کو ایک دوسرے خط میں' ایک اور مشاعرہ کا حال لکھتے ہیں کہ حضرت آزردہ اگرچہ دیر میں آئے لیکن انھوں نے آکر دل کو صفا اور زبان کو نوا بخشی اور میں نے گریستن کی زمین میں قصیدہ پڑھا - (پنج آہنگ ص ۲۰۲) اسی خط میں لکھتے ہیں :

از آمدن حضرت آزردہ دل بخود بالید و زبان زمزمہ دستوری یافت - حالی کا بیان ہے کہ یہ قصیدہ پسند کیا گیا۔

غدر کے الزام میں آزردہ کو قید و بند کے مصائب جھیلنا پڑے بہت دن حوالات میں رہے - آخر جان بخشی کا حکم ہوا - مرزا غالب ۱۸۶۲ع کے ایک خط میں لکھتے ہیں :

حضرت مولوی صدرالدین صاحب بہت دن حوالات میں رهے کورٹ میں مقدمہ پیش هوا - روبکاریاں هوئیں - آخر صاحبان کورٹ نے جان بخشی کا حکم دیا نوکری موقوف - جائداد ضبط - ناچار خستہ و تباہ حال لاهور گئے - فنانشل کمشنر اور لفٹنٹ گورنر نے از راہ ترحم نصف جائداد واگذاشت کی اب نصف جائداد پر قابض هیں - اپنی حویلی میں رهتے هیں - اگرچہ یہ امداد ان کے گزارے کو کافی هے - اسواسطے کہ ایک آپ اور ایک بی بی - تیس چالیس روپے مهینے کی آمدنی - امام بخش کی اولاد ان کی عترت هے - اور وہ دس بارہ آمی هیں - فراغ بالی سے نهیں گذرتی - ضعف پیری نے بہت گھیر لیا هے عشرۂ ثامنہ کے اواخر میں هیں خدا سلامت رکھے بہت غنیمت هیں -

اس سے بھی پہلے ۱۸۵۹ کے ایک خط میں مجروح کو لکھتے هیں :

"اهل اسلام میں سے صرف تین آدمی باقی هیں : میرٹھ میں مصطفی خان سلطان جی میں مولوی صدرالدین، بلی ماروں میں سگ دنیا موسوم بہ اسد - تینوں مردود و مطرود، محروم و مغموم - (خطوط غالب ص ۲۵۸)

ایک اور خط میں مجروح هی کو لکھتے هیں :

نظام الدین ممنون کہاں ؟ ذوق کہاں ؟ مومن خان کہاں ، ایک آزردہ سو خاموش - دوسرا غالب وہ بےخود و مدهوش - (خطوط غالب ص ۲۶۸)

آزردہ کا انتقال ۲۴ ربیع الاول ۱۲۸۵ هجری یعنی ۱۶ جولائی ۱۸۶۸ء کو هوا شمس الشعراء مولوی ظهور علی نے تاریخ وفات لکھی هے :

چو مولانائے صدرالدین کہ در عصر — امام اعظم آخر زمان بود
زهے صدرالصدور نیک محضر — بعدل و داد چون نوشیروان بود
بروز پنجشنبہ کرد رحلت — کہ این عالم نہ جائے جاودان بود
ربیع الاول و بست و چهارم — وداع او سوے دارالجنان بود
ظهور افسوس آن استاد ذي قدر — پدر وارم همیشہ مهربان بود
چراغش هست تاریخ ولادت — کنون گفتم چراغ دوجهان بود

(تذکرہ علماے هند ص ۹۴)

آزردہ نے انتقال سے ایک دن پہلے نواب کلب علی خان والی رام پور کو ایک خط لکھا ھے - جس کو ھم تمام و کمال نقل کرتے ھین: اس کی وجہ یہ ھے کہ یہ خط غیر مطبوعہ ھے اور آیندہ بحث کو سمجھنے کے لئے ضروري ھے-

جناب مستطاب نواب صاحب معلی القاب جم المناصب کثیرالمناقب معدن تفقد و نوازش بےپایان ' استظہار نیازمندان ملاذ عقیدت کیشان دامت عنایتکم- شکرالطاف والا میري طاقت سے افزون ھے - حق یہ ھے کہ آپ نے میري آخری عمر مین مجھہ سے ایسا سلوک کیا کہ اس کا عوض سواے خداوند کریم کے بشر سے ھونا جملۂ محالات سے ھے - اللہ کریم آپ کو اپنی بارگاہ والا جاہ سے دین اور دنیا کے مدارج علیا عطا فرمائے - مین ایک عرصہ دراز سے مرض فالج مین مبتلا تھا- چنانچہ جناب پر بھی تمام کیفیت روشن ھے - اب چند روز سے تپ اس شدت سے ھوئي ھے کہ مجھکو زندگیسے یاس ھے-ایک میري زوجہ [1] ضعیفہ اور دوسرا خواھر زادہ محمد احسان الرحمان خان نام جس کو مین نے فرزندانہ پرورش کیا ھے اور نہایت لئیق اور سعادتمند اور نیک چلن ھے - ان دونون کو آپ کے سپرد کئے جاتاھون - اگر ناگوار خاطر عاطر نہ ھو تو میرے بعد انکی خبرگیري کسی قدر فرماتے رھین - یہ ایک نوع کا حسن سلوک میرے بعد بھی ھوگا—

سپردم بتو مایۂ خویش را   تودانی حساب کم و بیش را

شاید یہ میرا آخري خط ھے - ذوالجلال والاکرام آپ کو عمر خضری اور دانش افلاطونی اور اقبال سکندری عطا فرمائے - معروضہ پانزدھم جولائی ۱۸۶۸ع مطابق

۱—لاڈو بیگم نام تھا - نواب صاحب کے نام فارسی مین عرضی بھی ھے جس مین انھون نے آزردہ کے کتب خانہ کی فہرست بھیجی ھے اور لکھا ھے کہ انھون نے ان کتابون کو غدر کے بعد فراھم کیا تھا - نواب صاحب نے لاڈو بیگم کے دو سو روپے مقرر کر دیئے

بست و سوم ربیع الاول ۱۲۸۵ هجري نیازنامهٔ محمد صدرالدین خان صدرالصدور سابق دهلی

مهر | محمد صدرالدین خان |

دارالانشاء سرکار رامپور نمبر رجسٹر محافظ خانہ ۲۵۶ دولت آشنایان -

پتہ پر لکھا ھے : بسیار ضرورست زود تر برسد

طرفہ لطیفہ ھے کہ غالب نے آزردہ کے انتقال کے بعد (جن سے زندگی بھر ان کے بڑے اچھے مراسم رھے اور جن کو انھون نے میر و مخدوم مطاع اور والی و مولا سب ھي کچھہ لکھا تھا) نواب صاحب موصوف کو خط لکھا ھے جس مین مرحوم دوست ی بیوہ کے کام مین رکاوٹ پیدا کرنے کی کوشش کی ھے اور انکی ضرورت کو غیراھم ثابت کر کے اپنا کام نکالنا چاھا ھے - غالب کی سیرت کا یہ پہلو قابل اعتراض ھی نھین' عبرت انگیز بھی ھے - ھم وہ غیر مطبوعہ خط نقل کرتے ھین :

''حضرت ولی نعمت آیۂ رحمت سلامت بعد تسلیم معروض ھے - آج شہر مین شہرت ھے کہ حضرت امیرالمسلمین نے مفتي صدرالدین مرحوم کی زوجہ کو پانسو روپئے مفتی جی کي تجہیز و تکفین کے واسطے رامپور سے بھیجے ھین - فقیر کو بھی توقع ھوئی کہ میرا مردہ بے گور و کفن نہ رھے گا جیسا کے مرزا جلال اسیر کہتا ھے ع جرعۂ لطف تو بعد از ما بما خواھد رسید - مین نے کل ایک خط نواب مرزا خان کو لکھا ھے - خدا جانے وہ حضرت کي نظر سے گزرے یا نگزرے س خط مین مین نے زوجہ مفتي جی کا حال یہ لکھا ھے کہ وہ لاولد ھے اور ساتھہ روپے کرایہ کے مکان اس کے تحت مین ھین امین الرحمان اس کا بھانجا ھے مفتی جی کا کوئی نھین -

اب اپنی حقیقت عرض کرتا ہون - آخر عمر مین تین التماسین ہے (کذا) آپ سے، ایک تو یہ کہ مین ہزار بارہ سو روپے کا قرض رکھتا ہون - چاہتاہون کہ میری زندگی مین ادا ہوجائے دوسری التماس یہ کہ حسین علی خان کی شادی آپ کی بخشش خاص سے ہوجائے - اور یہ سو روپے مہینہ جو مجھے ملتا ہے نام پر اس کے حین حیات قرار پائے - یہ دو خواہشین خواہ میری زندگی مین، خواہ میرے بعد اجرا پائین :

تم سلامت رہو قیامت تک　　دولت و عزو جاہ روز افزون

روز شنبہ ۵ ربیع الثانی ۲۷ جولائی سال حال

عرضداشت دوست خواہ اسداللہ

لفافہ پر ۲۷ جولائی ۱۸۶۸ع ہے

دارالانشاء رامپور نمبر رجسٹر محافظ خانہ ۲۳۳ دوست آشنایان

غالب کے بیانات مین تضاد ہے - ۱۸۶۲ع مین انہون نے آزردہ کی آمدنی تیس روپئے کے قریب لکھی ہے - ۱۸۶۸ع وہ دگنی ہو گئی - چھہ برس پہلے وہ خوشحالی سے بسر نہین کرتے تھے - اب کنایتا وہ یہ کہتے ہین کہ ان کا خاندان امداد کا مستحق نہین ہے -

آزردہ اور غالب کے یہ دونون خط غیر مطبوعہ ہین - اس کے بعد کا ایک خط مکاتیب غالب مین موجود ہے - چونکہ اُس کا تعلق پچھلے خط سے ہے اس لئے چند جملے نقل کئے جاتے ہین :

تین التماسین سابق (مین) پیش ہوئی تھین - سو اب پہلے برخوردار نواب مرزا خان کی تحریر سے اور پھر مظفر حسین خان بہادر کے خط سے ان خواہشون کے منظور و مقبول ہونے کی نوید پائی - انشاءاللہالعزیز حسب ارشاد حضور اسی برس ۶۸ع مین آمد زمستان یعنی نومبر و دسمبر مین میرا قرض بھی

ادا ہو جائے گا اور حسین علی خان کی شادی بھی ہوجائے گی اس کے واسطے اس کی زندگی تک تنخواہ جداگانہ مقرر ہو جائے گی :

بر کریمان کارہا دشوار نیست

عرضداشت ہواخواہ اسداللہ معروضۂ ۱۲ ماہ اگست ۱۸۶۸ع

تم سلامت رہو قیامت تک   دولت و عز و جاہ روز افزون

مکاتیب غالب ص ۸۱ و ۸۲

ان خطوں کے پیش کرنے سے مقصود غالب سے قطع محبت نہیں ہے بلکہ اس کی بشریت کو نمایاں کرنا ہے - اسی بشریت نے اس کی ادبی شخصیت کو اور زیادہ محبوب اور مقبول بنا دیا ہے -

خواجہ احمد فاروقی

(56) تمہید

جب مین گورنمنٹ کالج اجمیر مین پڑھتا تھا اوسوقت اکثر مشاعرون مین اوستاد تسلیم کے شاگردون سے ملنے کا اتفاق ہوا - اونکی زبانی جو واقعات اوستاد مرحوم کے متعلق سنے اور جو خیال مینے اونکی شاعری اور بلند شخصیت کے متعلق قائم کیا تھا اوسکی تائید اونکے متعلقہ تذکرون سے نہوئی - خم خانہ جاوید، گل رعنا یا دوسرے تذکرون مین جو ذکر حضرت تسلیم کا ھے نیز جو انتخابات کلام ہوا ھے وہ مجھے پسند نہ آیا - اوسوقت مینے کوشش کی تھی کہ جو واقعات و حالات مینے سنے ھین اونکو قلمبند کردون - اب جبکہ لکھنؤ اورنٹیل کانفرنس کا اجلاس ھونے لگا - تو مینے مناسب سمجھا کہ بعض ایسے حالات جو منظر عام پر نہ آئے ھون بیان کر کے اور اپنے زاویہ نظر سے انتخابات کلام کر کے تحفتاً اھل لکھنؤ کی خدمت مین پیش کرون - گر قبول افتد زھے عزوشرف -

ایک بات اور عرض کردون کہ جہان سوانح حیات کا ذکر ھے اوس سے مقصود تفصیلی واقعات زندگی بتلانا نہین ھے بلکہ اونکی شعرگوئی کے پس منظر کو پیش کرنا ھے - فقط -

مرزا بسم اللہ بیگ - بی - اے
۲۱۹ - نامپلی حیدرآباد - دکن
۲۰ اگست ۱۹۵۱ع

منشی امیر اللہ تسلیم

(۱) بچپن کا نام احمد حسین - منشی امیر اللہ کے نام سے مشہور ہوئے - وطن نواح فیض آباد - پیدایش ۱۸۲۰ع - اونکے والد عبدالصمد صاحب پلٹن مین بتیس روپیے پر ملازم تھے - والد کی ملازمت کے اس تعلق سے منشی صاحب کی ابتدائی زندگی لکھنؤ ھی مین گزری فارسی و عربی کی کتابین والد اور بڑے بھائی عبداللطیف سے پڑھین - خطاطی مین بھی کمال پیدا کیا - والد کے بڑھاپے مین اونکی جگہ پلٹن مین ملازم ہوگئے -

(۲) تسلیم نے طبیعت موزون پائی تھی بچپن ھی سے شعر گوئی کا شوق تھا ۱۳ سال کی عمر سے غزل کہنی شروع کی - مگر کسی اوستاد سے اصلاح نہ لی - جب مرزا اصغر علی خان نسیم دھلوی جو حکیم مومن خان کے ممتاز شاگردون مین تھے لکھنؤ آئے تو اونکی خدمت مین حاضر ہونے لگے - مرزا صاحب نے منشی صاحب کی طبیعت کا اندازہ کر کے اون سے کہا کہ تم بھی طبع آزمائی کیا کرو. اس اجازت کے ملنے کے بعد تسلیم اون سے غزلونکی اصلاح لینے لگے - خود ھی فرماتے ھین کہ موزونیت کا یہ عالم تھا کہ ادھر مصرح طرح سنا اودھر راستہ چلتے چلتے دس بیس شعر کہہ ڈالے - مزاج مین بہ تقاضائے سن قدرے لاپروائی بھی تھی - دو ھفتہ بعد مشاعرہ مین پھونچے خیال آیا کہ کچھہ روز پہلے ھمنے بھی غزل کہی تھی - پرچہ تلاش کر کے جیب سے نکالا - اور باری آنے پر پڑھنا شروع کردیا - کبھی اوستاد سے اصلاح لی - کبھی نہ لی - ایک مرتبہ ایساھی اتفاق ھوا کہ غزل کہی تھی مگر اصلاح لینے کی نوبت نہ آئی تھی - دوستون کے ساتھہ مشاعرہ مین پھونچ گئے - باری آنے پر یون ھی پڑھنا شروع کردیا - مشاعرے اور وہ بھی اوس زمانے کے جن مین ناسخ - آتش جیسے اوستاد اور اونکے شاگرد سب ھی رونق محفل ھوتے تھے کچھہ معمولی نہ تھے - دھلی اور لکھنؤ کے اھل کمال مین تو ھمیشہ سے نوک جھوک رھتی چلی آئی ھے - اپنے شاگرد کو اس طرح بے اصلاح لئے غزل پڑھتے دیکھکر نسیم حیران ھوے مگر خاموش تھے - غزل پڑھتے پڑھتے جب اس شعر پر پھونچے -

پئین خاک می صحبت غیر مین | نہ شیشہ نہ ساغر نہ پیمانہ اپنا

تو ناسخ نے تعریف کی اور مکرر پڑھنے کی فرمایش کی - اب تو تسلیم چوکنا ہوے سونچا کہ شعر تو اس قابل نہین کہ ناسخ جیسا اوستاد اس طرح داد دے - معلوم ہوا کہ پہلے مصرع مین دو حرف کم پڑتے ہین - واقعی شاعر کے لئے مشاعرہ بھی بڑے امتحان کی جگہ ہے. رعب محفل سے بڑے بڑے لوگون کی ستی گم ہو جاتی ہے - امانت جیسا اوستاد ایک وقت بر سر مشاعرہ پڑہ گیا کہ - لبون پر جان شیرین ہے اب اے فرہاد کیا کیجئے - تقطیع مین ایک الف دبتا تھا - یار لوگون نے مضحکہ ازایا کہ اے فرہاد کیا کیجئے تو اسقدر شرمندہ ہوے کہ پھر مشاعرے مین غزل پڑھنے کی قسم کھالی - تسلیم کو دیکھئے ذرا پریشان نہوئے اب کی بار جو شعر پڑھا تو درست تھا -

پئین خاک می صحبت غیر مین ہم   نہ شیشہ نہ ساقی نہ پیمانہ اپنا

لوگون کو حیرت ہوئی - بعض سمجھے کہ پہلی مرتبہ بھول گئے تھے - بعض سمجھے کہ عمداً ایسی حرکت کی کہ پہلی بار لفظ چھوڑ کر پڑھا - بعضون نے کہا کہ طبیعت نے عین وقت پر موزونیت دکھائی - غرض بات رہ گئی نسیم پھڑک اٹھے مشاعرہ کے بعد کہنے لگے کہ تسلیم پہلی مرتبہ تو نے شعر پڑھا تو اسقدر غصہ آیا تھا کہ پھر کبھی تیری صورت نہ دیکھون - لیکن جب دوبارہ شعر سنایا تو جی چاہتا تھا کہ اٹھکر منھہ چوم لون -

(۳) واجد علی شاہ نے مسٹر سلیمن رزیڈنٹ کی شکایت پر منشی صاحب کی پلٹن توڑدی تو بیکار ہوگئے - تین سال کی بے سود کوشش کے بعد ایک منظوم عرضی بادشاہ کی خدمت مین گزرانی جو مقبول ہوئی - بادشاہ نے خوش ہوکر نظم ہی مین حکم لکھوایا - حکم یہ تھا

بشنو اے خشنویس و اے خوش گو
هر دو فن میکنی و هر دونکو
اسم تو مندرج به دفتر شد
بست و دہ روپیہ مقرر شد

اس تیس روپے پر واجد علی شاہ کے زمانے تک اچھی گزری اوسی زمانے کی مدحیہ غزل کا ایک شعر ہے کہ :

منبر هر شاخ پر پڑھتی ہے بیٹھی عندلیب
خطبہاي مدحت واجد علی شاہ جہان

غدر کے بعد جب لکھنؤ کی حالت بگڑی؟ تو پھر ملازمت بھی گئی اور پریشانیون مین مبتلا ھوگئے- یہ غزل اوسی زمانے کی ھے- اوس سے معلوم ھوتا ھے کہ تسلیم کو لکھنؤ سے کسقدر محبت تھی اوسکا چھوڑنا کسقدر شاق تھا - فرماتے ھین

اوج پر ھے بے نشان ھوکر بھی شان لکھنؤ
لامکان کو داغ دیتے ھین مکان لکھنؤ
واعظ رنگین بیان اونکو نہ دکھلا سبز باغ
کیا کرینگے لیکے جنت ساکنان لکھنؤ
جیتے جی کیونکر مری اوسکی جدائی ھو سکے
لکھنؤ ھے روح میری - مین ھون جان لکھنؤ
سنتے سنتے خلد کی تعریف جی گھبراگیا
ابتو اے واعظ سنا کچھ داستان لکھنؤ
یہ لطافت ھو کلام غیر کو کیونکر نصیب
رشک موج آب کوثر ھے زبان لکھنؤ
دونون عالم سے الگ ھر رنگ مین پاتا ھون مین
کیا زمین لکھنؤ کیا آسمان لکھنؤ
گر یہی گردش ھے اے تسلیم اپنے بخت کی
اور ھین دو چار دن ھم مہمان لکھنؤ

(۴) اس مقطع سے ظاھر ھوتا ھے کہ مصائب کی تاب نہ لاکر حضرت تسلیم نے باھر جانے کی ٹھان لی تھی - غرض اوسکے بعد ھی رامپور چلے گئے - اور کلب علی خان کے دربار مین بھی تیس روپیے پر ملازم ھوئے - اور اونکی زندگی تک آسایش سے بسر کی مگر اونکے انتقال کے بعد تسلیم کو پنشن دیدی گئی تو پھر پریشانیون مین مبتلا ھوگئے - اوسی زمانے کی غزل ھے

دل مرا تھا گر گیا گم ھوگیا جاتا رہا
غم تمھین کا ھے کا ھے جاتا رہا جاتا رہا
آج آنکھین تک نہین ملتی ھین کل بیٹھے تھے پاس
دو ھی دن مین اسقدر پاس وفا جاتا رہا
اس دل گم گشتہ کو اوسکی گلی سے عمر بھر
بیشتر مین ڈھونڈ لایا بارھا جاتا رہا
اٹھہ گئے کلب علی خان کیا کرین فکر سخن
ابتو اے تسلیم وہ سارا مزا جاتا رہا

ایک دوسری غزل کے دو شعر ھین

انصاف کرو مجھسے المناک ازل کو
بہلائیے بھلا صحبت احباب کہان تک
کیا بیٹھے ھو تسلیم چلو ملک عدم کو
وابستگی عالم اسباب کہان تک

(٥) نواب حامد علی خان نے اپنی تخت نشینی کے بعد تسلیم کو دو بارہ بحال کیا تیس روپیے تنخواہ اور دس کا اضافہ ایسے چالیس روپے ملنے لگے - جشن دربار کے موقعہ پر حضرت تسلیم نے ایک قصیدہ پڑھا جو سخت زمین مین ھے ردیف گریبان آستین دامن - اور قافیہ رے اور فتحہ ماقبل دو شعر ملاحظہ ھون -

بہار آئی بنے گھر گھر گریبان آستین دامن
تبرک بن گئے پھٹکر گریبان آستین دامن
وہ خلعت آج مین لونگا شہ حامد علی خان سے
سراسر جس کے ھون پرزر گریبان آستین دامن

قصیدون مین حضرت تسلیم کا رنگ خاص ھے مضمون کی بلندی اور بلاغت کو الفاظ کی رنگینی اور فصاحت کے ساتھہ ایسا نمایان کرتے ھین کہ اکثر موقعون پر غزل کا رنگ جھلکنے لگتا ھے بعض اوقات قاآنی کی سی روانی معلوم ھونے لگتی ھے -

(٦) اصناف سخن مین جو قدرت مثنویون مین حضرت تسلیم کو حاصل تھی وہ اُنکے معاصرین مین سے کسی کو بہی نہ ملی - مثنوی نالۂ تسلیم - دل و جان - صبح خندان مشہور ھین -

(٧) غزل گوئی مین رنگینی - شوخی - متانت - کمال درجے تک پہونچی ھین - قوت متخیلہ - قوت ممیزہ دونون اعلیٰ درجہ کی عطا ھوئی ھین - مضمون کو اس صفائی اور سادگی سے قلمبند کرتے ھین کہ تعریف نہین ھو سکتی - غدر مین ایک دیوان ضائع ھونیکے بعد تین دیوان چھوڑے - نظم ارجمند - نظم دل افروز - دفتر خیال - ان تینون مین نظم ارجمند کی غزلین اپنی خصوصیتون اور گو ناگون صفتون کے اعتبار سے اونکی عمر کا بہترین سرمایہ ھین - اونکے کلام کا

عام جوهر پختگی کلام - رنگینی الفاظ - دلپذیری مضامین - چلتی هوئی بحرین اور چوچلاپن هے. ان اوصاف کی وضاحت مین ذیل کا انتخاب ملاحظہ هو -

نالہ کھچا هے - دل هے خفا - شوق هے اوداس
تم کیا بدل گئے کہ زمانہ بدل گیا
تاکا تھا انکو آنکھہ سے کیون دل بھڑک گیا
لو نشہ تو کسی نے پیا کوئی چھک گیا

گیسو کی محبت مین سنبھلا هی نهین جاتا
اس پیچ سے کیا نکلون - نکلا هی نهین جاتا
دریائے محبت مین ڈوبا هون کچھ ایسا مین
هرچند ابھرتا هون - ابھرا هی نهین جاتا

چاهتا هون جنس نا مقبول مین شامل نهو
پھیر دو مجھکو میرا دل گر کسی قابل نهو
هے دعا تسلیم اتنی عالم العلام سے
اپنا دیوان آشنای دیدۂ جاهل نهو

معاملہ بندی - سلامت زبان - محاورات کی روانی جو امیر و داغ کے کلام کا طرۂ امتیاز هین - وهی خوبیان یهان بهی موجود هین -

قوت کشمکش غم جو دکھائی هوتی
آہ نے عرش کی زنجیر هلائی هوتی
کیا مجھے حسرت انگشت حنائی هوتی
پاؤن بڑھتا بهی تو وہ هاتھہ نہ آئی هوتی
ساقی اک دن تو مے سرخ پلائی هوتی
آگ سے آگ لگی دلکی بجھائی هوتی
مارڈالا لب اعجاز نما نے ورنہ
آج منہ کی ملک الموت نے کھائی هوتی

کیا کہکر عندلیب چمن سے نکل گئی
کیا سن لیا گلون نے کہ رنگت بدل گئی
ایسا کہان رفیق کہ دیتا قلق مین ساتھہ
اگ جان تھی تو وقت پہ وہ بھی نکل گئی
اے جان غم فراق کے صدمے نہ پوچھیئے
وہ حال تھا کہ موت بھی بالین سے ٹل گئی
گھبرائی تھی فراق مین لیکن ہزار شکر
باتین وہ دل نے کین کہ طبیعت بدل گئي
تسلیم آج تک ھے وھی شعر و شاعری
بڈھے ھوئے مگر نہ تمھاری زٹل گئی

غیر سے ملیئے مجھے ناکام رھنے دیجیئے
آپ اپنے نامہ و پیغام رھنے دیجیئے
وصل مین سنکر گلے تقدیر کے کہتے ھین وہ
آج ذکر گردش ایام رھنے دیجیئے
ھم نھین کہنے کے اے تسلیم پیغام وصال
یہ تمنا - یہ خیال خام رھنے دیجیئے

وہ آئے ھین آئی ھوئی ٹل جائے تو اچھا
فقرہ ملک الموت سے چل جائے تو اچھا

غرض چلتے ھوئے ردیف و قافیون مین جس بیباکی اور روانی سے تسلیم نے کہا وہ چوٹی کے شعرا سے کسی طرح کم نہین - چند اور مثالین سن لیجیئے-

ھان بیٹھے ھین درپر صفت نقش قدم ھم
دعویٰ ھے تو اغیار اٹھا کیون نہین دیتے

اک وہ ھین جنھین لینے وہ آئے نہین جاتے
اک ھم ھین کہ جھوٹون بھی بلائے نہین جاتے
یہ حسن خداداد نہین ھے کسے محبوب
تم کسکی نگاھون مین سمائے نہین جاتے
محفل مین تری صورت تصویر نہالی
جب بیٹھہ گئے جم کے اٹھائے نہین جاتے

یاد سفر ملک عدم دل سے لگی ہے
ہردم مجھے لو گور کی منزل سے لگی ہے
مٹ جائے کہین زندگی و مرگ کا جھگڑا
اے تیغ جفا ابتو یہی دل سے لگی ہے
کیا کہتے ہو کیا بھول گیا مین دم رخصت
اک یاد تمھاری سو مرے دل سے لگی ہے
اللہ‌ری وحشت کہ پس مرگ بھی تسلیم
جنت مین طبیعت مری مشکل سے لگی ہے

دشمن وفا نصیب ہین مین ہون جفا نصیب
اونکا جدا نصیب ہے میرا جدا نصیب
اغیار تو عدو ہین جو کہتے ہین سب بجا
تم دوست ہو کے کہتے ہو مجھکو بلا نصیب
کس سے مثال دون صنم بے مثال کو
کسکو ہے یہ کرشمہ و شوخی ادا نصیب
جب دیکھتا ہون ملتے ہوئے اونکو غیر سے
سوی فلک مین دیکھہ کے کہتا ہون یا نصیب

اسی ردیف قافیہ مین امیر کا بھی ایک شعر سن لیجئے - خوب کہا ہے—

ساقی نے دے‌کے جام کف رعشہ دار مین
مجھسے کہا کہ لے مگر آگے ترا نصیب

(۸) مولانا محمد حسین آزاد جن شعرا کو پانچوین دور کے شاعر کہتے ہین یعنی ناسخ - آتش - وزیر - رند - مومن - ذوق - غالب ان سبھی کو حضرت تسلیم نے دیکھا تھا چونکہ ۹۱ سال طویل عمر پائی تھی - اسلئے کئی دور اونکی آنکھون کے روبرو گذر گئے - ناسخ و آتش کو طالب علمی مین دیکھا تھا - ذوق و غالب کو جوانی مین - امیر و داغ کو کہولت مین - اور اونکے شاگردون کو کلام پڑھتے سنا - اکثر اوقات رامپور کے مشاعرون مین امیر و داغ سے ایک ہی طرح کی غزلون مین مٹھہ بھیڑ ہوتی رہی - کلام کسی طرح اون سے کم بھی نہ رہا - امیر کی رنگینی کلام مسلمہ ہے تو تسلیم کی جدت و شوخی بھی قابل داد ہے - اوس طرح کے مشاعرے کہ کیونکر ٹھو گیا دفتر ہو گیا - معشوق کی خفگی کا منظر امیر و تسلیم

دونون نے اپنے مطلعون مین کھینچا ھے - امیر فرماتے ھین کہ—

آنتین آئین خفا جب وہ ستمگر ھوگیا
پھر کے چکر مڑ کے نشتر-کھنچکے خنجر ھوگیا

تسلیم کا مطلع ھے کہ—

بن پڑی بے پردہ نظارہ میسر ھوگیا
ایک بات ایسی کہی جامہ سے باھر ھوگیا

حضرت امیر اس مشاعرے مین بازو بیٹھے تھے جب حضرت تسلیم نے یہ مطلع پڑھا تو ھنسکر چپکے سے تسلیم کے کان مین کہا کہ بڑي بی کہدیا ھو گا -

غالب کا وہ شعر تو یاد ھوگا کہ—

جمع کرتے ھو کیون رقیبون کو   یہ تماشہ ھوا گلا نہ ھوا

تسلیم اوسی قافیہ و ردیف مین فرماتے ھین کہ—

سنتے سنتے وہ حال دل بولے   یہ تو قصہ ھوا گلا نہوا

غا لب ایک دوسري غزل کے مقطع مین فرماتے ھین کہ—

ھے اب اس معمورے مین قحط غم الفت اسد
ھمنے یہ مانا کہ دهلی مین رھین کھائینگے کیا

تسلیم جواب مین فرماتے ھین کہ—

دیگا رزاق ازل تسلیم جو قسمت مین ھے
مثل غالب کیون کہین گھر مین رھین کھائینگے کیا

پیری مین بھی حضرت تسلیم کی رنگینی طبع وھی باقی تھی فرماتے ھین کہ—

پیر ھون پر ھے جوان ذوق غزلخوانی ھنوز
لطف دیتی ھے مجھے میری سخن دانی ھنوز
تسلیم گو ھین پیر مگر دل جوان ھے
مرتے ھین جامہ زیبون کے اب بھی نکھار پر

آغاز جوانی کی ادا اور ہی کچھہ ہے
ابتو وہ صنم نام خدا اور ہی کچھہ ہے

اس غزل کے ایک شعر مین حضرت تسلیم نے اپنے مسلک وحدت الشہود کو ظاہر فرمایا ہے کہتے ہین—

ہر ایک سمجھتا ہے مظاہر کو ہمہ اوست
کس کس سے کہون مین کہ خدا اور ہی کچھہ ہے
اے چارہ‌گر درد نہو مفت مین بدنام
بیمار محبت کی دوا اور ہی کچھہ ہے
تم کہتے ہو تسلیم ابھی تک ہین سلامت
ہمنے گلی کوچہ مین سنا اور ہی کچھہ ہے

ایک مشاعرہ مین جس کا قافیہ و ردیف پڑی ہے - لڑی ہے اتفاق سے امیر - داغ اور تسلیم تینون نے پڑی کا قافیہ مطلع مین باندھا ہے سبب مطلع ملاحظہ ہون امیر کہتے ہین—

جب آنکھہ اوس شاہ خوبان پر پڑی ہے
نگہہ تقدیر بن بن کر لڑی ہے
نظر کعبے مین اوس بت پر پڑی ہے
کہان جاکر مری قسمت لڑی ہے
نگاہ لطف ساقی جو پڑی ہے
وہی مے ہے مگر کتنی کڑی ہے

(۹) پختگئی کلام تسلیم کا خاص جوہر ہے - صائب کے بعد آپکو مشکل سے ایسا شاعر ملے گا جو مسلم‌الثبوتی مین تسلیم سے بہتر ہو - صائب کے وہ شعر آپکو یاد ہونگے جو مسلم‌الثبوتی مین بے نظیر ہین—

ز تعظیم و تواضع ہاي خصم ایمن مشو صائب
کمر خم کردن صیاد آفتہا ست مرغان را
بر تواضع ہاي دشمن تکیہ کردن ابلہی ست
پاي بوس سیل از پا افگند دیوار را

تسلیم کی مسلم الثبوتی ملاحظہ ہو

سنگدل پیار کیا کرتے ہیں خونخوارونکو
سان سینے سے لگاتی ہے تلوارونکو
آپ مت جاتے ہیں اورونکے لئے صاحب درد
آبلے دیتے ہیں سینے میں جگہ خارونکو
کیا ہؤا وعدۂ دوزخ ہے اگر اے واعظ
کیا وہ دھمکی بھی ندیں اپنے گنہ گارونکو

دوسری غزل ملاحظہ ہو

سرسبز باغ دہر میں اہل رقم نہیں
دیکھی ہری بھری کبھی شاخ قلم نہیں
مانند خامہ قابل رفتار ہم نہیں
جب تک نہ دستگیر ہو اٹھتے قدم نہیں
گھر تک عدو کے دیکھ لئے نقش پا ترے
حد ستم سے ایک بھی باہر قدم نہیں

مسلم الثبوتی کی دو ایک مثالیں اور سن لیجئے -

زمانے سے نرالا ہے عروس فکر کا جوبن
جوان ہوتی ہے اے تسلیم جب یہ پیر ہوتی ہے

ایک غزل کے چار شعر سناتا ہوں مسلم الثبوتی آخری دو شعرونمیں ہے -
پہلے دو ردیف و قافیہ کی رو میں آنے کو عرض کرتا ہوں -

نہیں معلوم کیا گزری گل و بلبل کو سکتے ہیں
نہ سن سکتے ہیں کانوں سے نہ منہ سے بول سکتے ہیں -
انہیں بھولی نہیں بے باکیاں دست تمنا کی
کہ میری خاک پر آتے ہوئے ابتک جھجکتے ہیں
ہوای عشق کامل ہے تو سوز حسن پیدا کر
ثمر خورشید کی گرمی سے شاخ تر میں پکتے ہیں
دم پیری نہیں تسلیم اپنی یہ غزل خوانی
بنے ہیں بے حیا بلبل خزاں میں بھی چہکتے ہیں

(۱۰) ظریفانہ انداز کی دو ایک مثالیں بھی سن لیجئے - آپنے سنا ہو گا کہ
خواب کی تعبیر الٹی ہوتی ہے - اوسی کے پیش نظر تسلیم فرماتے ہیں -

ایک دن عالم رویا مین یہ دیکھا مین نے
قرص خورشید درخشان میری جاگیر مین ھے
سر پہ ھے تاج مرے پیر مین کفش زرین
سر سے مصروف زمانہ میری توقیر مین ھے
اوسکی تعبیر جو پوچھی تو یہ نکلا تسلیم
ٹوٹا جوتا پھٹی ٹوپی تیری تقدیر مین ھے

مگر یہ بات یاد رکھنے کے قابل ھے کہ ایسے خواب وھی دیکھ سکتا ھے جس کی ھمت بلند اور خیالات اونچے ھون -

ایک شخص نے رامپور مین تسلیم سے کہا جبکہ وہ شاگردون مین تشریف فرما تھے کہ ایک مصرع ھے جسپر گرہ لگانے سے دوسرے شاعر عاجز ھین - آپ لگا دیجئے - مگر شرط یہ ھے کہ جتنے (چ) پہلے مصرع مین ھین اوتنے ھی دوسرے مصرع مین بھی ھون - مصرع یہ ھے -

ع چار دنون سے چوک مین چرچا چوری کا چوچند ھوا -

اس مصرع لگانے پر یاد آیا کہ بعض اوقات مزاحیہ طور پر ایسے مصرع دیجاتے ھین کہ اونپر مصرع لگانا بڑا مشکل ھو جاتا ھے - مہاراج کشن پرشاد کے زمانے مین ایک مصرع دیا گیا تھا کہ جو سب سے اچھا مصرع لگائیگا وہ ایک اشرفی انعام پائیگا - مصرع یہ تھا -

کبھی بولے چھن - کبھی بولے چھن - کبھی بولے چھن ترے گھونگرو -

حیدرآباد کے سب شعراء نے طبع آزمائی کی تھی مگر جو صاحب انعام اور داد لیگئے وہ حضرت توفیق تھے - جنکا یہ مصرع تھا -

ع کئی گزرے سن - تیرا کم تھا سن - کہ لئے تھے سن ترے گھونگرو

ارباب سخن فہم کیلئے یہ جملۂ معترضہ تھا - مین یہ عرض کر رھا تھا کہ اوس شخص نے حضرت تسلیم سے اپنے مصرع پر مصرع لگانے کی فرمایش کی - اوستاد نے پہلے تو یہ کہا کہ مجھے ایسے واھیات مصمون پر طبع آزمائی کی فرصت نہین مگر سائل نے کہا کہ اوستاد اسکے تو یہ معنی ھوے کہ اس مصرع پر مصرع لگانے سے اوستاد بھی عاجز رہ گئے - شہر مین تو یونھی مشھور ھو گا - تو اوستاد اوسکی شوخی پر مسکراکر فرمانے لگے پڑہ کیا مصرع ھے اوسنے دھرا دیا کہ

ع چار دنون سے چوک مین چرچا چوری کا چو چند ھوا -

میرے دوست حبیب النبی صاحب جو حضرت تسلیم کے شاگرد تھے اونکا بیان ھے کہ اوستاد نے بر جستہ کہا -

ع چھہ چھہ چوکی چوک مین بیٹھی چور نہ چنچل بند ھوا -

(۱۱) اخیر زمانے مین داغ نے حیدرآباد سے لکھا تھا کہ تسلیم دکھن آجائین اور تسلیم کی تعریف ان الفاظ مین کی تھی کہ چمن ھند مین آنکھین پھاڑ پھاڑ کر دیکھتا ھون تو طوطی تسلیم کے سوا کوئی چہکتا نظر نہین آتا - اب تو کوئی نہین رھا جو میرے سخن کی داد دے - غرض ان الفاظ مین تعریف کر کے دکھن آنے کی ترغیب دی تھی - اور امید دلائی تھی کہ معقول تنخواہ بھی ھو جائیگی - مگر تسلیم کی طبعیت غیور تھی - اپنے ھم فن کا احسان لینا گوارا نہین فرماتے تھے - بڑھاپے کا عذر کر دیا - حضرت امیر کا انتقال ھوئے زیادہ عرصہ نہ گزرا تھا (حضرت امیر کا انتقال سن ۱۹۰۰ ع مین ھوا) اور حضرت داغ کو دکھن آئے بہت تھوڑا عرصہ گزرا تھا - وہ واقعہ بھی ذھن مین تازہ تھا - اپنے خط کے اخیر مین تسلیم نے یہ شعر لکھا کہ -

مرے دل سے تمنائے دکھن کچھہ اور کہتی ھے
مگر مرگ امیر بے وطن کچھہ اور کہتی ھے

اس شعر والی غزل کا مطلع بھی دلچسپی سے خالی نہو گا -

حیا کچھہ اور کہتی ھے پھبن کچھہ اور کہتی ھے
تری ھر ھر ادا اے جانمن کچھہ اور کہتی ھے

تسلیم کا انتقال سن ۱۹۱۱ ع مین ھوا - ۹۱ برس کی عمر پائی - اس سے پہلے سن ۱۹۰۵ مین داغ انتقال فرما چکے تھے -

(۱۲) حضرت تسلیم کی زندگی ایک شمع ھدایت ھے - ایک درس عبرت ھے حضرت تسلیم ایک غریب خاندان مین پیدا ھوئے - عمر بھر تیس روپیئے سے زیادہ نہ کما سکے مگر اونکی ھمت اور نظر اونچی تھی اولوالعزمی سے کام لیا - نہ مصائب کی پروا کی اور نہ غریبی سے گھبرائے - اون کا اپنا احساس اس شعر سے ظاھر ھے -

دل شگفتہ رکھتے ھین ھر حال مین رنگین مزاج
مانع خندہ نہ گل کو چاک دامانی ھوئی

نہ امیر سے سوال کیا اور نہ غریب کو دھتکارا - بڑے منکسرالمزاج اور بڑے
خوش اخلاق تھے - اچھی سے اچھی صحبتوں میں شریک رھے - امراء اھل علم -
اھل کمال سب کی نظروں میں اونچے رھے-اپنا وقار قائم رکھا اور باھمہ اور بے ھمہ
رھکر گزاردی - اگر Plain living and high thinking کی مثال لینا ھے تو
حضرت تسلیم کو دیکھو اونکي زندگی سکھلاتي ھے کہ بلا ذرائع- بلا مال و دولت بھي
انسان اپني زندگي کو کیونکر بہتر بناسکتا ھے - جس طبقہ میں حضرت تسلیم پیدا
ھوئے اوس میں لاکھوں آئے اور چلے گئے جنکو نہ کوئی جانتاھے نہ پہچانتاھے - مگر
تسلیم کا نام جب تک اردو شاعری ھے جب تک ذوق سخن ھے روزروشن کی طرح
مشہور رھے گا- ثبت است برجریدہ عالم دوام او - آج بھی اونکے شاگرد موجود ھیں-
آج بھی عزت سے نام لینے والے احباب موجود ھیں - آج بھی اونکی تعریف ھوتی
ھے حضرت غالب نے سچ کہا ھے——

توفیق بہ اندازۂ ھمت ھے ازل سے
آنکھوں میں ھے وہ قطرہ کہ گوھر نہوا تھا

VI. Pali and Buddhism Section

(57) The Advent and Development of Tantric Elements in Buddhism.

by

Rev. Shanti Bhikshu.

Tantric elements were given a place in Buddhism with its popularity in the lower strata of society in which these were in vogue in India before the advent of Buddha.

We can know a great deal about these Tantric faiths from the *Athrava Veda* and the *Kauśika Sūtra.* The application of various *mantras* in specific emergencies has been mentioned in the *Kauśika Sūtra,* while the miraculous effects of various drugs and *maṇis* has been described in the *mantras* of *'Atharva Veda'.* In the Indian *Âyurveda* system of medicine, where drugs have been prescribed for various diseases, the application of *mantras* has also been advocated. Generally, the application of drugs, *maṇis* and *mantras* was recommended for curing mental and physical diseases, and also for obtaining supernatural powers. The *mantras* and drugs endowed with divine power of mantras were also employed as a protection against the evil of *Bhūta, Preta* (ghosts), *Rākṣasa, Brahma-Rākṣasa, Asura* (Demons) *Nāga* (Snakes) etc. We find the description of the divine properties of these drugs, *maṇis* and *mantras* in the ancient literature at many places. It will suffice to see any sample of the *Atharva mantras.* Of the powers of *Indramaṇi* it has been observed that whosoever wore it could see the earth, the heaven and the skies, could see everything on all sides[1]. Similarly, about the influence of an other jewel *Jaṅgida Maṇi*, it has been described that this *Jaṅgida Maṇi* eliminates obstacles and keeps at bay those who devour us. It is a medicine for all (our ills). May it save us from sin. Given by the Gods, this *Jaṅgida Maṇi* gives happiness to us, and by the help of this we face obstructions and also the ghosts that cause them[2]. The influence of other *maṇis viz. Pratisara, Varaṇa, Darbha, Audumbara, Śatavāra, Āstṛta* and *Śaṅkha* have been similarly described[3].

Thus we see that in the pre-Buddhistic age, *maṇis,* drugs mantras, etc., were used to get divine powers to brave natural and super-natural obstructions. Buddha himself mentioned the uses of several medicines,

but only for curing diseases, not for obtaining divine powers. The *Bhaiṣajya-Skandhaka* of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* describes various treatments of diseases together with the treatment of ghost troubles, but cure by the use of medicines alone has been suggested, and there is no mention of using any *mantra* or *tantra* or a magic formula. Only the *Āṭānāṭiya Rakṣā*[4] has been mentioned by Buddha to get rid of supernatural troubles, It is difficult to say when Buddha preached this *Sūtra* but if we consider it to be an interpolation according to some scholars, even then this was included in the *Tripiṭaka* during the regime of *Vaṭṭagāmini* when the *Piṭaka* was written. Thus, after the *Sthavira-piṭaka* had been written, it was not possible to interpolate *Tantras* there but the *Mahāyāna Sūtras* whose number was not so limited by recitation or writing tended to make more room for the Tantras.

The *Mahāyāna Sūtras* describe the difficult practices of the *Bodhi Sattvas* and there was no room for interpolating all the types of *Tantrasādhanā*; that is why *Tāntric* treatises had to be written separately. But all those Tantra books were not believed in by the people unless they wore the stamp of the sayings of Buddha, which was not difficult to manipulate in that age. The masses believed the priests blindly and whatever they said was accepted. We can know something of the tactics which were adopted to put Buddha's stamp on Tantra Books, from Tibetan tradition.

There is great difference between the dates of four very significant Buddhist festivals, celebrated under the Tibetan and Sthavira traditions respectively[5].

According to Sthavira-tradition *Vaiśākha Pūrṇimā* is Buddha's Anniversary Day, but according to Tibetan tradition, Buddha preached Tantra in *Dhānyakaṭaka* on the same *Vaiśhākhi Pūrṇimā*. So, in Tibetan Tradition the Anniversary of Buddha was transferred to *Jyeṣṭha* instead of *Vaiśakha* and consequently, other dates were also advanced by about a month.

In this sermon on Tantra in *Dhānyakaṭaka* Buddha said, "After *four-two* years of my passing away, a man will be born, greater and nobler than myself."[6] According to Tibetan Tradition, 1625 years after his birth this great personality, Vajraguru, went to Tibet. After living for 55 years in Tibet he also visited Laṅkā (Ceylon). Thus, the Tantric preaching certified on the one hand by Buddha in his sermon at *Dhānyakaṭaka*, and on the other by the prophecy made by him that a greater man would be born, reduced the importance of Buddha and his sayings. We, therefore, see that in the face of this mythical Acharya of Tantra, *Vajraguru* or *Vajrasattva*, all *Buddhas* and *Bodhisattvas* appear to be insignificant.

Why did the Tantric tendencies enter Buddhism? In order to give a correct reply, we shall have to take a bird's eyeview of the main tendencies of Buddhism. In the Hīnayāna the three purifications have been emphasized for the development and salvation of beings. The first is the purification of *Śīla* (conduct) for which Buddha has advocated morality in body and speech. For the maintenance of physical morality, Buddha has greatly emphasized abstinance from sexual adultary. During Buddha's times and even before them sexual morality in India was very much at a discount. Spiritualist Sages and seers also did not attach any sin to sexual relations. *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas* are full of such examples in which the sexual exploits of sages and seers have been narrated and they were not considered degraded for such actions, whereas, if someone attempted promiscuity of that sort today, it would be impossible for him to live in society. In the *Chāndogyopaniṣad* we see the devotees of *Vāmadeva-sāman* are not very particular about celibacy[7]. How people were irresponsible in such matters is clear from the episode of the *Ṣadvargīya Bhikhus* and *Bhikhunis* in the *Vinayapiṭaka*[8]. In Vedic age such lack of responsibility had gone beyond all limits, as we see in the dialogue of *Indra* with *Romaśā Brahmavādinī* in *Ṛgveda*[9]. But from this, we do gather that in the Buddhist age and before, sexual relations were discussed openly, and religious people of the type of the devotees of *Vāmadeva-Sāman* existed in whose religion such relationships held an important position. One can, therefore, understand why Buddha laid so much stress on abstinence. Besides this, wine and meat were extensively used, cattle were sacrificed for *Yagas* and butchered for food. Wine had a place in religion too and it was openly used in *yajña* like *Sautrāmaṇi*.

Another purification advocated by Buddha is the purification of mind. For this Buddha preached the practice of *Samādhi* which was not new for his age. Before Buddha the *Śramaṇas* and *Brāhmaṇas* practised *Samādhi* for self-realization (*Ātma-Sākṣat-Kara*). Besides, they practised *Samādhi* for obtaining various *Siddhis* (perfections). People heard the preachings of these *Śramaṇas* with reverence and offered worship. These penniless ascetics, *Tapasvins,* were respected more than wealthy princes and businessmen. The wealthy and the poor, the scholars and the uneducated, all worshipped them alike. In the *Taittirīya āraṇyaka Vātaraśana Śramaṇas* have been mentioned[10]. In the time of Buddha there were many *Śramaṇas* who yielded a great influence on the people. In that age *samādhi* was a common topic in *Kuru.* There is a mention in the *Aṭṭhakathā* of the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta*[11] that "even slaves and servants talk of *Smṛtyupasthāna.* While carrying water or spinning they do not talk of other useless things. If woman, on enquiry as to what *Smṛtyupasthāna* she practised did not reply, she is scolded that her life was in vain, even though she was alive: 'You are as good as dead'. And she is preached one of the *Smṛtyupasthāna.* It is, therefore, quite clear that in the age of Buddha

the practice of Samadhi was discussed freely, not only among the *Śramaṇas* dwelling in the forests but also amidst the masses.

The third purification advocated by Buddha is the purification of vision (*dṛṣṭi*). For this purpose Buddha divided the world into five *Skandhas* and by the law of cause and effect, proved it to be not eternal but temporal. With the help of this doctrine, Buddhist philosophers preached that every existance was momentary, and on the basis of this doctrine *Nāgarjuna* advocated that there was no natural existence of any matter whatsoever. It was afterwards influenced by this doctrine of *Nāgarjuna*; *Asaṅga* and *Vasubandhu* developed *Vijñānavāda* which considers the external world unreal and false. We shall see later that these issues had to play a prominent part in supporting the Tāntric tendencies.

Accepting these three forms of purification the *mahāyāna* propounded certain other ideals also in regard to which *Hīnayānists* were almost neutral. They adopted the *caryā* of *Bodhisattvas* as their ideal and announced clearly that the joy of ridding other people from sorrow was enough. To attain salvation for one's own self was useless; why should we care for it?[12] Thus refusing salvation for one's own self and taking a vow to obtain salvation for all beings became a cult which warmed the heart of the people and urged them to give up their selves for the good of all beings. And it was only for this purpose that the self could be protected and improved and the purification of the self could be attained by the three purifications mentioned above. Protection and improvement are possible by means physical as well as spiritual. Thus, Mantras were accepted as the spiritual means and they entered the sayings of Buddha.

All mantras are connected with gods, whether they were Vedic or Tantric. Of course, most of the Vedic gods have their material existence[13] but the existence of Tantric gods can be really found in *adhyātma* i. e., spiritual self. They can be contacted by continued meditation. In fact, they are the developed images of our mental sentiments and emotions; due to the intensity of our feeling, we might assume their images and see them objectively; yet fundamentally they are subjective and have no material existence.

With the advent of the *Mantras*, these gods in the various forms and names brought their own elements of worship which were hitherto absent in Buddhism. Wine, women and meat were introduced in the form of means of worship and there was no room left for the purification of conduct of the devotees. The moral or ethical distinction between good and bad, proper and improper was lost for the devotees so far as food, drink and other material necessities were concerned.

How did this all happen? What was their true necessity? For a satisfactory answer it may be recalled that all these tendencies were already present before Buddha and were not considered sinful. The way of morality and good conduct as preached by Buddha was very difficult in practice for the masses, and though they adopted the same yet they did not prove easy for them to be put into action in their purer forms, with the result that other tendencies prevailed upon the code of morality and good conduct prescribed by Buddha. This strict code of morality prescribed by Buddha for the *Bhikṣus* could not be called an easy way of life, especially when there were temptations all around, and eventually it broke down. Buddhism was transformed into *Vajrayāna* and *Sahajayāna* by the impregnation of Tantric tendencies. The monks were Vajrayānins in spirit, Mahāyānins in form, and Hīnyānins in their order and they were just like the Hindu Tantrics described as *Śākta* in spirit, *Śaiva* in form, and *Vaiṣṇava* in society (**अन्तः शाक्ताः बहिः शैवाः सभामध्ये च वैष्णवाः**).

These Tantric tendencies did not enter Buddhism either in a short span of time or all at the same time. With the passage of years, the disciples who were not satisfied with the teachings of Buddhism, incorporated foreign elements of worship in the name of Buddha. We have seen that Sūtras like the *Āṭānāṭiya Rakṣā* were amalgamated with Buddhism even before Christ. Many *Mahāyāna Sūtras* were translated into the Chinese Language in the second century A. D. which indicates that many *Mahāyāna* works were in vogue before that and because there were no proper checks on them, they were modified, amended and interpolated from time to time. Many forms of *Mudrās* and *Maṇḍalas* were incorporated in these books together with Mantras and Dhāraṇīs. From the time of *Nāgārjuna* to Harsha the *Mahāyāna* was well developed and Tantric tendencies had fused themselves into it. In the time of Harsha *Shri Parvata* in *Āndhra* was considered to be the centre of Tantric where they carried on their secret practices. It appears that treatises propounding this esoterical form of *Sādhanā* had also been compiled by that time. After Harsha, from the 8th to the 12th century A. D., in the period of *Siddhas*, these practices were openly accepted and adopted. Acharya Indrabhūti who lived in the beginning of the 8th century explained in his work *Jñānasiddhi* many Trantric terms which had been taken from *Guhya-Samāja-tantra*. It is, therefore, quite clear that *Guhya-Samāja* was very popular in the 8th century A. D. It will be only proper to throw some light on the aims of the *Sādhanā* inculcated in *Guhya-Samāja*.

The object of the *Guhya-Samāja-Sādhanā* is to bring harmony into the functions of the body and mind and speech, that is, there should be no self-contradiction or conflict in the feelings of the mind, speech and the actions of the body. All should be integrated, unified. Such unification into one whole is the ultimate object of *Sādhanā* resulting in absolute peace[14].

Such a state could be attained by a process of self-mortification and such other difficult methods according to some *Śramaṇas* and *Brāhmaṇas*. But Buddha prohibited all forms of pain to be inflicted on living beings. He could hardly endure the idea of self-mortification. The Buddhist Tantra, therefore, deplored self-mortification and opened the door for self-enjoyment and self-fulfilment in *Sādhanā*[15].

It was quite possible that devotees would be suffering from mental unrest caused by desire and the resultant psychological reactions disturbed their spirit. Repression of such feelings could never be a complete cure for the ailments of the spirit. Such repressed feelings, though dormant in active life, would disturb the spirit by revising when one became passive in sleep. In order to root them out, the devotees thought it proper to give vent to such feelings by recourse to gratification, though only in a modified form. A disturbed spirit could never attain to Perfection says *Anaṅgavajra*; therefore, one should not allow such disturbance to grow up[16]. So long as desire exists, the mind is naturally disturbed. The way to avoid such disturbance is to keep desire as passive as 'roasted seeds'. Such passive state cannot be obtained by keeping oneself away from enjoyments. Gita says that peace comes to one who gets gratification for his desires in a natural way, just as the ocean receives the rivers without desire, but not to one who desires gratification and does not get it[17]. It was, therfore, agreed that gratification should be accepted to some extent. Just as a Yogi takes food to hold together the body and does not give himself away for the sake of food, in the same way the devotee accepted gratification of animal instincts for their ultimate new removal; but surely he was not to indulge in sensuous life. Whatever may be the fact, it is clear beyond cavil that though gratification of animal instincts was accepted in good faith later on many people exploited it to satisfy the temptations offered by a sensuous life[18] and used to lead a hypocritic life devoted to animal gratification as an end in itself.

Many yogic exercises were also compulsory in this *Sādhanā* and if the devotees made mistakes, they suffered from many diseases. It was, therefore, necessary for a disciple to have a teacher who would help him. The teacher occupied a very respectable position. When Buddha was asked as to who was his teacher, he had replied 'I am my own teacher!'. But in the *Guhya-Sādhanā* there can be no devotee or disciple without a teacher. One who has attained perfection must also have a teacher, while those who are in the way of attaining perfection must absolutely have one. Therefore according to *Guhya-Sādhanā*, those who are the Buddhas i. e., the Perfect ones and *Bodhisattvas*, who are on the way to perfection, all worship a teacher[19]. So it is clear that the Acharya's position is superior to that of the Buddhas and *Bodhisattvas*.

The *Śaktis* of *Tathāgata* also worship the Acharya in the form of *Vajrapāṇi Tathāgata* who is an embodiment of Vajrācārya, for the fulfillment of their desires[20]. And he answers their prayers by *Samayacakra*. The effect of such acceptance by Vajrapāṇi of the desires of the *Śaktis* was that all the living beings at that moment became *Samyak-Sambuddha*, having knowledge of the three Vajras i. e., *Śūnyatā* or absolute void[21].

The *Guhya-Sādhanā* aims at the harmony of the mind, body and speech and *Tathāgatas* and their *Śaktis* occupy a prominent position. It will, therefore, be opportune at this stage to consider their conception. According to Buddhist Philosophy the whole of this universe is said to have evolved out of the five *Skandhas*. In *Guhya*-Sādhanā these *Skandhas* have been taken as five *Tathāgatas*. The *Skandha* of *Rūpa* (form) is called *Vairocana*, the *Skandha* of *Vedanā* (feeling) is *Ratnasambhava*, the *Skandha* of Saṁjñā (conception) is *Amitabha* the *Skandha* of *Saṁskāras* (mental states) is *Amogha-Siddhi* and the *Skandha* of *Vijñāna* (consciousness) is *Akṣobhya*. The philosophy of this *Guhya-Sādhanā* is *śūnyavāda* i. e., the doctrine of the absolute void and according to this doctrine, the existence of the *Skandhas* is not independent. The absence of independent existence is called *Sūnyatā* i. e., absolute void according to *Mādhyamikās*. This void is the nature of all things[22]. The *Vajra-satva* is the embodiment of the absolute void, and so are the *Vajradhara, Vajrapāṇi Tathagatas* etc. The *Ācharya* is also the symbol of the same. The term *Vajra* indicates *śūnyatā* or absolute void.

These five *Tathagatas* have five families (*Kula*). *Rūpskandha* belongs to *Moha* (ignorance) *Kula, Vedanā-Skandha* to *Irṣyā* (envy) *Kula, Samjña-Skandha* to *Rāga* (desire) *Kula, Saṁskāra Skandha* to *Vajra* (void) *kula, Vijñāna-Skandha* to Dveṣa (hatred) *kula*. Similarly, there are the following five *śaktis* in the same order:— 1. *Moharati*, 2. *Irṣyārati*, 3. *Rāgarati*, 4. *Vajrarati* and 5. *Dveṣarati*. The names of these *kulas* and *Śaktis* are expressive of the nature of the *Skandhas*. For example, *Rūpa-Skandha* includes earth and other material elements and its nature is to cover or obstruct; so does *Moha* (ignorance) and therefore, *Rūpskandha* belongs to *Mohakula*. This applies to all the rest respectively. *Śaktis* have also been named according to the five *Skandhas*. They are not only the symbols of the nature of the five different *Skandhas* but also representative of the four *Dhātus* or elements. *Moharati* is the symbol of Earth. Its another name is *Tārā*. *Rāgrati* is the symbol of *Tejas* (heat), its another name being *Pāndaravāsinī*; *Dveṣarati* is the symbol of water and its other name is *Māmakī*. All these *Tathāgatas* and their *śaktis* have been described along with their different symbols and colours[23].

According to Buddhist doctrine, the mind body and speech have all evolved from the five *Skandhas* as mentioned above, are void. The

doctrine of void has a great scope and significance in *Sādhanā*. A devotee who wants to attain peace, should imperatively make himself free from all desires whatsoever; the doctrine of void helps in this renunciation, since desire cannot subsist for something which is itself nothing or, in other words, void. But it is not correct to say that void is only negation. *Acharya Nāgārjuna* has said that those who are entangled in eternity can be saved by the doctrine of void, but those who believe in the doctrine of negativism cannot be cured[24].

This doctrine of void, on the one hand, proved the non-existence of eternity, and on the other destroyed the whole edifice of social morality by its incorporation in the Tantras. The code of social morality was not only described as false but also proved to be useless, which, however, did not result in any good later on. However, if they were proved to be useless, no one would have adopted the principles of *Guhya-Sādhanā*. This negligence of the code of social morality resulted in encouraging chaotic practices, in respect of food, drink and other gratifications in the period of the *Siddhas*.

As the five *skandhas* were changed into five *Dhyānī Buddhas*, similarly other gods related to other doctrines changed their forms to some extent when they entered Buddhism. *Brahmā* was accepted as the void of the body, *Śiva* as the void of speech and *Viṣṇu* as the void of mind[25]. These gods entered Buddhism in the garb of Buddhist gods, but their fundamental character remained unaltered. Thus, the worship of *Śiva* as an emblem of creation, brought with it some of its sensuousness into Buddhism which was especially susceptible to such foreign influences at the moment[26].

Thus, the five *makāras* of the Tantrics entered Buddhism primarily to assist in yoga to obtain *Siddhi* of perfection. The desire to obtain a speedy perfection was mainly responsible for the entry of these alien elements in Buddhism. The masses who believed in supernatural powers were easily beguiled by such animal instincts. Though Buddha did not grant any scope to miracles in his teachings for salvation, yet in the *Triptiaka* mention may be discovered of miracles and *siddhis* at many places. These earned prestige to the priests. It was natural for the priests to exploit mass imagination by obtaining *siddhis* by any means fair or foul. The lofty *siddhi* or perfection, which Buddha held to be attainable only by self-sacrifice and self-renunciation began to be considered within easy reach of Tantric methods.

In such practices lower classes of society were supposed to occupy higher positions, which discloses that these practices were virtually of the same order. As a result of this, the lower starts of society produced a number of *Siddhas* at that time who challenged the supremacy of the

upper classes in the field of religion and philosophy. There was a great upheaval amongst the lower classes, which gave rise to a new intellectual and religious conciousness, which, in its turn, after the decay of Tantric age, produced some of the best saints in India, namely, Kabir, Dādū, etc. This consciousness was alive till the time of Tulsidas, and he was compelled to mention it in the following couplets:—

"The Śūdras challenge the Brahmins that they (Sudras) are not inferior to them. Whosoever knows Brahman is a Brahmin"[27].

1. Atharvaveda IV, 20, I.

2. Atharvaveda II, 4, I,

3. Atharvaveda XIV, 34-35, VII, 5, X. 3, XIX, 28-33. XXIX, 36, 46.

4. Dīghanikāya Sutta 32.

5.

Difference in days.	Dates relating to the life of Buddha.	Tibetan tradition.	Sthavira tradition.
23	Birth	Jyeṣṭha śukla 7	Vaiśākha 15
30	Enlightenment	Jyeṣṭha śukla 15	do.
40	Turning the wheel of law.	Śrāvaṇa śukla 4	Āṣāḍha 15
30	Parinirvāṇa	Jyeṣṭha 15	Vaiśākha 15

6. ṅa na myaṅan hdas hogtu
lo ni bzi bñis hdas pana.
ṅa las lhagpa skyebu hbyuṅ.
(—Hjam dpaltsa rgyud)

7. na kāmcana pariharet tad vratam (Chāndogya Upaniṣad II. 13.1).

Com. of Śankarācārya: "Kāmcid api striyam svātmatalpapraptām na pariharet, samāgamārthinīm, vāmadevyasāmopasamāṇgatvena vidhānāt.

8. Both the Mahāvagga and Culavagga.

9. Ṛgveda I. 126, 7, Bṛhaddevatā IV, 1-3.

10. Taittiriyāraṇyaka, Prapāṭhaka 3, Anuvāka 7.

11. Dīghanikaya, sutta 22.

12. Bodhicaryāvatāra VIII, 108.

13. Bṛhaddevatā I, 61-69.

14. Guhyasamāja P. 11.

15. सर्वकामो भोगैश्च सेव्यमानैर्यथेच्छतः ।
अनेन खलु योगेन लघु बुद्धत्वमाप्नुयात् ॥
दुष्करैर्नियमैस्तीव्रैः सेव्यमानो न सिद्धयति ।
सर्वकामो भोगैस्तु सेवयंश्चाशु सिद्धयति ॥ Guhyasamāja P. 27.

16. Prajñopāyābiniścaya 5, 40.

17. Gītā II. 70.

18. Prabodhacandrodaya, Act.

19. Guhyasamāja PP. 137-138.

20. Guhyasamāja P. 145.

21. Guhyasamāja P. 148.

22. गुडे मधुरता चाग्नेरुष्णत्वं प्रकृतिर्यथा ।
शून्यता सर्वधर्माणां तथा प्रकृतिरिष्यते ॥ Advayavajra Saṃgraha P. 42.

23.

Skandhas	Tathagatas	Colour	Sign	Letter	Kulas	Śaktis	Other names of Śaktis.	Elements	Colour	Sign
Rūpa	Vaivocana	White (Śukla)	White Cakra (Wheel)	Kavarga	Moha	Moharati	Locanā	Earth	White	Cakra (Wheel)
Vedanā	Ratna Sambhava	Yellow (pīta)	Ratna	Ṭa varga	Irṣyā	Irṣyārati	Tārā	Wind	....	Blue lotus
Samjñā	Amitābha	Red (rakta)	Lotus	Ta varga	Rāga	Rāgarati	Paṇḍara vāsinī	Heat	Red	Lotus
Saaṃskāra	Amogha Siddhi	Dark (Śyāma)	Vajra	La varga	Vajra	Vajra rati	....	....	....	....
Vijñāna	Akṣobhya	Black (Kṛṣṇa)	Black vajra	Ca varga	Dveṣa	Dve-ṣarati	Mamakī	Water	Black	Black vajra
Śunyatā	Vajra Sattva	White	Vajra ghaṇṭa	Antahṛtha	....	....	Prajñā Pāramitā	....	....	....

24. शून्यता सर्वदृष्टीनां प्रोक्ता निःसरणं जिनैः। येषां तु शून्यता दृष्टिस्तानसाध्यान् बभाषिरे ॥ (Mādhyamika Kārikā)

25. Guhya Samāja P. 129.

26. त्रैधातुकस्थितां सर्वांमंगनां सुरतविह्वलां। कामयेद्विविधैर्भावैः समयः परमाद्भुतः॥ Guhya Samāja P. 129.

27. बादहिं सूद्र द्विजन्ह सन हम तुमते कछु घाटि। जानइ ब्रह्म सो विप्रवर आँखि देखावहिं डाटि॥ Ramacarita Mānasa VII. 99.

B. Presidential Address to the Pali and Buddhism Section

by

Dr. G. P. Malalasekera.

I am deeply conscious of the honour conferred upon me by the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference in having elected me to preside over this August gathering where there are so many others much more eminent than myself and, therefore, more worthy of occupying this Chair. I consider this honour not so much as a distinction conferred upon myself personally, but rather as a gesture of good will towards my country Sri Lanka where Pali and Buddhist Studies have in spite of numerous vicissitudes, gone on interrupted for more than two thousand years. I bring to you, therefore, the greetings of my people and their good-wishes for your continued success and prosperity.

I have been reading, in the last couple of weeks, reports of the proceedings of their annual conferences and I have noticed, with an increasing sense of awe, this it has been the custom among Presidents of these gatherings to contribute very learned and exhaustive Papers. I should like to say at the very outset that I do not propose to follow their example, both because of my inability to emulate them in this respect and also because I, very humbly of course, have a somewhat different conception of a Sectional President's duties. I feel that a Chairman's function is to be seen rather than to be heard, to so guide the activities of the gathering over which he has been selected to preside as to give members of that assembly every possible facility for presenting their own views. I also feel, if I may make a humble submission, that at these meetings and conferences, far too much time and energy one spent on the transaction of formal business, especially the reading of Papers, and, consequently, far too little time is left for personal contacts among those who attend these gatherings. It is my belief that these occasions provide a unique opportunity for us to get to know each other, to discuss our problems and our aspirations, to compare notes on the progress of our various activities and that these things can be done for more effectively informally rather than in these somewhat straight-laced meetings. I should like very much, therefore, with your permission, to provide, at least in this Section, as much opportunity as possibly for such intimate, personal and informal contacts.

I should not wish, however, to be regarded as a revolutionary, throwing overboard all the concentrics observed at these conferences by my distinguished predecessors. That would be to do them dishonour. It has been their custom, among other things to say something about the work that has been and is being done in the field of Pali and Buddhist Studies in different parts of the world and I propose to take my cue from them in that respect. It would both provide me with a topic for the speech which I am in duty bound to make and also serve as a record for students and researchers in our section of the Oriental Conference.

It is gratifying to note that, with the advent of a certain measure of peace and tranquillity, after the devastations of the last World War, there are signs of renewed activity in numerous centres of learning in our branch of study, in common with other branches. Such activity is all for the good of the world, for our studies in particular are not and cannot be purely academic. They are associated with a religion which for twenty five centuries has provided a way of life for millions of human beings, a way of life which has brought them happiness and peace. The significance of its teaching is as vital today as it was when first promulgated by the Sakyamuni. To the present world, too by strife and stress and anxiety regarding our destiny, it has a unique message of courage and hope, for it teaches that the welfare of humanity and the happiness of the world are entirely within the control of men and women themselves and are dependent not on some extraneous power which rules over our destinies. Workers in the field of Pali and Buddhist Studies, therefore, are directly or undirectly also missionaries of the teaching, torch-bearers (ukkādharā) in a world that awaits and needs enlightenment.

May I begin with what is happening in my own country of Ceylon, because I know what is being done there better than I do about other religions?

You will be glad to hear that the excellent editions of the Pali commentaries published by the Trustees of the Simon Hewavitarano Bequest has now been successfully completed and that a beginning had been made with the publication of the text of the Pali Course. It is a pleasure to recall that in the formulation of the scheme for these publications, the late Dharmananda Kosambi, of revered memory, played an important part. As you probably know, in Ceylon, the temple schools, called Pirivenas, are the chief centres of oriental learning and there are at present many of them in our ever increasing and floourshing condition of activity. In several of them, besides Sinhalese, Pali, Sanskrit & Prakrit provision is now being made for the study of English and also Hindi, this enabling students to wider their horizons of knowledge, under the aegies of the Government Department of Education, annual examinations in these subjects are held by a semi-official

body, called the Parachina Bhasopakara Samiti (Oriental Studies Society) and many hundreds of students from all over the Island sit these tests, which are in three different stages, Preliminary, Intermediate and Final. Those who are successful in the final examinations are expected to write a dissertative on the completion of which they are given the title of Pandit. There is also a post-graduate degree, that of Sāstravisārada.

In one of the leading Pirivenas, the Vidyālankāra Pirivena, near Colombo, which some of you who have been in Ceylon, have probably visited, a modified Sarigiti or recital of the Pali Tripitaka was started last year. Manuscripts of the various texts have been obtained from temple monastries and these are collated with the published versions in Roman, Burmese, Siamese and Sinhalese Scripts. The variant readings are noted for further consideration. The proposal is to publish a complete critical edition of the Tripitaka. It is expected that the recital will take two years to complete. Meanwhile, the All-Ceylon Buddhist Congress, of which I have the honour of being President, has inaugurated a scheme for the publication of the Pali Tripitaka, with Sinhalese translation, text and translation being on opposite pages, similar to the plan adopted in lock's edition of the classics. Three volumes have already appeared, of about 500 pages each, containing the first section of the Digha Nikaya, Samyutta Nikaya and the Culla Vagga of the Vinaya Pitaka. I have been appointed General Editor of the Series and I am happy to state that the work proceeds a pace. Eminent Scholars are giving their services for the translations It is expected that the series can be completed in ten years. In the University of Ceylon, Buddhist Civilisation has now been added to the Curriculum as a separate subject. It is at present attached to Department of Pali but it is expected that a separate Chair will be located sometime soon. The services of a Scholar from China have been obtained for teaching Chinese Buddhism. Very soon it is hoped that provision will be made for Tibetan Buddhism as well.

While I am in Ceylon, I must not omit to make mention of the great activity of the Dodanduwa Island Hormitage, presided over by the Ven. Nyāṇatilaka Maha Thera whose name in so well-known in connection with Buddhist Studies because of his numerous publications, the most recent being his Dictionary of Buddhist Philosophical Terms, which is an indispensable volume for students of Buddhist philosophy. His pupil, the Ven. Nyāṇpanika had published a valuable study of the Saṭipaṭṭhāna Sutta and bids fair to be a worthy follower of his teacher.

The very welcome news has arrived from Miss. Isoline B. Horner, the indefatigable Hony. Secretary of the Pali Text Society of England that the Society's programme for the publication of the Pali Canoncal texts and commentaries is nearing completion and that the volumes now in the press are issued the part of the work would have been finished.

The Samantapāsādittā is now complete and the paṭakopadesa has been issued. Much progress has also been made with the Pibata concordance, compiled almost single-handed by that veteran scholar, Mr. F. L. Woodward, working in his lonely farm in Tasmania. Volume I of the concordance is now ready for the Printers and it is hoped that printing will start before the present year is out.

Miss Horner has also finished her translation of the Vinaya Pitaka, which is being published in the Sacred Books of the Buddhists series; and thus added to our manifold obligations to her. But neither Miss Horner nor the Pali Text Society can rest on their laurels. Most of the volumes of both texts and translations are now out of print and await republication. It would be most desirable thing if these volumes could be re-edited before publication, especially the texts, because many of them were issued while Pali studies in Europe were yet young and there are, as was undoubtedly to be expected, shortcomings. These can now be remedied in the light of further advances in our knowledge. Unfortunately, however, while reprints may be possible at a reasonable price by means of philosophic processes, new editions seem to be completely out of the question because of prohibitive costs. Several volumes of the Jataka translation have been reprinted by the Cambridge Unversity. Press together, without volume containing a summary of several Jataka stories. Here in India, it is a matter for greet publication that Dr. P. V. Bahat has now completed the publication of his masterly translation of the Arthavargīya Sūtras from the Chinese originals together with his fascinating study of these texts in comparison with the Pali Atthakavagga. We all eagerly await the publication of his comparative study of the Pali Samrīapāsādikā and its Chinese representations. All students of Pali and Buddhist Studies owe a deep debt of gratitude to men like Bapat and Bagchi, B. C. Law, Nalinalisa Dutt, C. V. Joshi and N. B. Bhagavat for their unremitting labours, the results of which are made available for our benefit in various publications. I should also like to make reference to the continued work of the Sino-Indian Institution attached to the Visva-Bhāratī at Shantiniketan and their very useful publications on Sino-Indian Studies issued under the editorship of Dr. Bagchi. These studies are of the utmost value to students of Buddhist culture and we most sincerely hope that they will not be interrupted for any reasons whatsoever.

Mention should also be made of the various editions of texts in Devanāgarī characters and translation into Indian languages, more particularly Hindi and Bengali of books which continue to be published by different organisations, some religious, some secular belonging to the Pali canon. While these publications serve a useful purpose no doubt it has to be said that not all editors or publishers can be congratulated on their achievement. Many of these publications leave great room for improvement and seem to have been undertaken without a due sense of responsibility. If I might offer a suggestion, I would ask that likely editors and publishers should take as their example the admirable

volume of the Suttanipāta edited by Dr. Bapat and published by the Aryabhushana Press. The scholarly editions of Dhammasangani and Atthasālini issued in the Bhandarkar Oriental Series or the Devanagari Pali Texts of the University of Bombay, inaugurated by Professor N. K. Bhagavat. As regards translations I would suggest as models the Bengali translations of the Jatakas by Ishar Chandra Ghosh or the Marathi translations of the Suttanipāta by the late Professor Dharmānanda Kosambi.

This resume of recent work in the field of Buddhist studies would be incomplete if I failed to pay grateful homage to what has been done by French and other European savants. During the war the work of scholarly institutions in France had necessarily slowed down but once again, with peace restored, the activities of various scholars have risen to a high tempo, and many studies have been published connected with Buddhism, linguistics philosophical, historical, archaeological and religious. A organization, known as "Les Amisdu Buddhisme", founded in Paris by two ladies, Miss Constant Lounsberry and Madame La Feunte, has done a great deal to popularise interest in Buddhism, as evidenced by the fact that all the better-known French booksellers now display publications on Buddhist subjects and various oriental museums give regular exhibitions of Buddhist Art and iconography which attract large crowds of interested people, while broadcast lectures on Buddhist subjects are also being given with increasing frequency. One museum, The Musee de l'Homme" created in 1938 by Dr. Rivets devotes special attention to Buddhist Ethnography. Technical and practical studies of Buddhist Art and Archaeology are carried on in the E'cole du Louise and in various Oriental museums, chiefly the Musee Guimet and the Musee Cernusta.

Among the French Scholarly institutions interested in Buddhist studies, special mention must be made of the College de France, a 16th Century foundation, where for now for more than one hundred years there has existed a Professorship in Buddhalogy. It was in this Institution that Henry Maspero, the famous sinologist who died in a German Concentration and Jean Przyluski, who died during the War, taught and carried on their researches. Their places have been taken by Paul Demieville and Paul Mus whose works are well-known to need specific description. In addition to these scholars, Jules Bloch, son-in-law and colleague of Sylvan Levi still continues his lectures and publications, especially on the Mahāvastu and on Asoka and on the Milindapanha.

The Ecole Pratique des Hantes Etudes, a middle 19th century foundation of the University of Paris, also has a Professorship devoted to the study of Buddhist literature and civilisation. Some of those here present will have a vivid recollection of the recent visit to India and Ceylon of Professor Renou from this Institution. Both Professors Renou and his colleague J. Filliozat have many publications to their

credit and many more may be expected from them. Details of these and other literary documents are given in the excellent Buddhist Bibliography started in 1928 by Przyluski and after his death edited and published by Marcelle Lalou, herself a well-known Tibetan Scholar Mademoisselle Lalou has also published, for the more general reader, a summary of eleven years of work on Buddhism in Europe from 1936-1947 in the Indian Historical Quarterly of December, 1949.

Other names, worthy of special mention are those of Mason-Oussel, who devotes his attention to Japanese Buddhism, Paul Pelliot (died 1945) one-time President of the Asiatic Society of Paris, Jacques Bacot author of a book on Buddha and Buddhism, mainly from Tibetan sources, M. A. Foucher whose works on Buddhist Art have won him undying fame and also recently wrote a book on "The Old Indian track from Bactria to Taxila", L'Abbe Laonotte of Belgium, who has recently published a critical translation of Nagarjuna's Mahaprajnāpāramitāśāstra with valuable explanatory notes, G. Coedes, well-known for his studies on S. E. Asia, R. Grousset who has written on what Buddhism has meant for world civilisation, H. Von Glasenapp whose work on Buddhistic Tatricism gives us much valuable information about its secret doctrines, rites and metaphysical interpretation, and last by no means the least, Guiseppe Tucei of Rome whose Indo-Tibetan Studies have earned for him a unique reputation.

Portions of Buddhist Canonical texts and translations thereof continue to be published in various countries of Europe, e. g. Germany, Italy and Czechoslovakia but most of these are sporadic, except the Bibbiotheca Buddhica Series, published in Paris. This last is very well edited and promises to make a valuable contribution to Buddhist Studies.

I should like. with your permission, to turn once again to Asia. This time to China, Japan and Tibet. It is well-known that in spite of the fact that Pali Tripitaka, the Pali Commentaries were known to Chinese Scholars from very ancient times, no early attempts were made to have them translated into Chinese except for some portion, of the common and a very few works like the Samantapāsādika. Now, however, this great deficiency—for it was, indeed, such—has at last been supplied. The whole of the Pali Tripitaka has now been translated into Chinese. The work was completed in seven years, from 1938-1945, during the Japanese occupation and was undertaken by the Puh-Hui (Universal Wisdom) Great Pitaka Publication Society, whose headquarters were in the Fa-Tsang Tse (the Dhama-pitaka Temple) in Shanghai. The translation was done not directly from the Pali but from the Japanese version of the Pali Tripitaka. The translators were eminent Buddhist Scholars, well-versed in Japanese and Buddhism, the Chief Editor being the Ven. Chi-Fung. one of the principal disciples of the well-known Scholar the late Ven, Abbst Tai-Hsu. Although the work of translation is complete, owing to lack of funds, only two parts

of the Dīgha Nikāya (containing the first 24 suttas), the first fifty suttas of the Majjhima Nikāya, a part of the Jātaka Commentary and the first part of the Paṭṭhāna of the Abhidhamma have so far been published. The work has, from all accounts, been well done, with variant readings and where the chinese texts differ to any great extent from the Pali, the relevant Chinese extracts have also been given. If funds are forthcoming the whole translation can be published without delay.

For the first time in Buddhist history, we now also have a complete Japanese translation of the Pali Tripitaka, or as it is called by the Japanese (An-Chian-Ta Tsing King) the Great Pitaka of the southern school. Up till now the Japanese Buddhists have no canon of their own but they have used the Chinese texts from the time of the introduction of Buddhism into Japan up to the present day. These have been published in Japan in the well known Taisho edition in 55 volumes with Professor Takakusu as chief editor. Now, there is available complete Japanese translation of the Pali Tripitaka as well. The work was begun in the 10th year of the present Chao-Ho dynasty took many years to complete. Fifty well-known Japanese Scholars, with Mo-Tsan Sing Wu, as chief editor, were responsible for the translation, which was undertaken under the leadership of Professor Takakusu and the patronage of the Takakusu Commemorative Association who were desirous of showing their appreciation of the services rendered to Buddhist Scholarship by Professor Takchusu. In addition to the texts of the Pali Tripitaka itself, the Visuddhimagga, the Milindapanha, the Abhidhammaatthasangaha, the Mahavansa, the Culavamsa, the Dipavamsa, the introductory chapter of the Samantapasadika and the inscriptions of Asoka have also been included in these translations, which have been published in 70 books consisting of 65 volumes by the Great Pitaka Publications Company. Indepedent translations have also recently been made of Pali works into Chinese, e. g. the translations of the Abhidhammatthasangaha, the Dhammapada and the Mahāvaṃsa by the Ven. Fa Fang. Mention has already been made of comparative studies of Pali and Chinese texts, the best-known being the two publications by Dr. Bapat, one on the Visuddhimagga and the Vimuttimagga, and the other on the Arthavargiya sutras and the Aṭṭhaka Vagga of the Sutta Nipāta. His study of the Samantapāsādikā with its chinese counterparts has now been completed but still awaits publication. Mr. Ta Chu, Lecturer in Chinese in Allahabad University, has added to these studies two publications, one on the Mahā Parinibbāna Sutta and the other on the Pāsimokkha.

Among the noteworthy achievements of Chinese Scholars in the recent past are their translations of chinese, works into Tibetan, the most important being a translation of the Mahāvaibhaṣāśatra of the sarvastivādi school, which is a commentary on the Nanaprasthana or Astagrantha of Katīyāyanīputra, the first book of the Abhidharma Pitaka of the Sarvastivadins. The Sanskrit originals of both these

texts are considered to be lost. There are two chinese versions of both works. The first version of the Chinese Abhidharma-Nānaprasthāna was made in 383 A. D. by Sanghadeva and Buddhasurti, and the second by Hiowen Tsang in 656 A. D. The first Chinese version of the commentary, the Mahāvāibhāṣā, was made between 437 and 439 A. D. by Buddhavarman and the second, again by Hiowen Tsang in 656-659.

The Mahāvaibhāṣāśāstra is a compendious work a kind of encyclopaedia of Buddhism, consisting of 200 Chapters in Hiowen Tsang's version. Its authorship is attributed to 500 arhats. Among other matters, it deals critically with the views of different schools both Buddhist and non-Buddhist, on various philosophical topics and in this respect, corresponds to the Kathāvatthu of the Theravādins. It has always been carefully studied by scholars in China and Japan but so far it had not been available to the Tibetans who follow the teachings of Sarvastivāda. This great work has now been translated (1945-'49) into Tibetan by the Ven. Fa Tsung, Principal of the Sino-Tibetan Institute, Pei-pai, Chungking, and will make a noteworthy contribution to Buddhist studies, not only in Tibet but elsewhere as well. Fa Tsung was in Tibet for many years before the war, and he has translated several works from Tibetan into Chinese, among them being the Bodhimarga-Mahasastra and cullasastra, which are considered the most important of all Tibetan books on Mahayana. The author of these texts was the founder of the Yellow Sect of Tibet, Tsung-ka-pa. The Bodhimārga Mahāśastra is regarded by the Tibetans with as much veneration as the Visuddhimagga is by the Theravādins.

It includes an exposition of the teachings of Yogācāra, Vijnānamatratā and Mādhyamika, the last being considered by the author the best. To Fa Tsung also goes the credit of making for the first time the Chinese translations of several Tibetan works on Tantric Buddhism, the study of which in China has, as a result, been greatly stimulated recently.

The great awakening in the study of Buddhism in China has not, however, been confined to Tantricism. It is concerned with all the more important schools and I shall like here to pay tribute to the one man, the late Ven. Abbot Tai Hsu, who, more than any other, has been responsible for the modern Buddhist revival in China. For a long period, before the revolutionary movment of 1911, Chinese Buddhists had neglected the study of Sanskrit, Pali and Tibetan and, consequently, of Buddhism. The Revolution, which brought about many important changes, affected the Buddhists as well and Buddhist learning was greatly stimulated. Buddhist Institutes sprang up everywhere like bamboo shoots after the rains.

It was this revivalist movment that brought to the forefront Tai Hsu, who was a man of great enlightenment and remarkable energy. Among his activities was the organisation and despatch of several

missions to Buddhist Countries. For the study of Pali and Theravāda, he sent five young Bhikkhus to Siam in 1932 and another group of five to Ceylon in 1934. In 1941 he sent three monks to Burma, India and Ceylon to study Sanskrit and Pali. Earlier, in 1925, he had organised a mission of fifteen Bhikkhus to Tibet to study Tibetan Buddhism. The members of the mission were selected from the Buddhist College of Wu-Chang and its leaders were Tai Hsus' own disciples, Ta Yun and Ta Kaing, who were scholars of Vajrayāna. Two years earlier (in 1923), with the help of Buddhist laymen, Tai Hsu had opened at Tze Yin Tse (Maitreya-hetu Temple) in Peking, a Tibetan school to train members for this mission. Its Principal was the late Ta Run, who was a Tantric Scholar, who had also spent several years in Japan where he had studied Vajrayāna, which had been lost in China itself. Tai Hsu himself travelled widely. in Europe and America as well, and in 1941 had a Goodwill Mission to India, Ceylon, Siam and Malaya, thus bringing together the Buddhists of the lands. Wherever he went he created great interest and he succeeded in instilling into the minds of the Buddhists the need for the propagation of Buddhism in the modern world. Many Buddhist Societies, especially in the West, owe their establishment to his inspiration.

The renewed awakening in the study of Buddhism in China encouraged scholars to specialise in various fields of Buddhist Philosophy. Thus the Mādhyamika philosophy (Sam Lum.) found a new exponent in Yin Sung I am told that in his youth he was a Christian but later on he was converted into Buddhism and ordained as a monk. Having acquired a knowledge of the various schools of Buddhism, in one of the Institutions established by Tai Hsu, he became a lecturer in the Sino-Tibetan Buddhist College in Chungking and, later, Principal of the Dharmarāja Buddhist Institute, near Chungking. During the Sino-Japanese War, he left Chungking and took up his residence in the Sio-To-Tze Temple, where he became the General Editor of the series of publications inaugurated by Tai Hsu. Yin Sun is a scholar deeply versed not only in Buddhism but also in history and philosophy. His chief interest, however, is in the teaching of Nāgārjuna's Mādhymika philosophy, which had been neglected in China for several centuries. Yin Sun has written many books dealing with the history of Buddhism and Buddhist philosophy and some of these have been published by the Chan Wen (Right Hearing) Society of Hongkong, the most important being entitled Chun-Kuran Chiang Lun (the Mādhyamika Philosophy). This work first appeared serially in the Hai-Sheo-Yin, the oldest Chinese Buddhist magazine and it has now been published in book-form.

The Vijnānamātratā School of Vasubandhu has also found several distinguished adherents, among them being Tai Hsu himself. This school of Buddhist Idealism was first introduced into China in the 4th Century by Paramartha and then again in the 6th Century by Hiowen Tsang. It found its greatest exponent in one of Hiowen Tsang's chief disciples Kueichi (632-682).

Numerous books were written by later scholars and, so great was their fame, that students came from Japan and Korea to learn under them. But, by the end of the Tang Dynastry, Buddhism had suffered great reversals and most of the books were lost. Although in later ages there were students of the Yogacara school, the tradition of teaching was lost and the proper interpretation of vijnanamatrata doctrines was difficult to obtain. But fortunately for scholarship however, the books had been preserved in Japan and elsewhere and they have now once more been restored to China with the revival of learning which began with the inauguration of the Republic.

The chief exponent of the Vijnanamatrata School in modern times was the late Yan Jin Shan, friend and collaborator of Nanjis, author of the famous catalogue. Yan Jin Shan and his distinguished pupil, Nau-yan-chan, have published critical editions of many of the books of this school and written valuable commentaries upon them. Yan was one of the greatest Buddhist scholars of the 20th Century; he died in Chungking during the war years at the age of 70. He counted among his pupil Tai Hsu himself, among whose numerous publications are several works on the Vijanamatrata philosophy. Others who have worked in the same field are Han-Te Ching of Peking, Sheion Shit Li, Professor of Buddhism in Peking University and Wan-Eng-Yan of Sechwan, a pupil of Non-yan-chan.

It is unfortunately not yet possible to get much authentic information about the Buddhist studies in Japan. That country is still endeavouring to recover from the devastations of war but such news as is available is heartening. In spite of almost insuperable obstacles, Buddhist learning has gone on and it is a real delight to know that D. T. Suzuki, the dozen of zen scholarships, fully maintain, his active life. Recently, several English traslations of his works on zen have been published by the Buddhist Society of England and these have contributed very largely to the great interest in zen Buddhism which is manifest in many parts of the world. Numerous Societies have been established for the study and propagation of Buddhism, among whose activities are the publication of Buddhist texts and their translations. There is every reason to believe that soon we shall see in Japan's great Buddhist revival.

I had the opportunity early this year of visiting Burma, Thailand, Cambodia and Veit Nam. Here, too, the signs of a powerful Buddhist awakening are there for all to see. One of its chief aims is the promotion of Buddhist learning. In Burma, with the inauguration of freedom, the Government proposes to establish a special university for monks. The study of the Abhidhamma has been taken up everywhere, by men and women, and there is a great interest in the study and practice of meditation. Numerous books are being published, dealing chiefly with the Abhidhamma and some of these are indispensable for a proper interpretation of Buddhist psychology.

In Thailand, a special institution which is expected to acquire University status, has been established under the name of the Maha Makura Rāja Vidyālaya for Buddhist studies and its publications in the Thai language are already famous. The Director of the Vidyālaya is a young monk, the Ven. Sujivo, a man of great energy and enlightenment, and much may be expected of him.

In Cambodia, under auspices of the present Ruler, who is a great patron of Buddhism, and the Sangharaja, held in deep veneration both of his piety and his learning, the E'cole Superieure de Pali has made rapid strides. The whole of the Pali Tripitaka has been translated into Cambodian and many of the volumes already published. One recalls with gratitude the pioneer services of Mademoiselle S. Karpeles in this connection.

In Viet Nam too where the Mahayana prevails, there is great literary activity and a large body of literature has come into existence in Viet Namese, both of translations of Chinese text and original works by Viet Namese scholars themselves.

I hope I have said enough to convey to you some idea of the tremendous interest in Buddhism and Buddhist Studies which is to be seen in many parts of the world. Evidence of this, as for the English-speaking countries are concerned, was seen when it was announced that the volume on Buddhism published recently in the Pelican Series, had become a best-seller. This book, by Christmas Humphreys, President of the Buddhist Society of England, in the first attempt made to write a complete survey of Buddhism and Buddhist Schools. It has short-comings, of course, (It is remarkable that it does not have many more) but the author deserves every credit for a difficult task courageously undertaken and completed. The defects, such as they are, can be remedied in future editions.

The crying need now is for many more reference works, like Hobogrin, the publication of which we most sincerely hope, will soon be resumed. The concordance of the Pali Tripitaka will, when published, be a great boon. My own Dictionary of Pali Proper Names has been well received. We need something like that, much better done of course, for Mahayana. I had hoped that a book like Keith and Macdonnell's Vedic Index would have been undertaken for Pali by someone competent but the hope has not been fulfilled and I have, during the last two or three years, collected materials for such a volume. I hope I shall be able to find a publisher as some generous patron.

It is perfectly clear that Buddhist Studies can no longer be carried on in isolation. The labours of scholars everywhere working not only n Pali, Sanskrit, Prakrit, Chinese, Tibetan and Japanese but also in

Thai, Cambodian, Burmese and Viet Namese, Sinhalese and many other languages, must be co-ordinated and the time is now ripe for such co-ordination. The World Fellowship of Buddhists which was inaugurated in Ceylon last year gave evidence of the readiness on the part of the Buddhists of many lands for collaboration, in a common purpose. Perhaps, it will be too ambitious yet to dream of a Visva Bharati solely for Buddhist Studies but we should be able to establish something like a Buddhist Academy where representative scholars in various fields of Buddhist learning can work together, in constant consultation. The texts and commentaries of all schools of Buddhism must be translated, in the first instance, into a common language like English.

The question is, even if such a conception finds response, where the proposed Academy could be established. It will, of course, have to be the result of international effect but some country must be selected for its location, preferably a country which is predominantly Buddhist. Immediately, the names of Thailand, Burma, Cambodia and Ceylon will occur to us. Personally, I would vote for Ceylon, not because I happen to belong to it myself but because the conditions there seem to be the most favourable. In the past, it was the Maha Vihare at Anuradhapura the ancient capital, which was regarded as the fountain at which scholars from many lands, for and near, drank deep of the waters of Buddhist learning. Ceylon has now once again become free and it has an enlightened Government at the helm of affairs. But Governments move very slowly indeed, especially in new directions, and the force of world-opinion is necessary to rouse them into activity. If the idea commends itself to you, I would suggest that this Assembly after due consideration do make a concrete proposal to the Government and the people of Ceylon to establish in Lanka an Academy of Buddhist Studies for the promotion of Buddhist learning.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS OF THE ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

XVIth SESSION.

University of Lucknow.

(Up to 7-11-55).

RECEIPTS

	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
1. Donations :—		
(1) Sri S. P. Jaipuria, Kanpur	4,000 0 0	
(2) Uttar Pradesh Government	2,500 0 0	
(3) Lucknow University	2,000 0 0	
(4) Sri Har Govind Misra, Kanpur...	1,716 0 0	
(5) Sardar Inder Singh, Kanpur...	1,000 0 0	
(6) Sri Ram Ratan Gupta, Kanpur	1,000 0 0	
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(20) Lucknow University Union	100 0 0	
(21) Donors 12, paying Rs. 11/- to Rs. 99/-	386 0 0	18,303 0 0

RECEIPTS—(*Contd.*)

	Rs. a. p.	Rs.	a.	p.
2. Reception Committee Members 168, paying Rs. 10/-each	....	1,680	0	0
3. Life Members 6 paying Rs. 100/- each	....	550	0	0
(One member having paid only Rs. 50/-)				
4. Members 475 paying Rs. 10/- each	....	4,750	0	0
5. Student Members 13 paying Rs. 2/- each	....	26	0	0
6. Bank Interest	....	97	1	0
7. Exchange charges received from Members	....	12	14	0
8. Price of left over sugar	....	582	12	0
9. Sale Proceeds of baskets etc.	....	7	0	0
10. Postage received	....	123	7	0
Total	....	26,132	2	0

K. D. TEWARI,
HONY. TREASURER,
XVI All-India Oriental Conference,
Lucknow.

Statement of Accounts of the All-India Oriental Conference

XVIth SESSION.

University of Lucknow.

(Up to 7-11-55).

DISBURSEMENTS.

		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
1.	Boarding and Lodging		4,147 6 0
2.	Conveyance		222 4 0
3.	Temporary Establishment		1,396 11 8
4.	(a) Return of duplicate membership fee to Dr. R. N. Dandekar....		10 0 0
	(b) Subscription from six life members sent to Dr. R. N. Dandekar		550 0 0
5.	At Home		1,215 10 0
6.	Hire of furniture etc.		850 0 0
7.	Telephone		45 0 0
8.	Sanskrit Drama, Hindi Drama, Music and dance		1,747 11 6
9.	T. A. of General President and General Secretary		404 12 0
10.	Bank Commission etc.		40 10 0
11.	Miscellaneous expenses		600 2 6

DISBURSEMENTS—(*Contd.*)

	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
12. Printing, Stationery and postage:—		
(1) Presidential address	105 0 0	
(2) History ot Lucknow	620 0 0	
(3) Summaries of Papers	1,634 6 0	
(4) Programme	294 0 0	
(5) Sign Board	102 0 0	
(6) Bulletin No. 1 and Membership Form	65 0 0	
(7) Bulletin No. 2 and Membership Form	86 8 0	
(8) Bulletin No. 3	32 8 0	
(9) Tickets	222 0 0	
(10) Invitation cards and envelopes	855 4 0	
(11) Receipt Books	24 8 0	
(12) Membership Form	42 0 0	
(13) Printing of the 1st Volume of the Proceedings of the Conference	2,334 15 3	
(14) Postage	115 1 6	6,533 2 9
		17,763 6 5
Balance in hand		8,368 11 7
Total		26,132 2 0

K. D. TEWARI,
HONY TREASURER,
XVI All-India Oriental Conference,
Lucknow.

(Raja) Ram Kumar Press, Lucknow.

PRINTED BY
M. L. SRIVASTAVA
AT THE
(RAJA) RAM KUMAR PRESS
LUCKNOW

1955